A BOOK OF READINGS ON THE HISTORY OF THE PUNJAB

1799-1947

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RESEARCH SOCIETY OF PAKISTAN

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Dedicated with all reverence and filial affection to my revered father Malik Jalal-ud-din Sahib who, in addition to his own paternal affection and care for me, provided me with my mother's love which her sad demise had deprived me of.

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PREFACE

The idea of this book arose from the needs of our students, after a paper on the history of the Punjab was introduced in M.A. History syllabus. Since a text-book covering its history uptil 1947 was neither available nor could be produced within a short time, it was, therefore, decided to compile a 'Book of Readings' on its history. The book was also intended to break the ground and pave the way for further and better work on this subject. The Research Society of Pakistan was very kind to have agreed to sponsor its preparation and publication. It provided not only the financial support, but also academic and research guidance and assistance in preparing its synopsis and, later on providing me with every kind of help at all the stages of its preparation. For this purpose, the Society formed a Sub-Committee, headed by Sheikh Manzur Elahi, C.S.P., and consisting of experts and eminent scholars of history. The Sub-Committee helped me to clear out many problems, which I confronted at various stages of my work.

It had been decided at the very outset that since not much work had, so far, been done on the history of Muslims in this province, this book should, therefore, focus more light on their role without breaking the links or the chronology or making it either communal in its approach or contents. National interests were also kept in mind while preparing this book. Though regional history is a recognized and a very valid field of study, especially during the modern period, yet it was considered necessary to handle it in such a way as not to accentuate or exaggerate regional differences, which of course, are found nearly in the history of every nation in the world. These principles were, therefore, constantly kept in mind while preparing this book. Under the circumstances, especially with regard to the availability of source-material, the amount of time given at my disposal and numerous other difficulties which were faced during the process of its compilation, I have tried my best to present a readable, co-ordinated and useful account of the history of our province. How far I have succeeded in this, I would not say much but prefer to

leave its judgment to my readers. And I hope that they will surely keep in mind the various problems and difficulties which generally are faced by research scholars especially working on the history of our country.

The most important problem was with regard to the availability of source material. Nearly all the original sources are with the British archives. Though we have our own small research offices, they are usually not of much help. Apart from this, only a very limited number of books have so far been written on the history of this province and then many of them are either out-dated or deal with a limited period of time. Government publications such as the Reports of Administration, Gazetteers and similar other works were not the results of scholarly efforts. At best they could be described as a sort of introductory paragraphs for the history of the province, for varying periods of time. Then no work has been done on certain very vital issues or topics concerning its history. To make matters more difficult there are a number of controversial issues on which there are sharp—and sometimes even emotional—differences of opinion. These difficulties were faced especially while dealing with the latter part of its history. Under these circumstances, a cautious but neither biased nor prejudiced but trying to sort out or at least hint at the exact truth, and taking the middle sort of non-controversial attitude was considered the best approach. Scholars of history may not, in certain respects, like or even appreciate this attitude, but considering the difficulties, very briefly hinted as above, I hope they will adopt a sympathetic attitude, while making their judgment of my work. As a matter of fact, the writing of a completely objective history of any country or subject or issue is, in itself, a most difficult or nearly an impossible task. Man has made tremendous progress in science or technology, but has not been able to achieve similar advancement in social sector—especially in shedding away sectional differences or prejudices which have led them not only into numerous deadly wars but also divide them still, vitally and dangerously and usually on filmsy or unimportant issues. These prejudices have been a great hinderance in presenting a true and objective account of the history of any nation, subject or issue.

For the same reasons, I have included only those extracts in this book which seemed to be more correct and dispassionate in their treatment of their respective subjects. Those parts which I considered either unnecessary or irrelevant, have been omitted and dots, put in their place

so as to show the gaps thus created. A list of sources, from which extracts have been selected, has been given in the footnote, at the beginning of each chapter. Then at the end of each particular extract, its source has again been mentioned along with the number of the pages, etc. I had selected certain topics already in my mind before starting my work on this book but others were included as I proceeded along and found sufficient material upon them.

For the completion to this book, I am indebted to a large number of my benefactors and well-wishers who provided me with their generous help and encouragement. First of all, I must thank our venerable Vice-Chancellor, and the President of the Research Society, Professor Allama Alauddin Siddiqui, for the general encouragement and deep interest in the promotion of research activities including this book, in our University. Professor Sahib has been a source of tremendous inspiration and strength to me throughout my academic and teaching or research career. My deepest gratitude is also due to Dr. S. M. Ikram, the Vice-President and Dr. M. Jahangir Khan, the Director of the Research Society of Pakistan, for their help and assistance. Dr. M. Jahangir Khan and Maulana Ghulam Rasul Mehr were extremely kind in scrutinizing the whole manuscript and helping me to remove many of its errors. Maulana Sahib also very graciously wrote a chapter on 'Syed Ahmad Shaheed's Jehad Movement,' which has considerably enhanced the value of this book. Dr. M. Baqir also very kindly wrote for this book a scholarly note on the Persian sources of the history of the Punjab—dealing mainly with the later Mughals' or Sikhs' period. I must also thank my venerable uncle Malik Mubarik Ali Sahib, my most respected teacher and guide Prof. Sheikh Abdur Rashid and Syed Shamshad Haider, the Registrar of the University for their ceaselss help and encouragement. I would be failing in my duty if I do not put on record my deepest gratitude to Prof. Anwar Hussain Syed, the former Head of the Department of History who not only initiated the idea of this book but also provided numerous facilities to enable me to undertake and complete it. My two sincerest friends Messrs. Iqbal Mueen and Sheikh Abbas Reza provided, as they have always done, tremendous help, encouragement and inspiration to me in completing this work. I also wish to thank Dr. Yar Muhammad Khan, the Head of the Department of History and my other colleagues for their help and assistance. My thanks are particularly due to Mr. Muhammad Aslam Syed for his able and sincerest assistance which he so graciously provided me throughout the complet-

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IKRAM ALI MALIK

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INTRODUCTION

The old province of the Punjab is now divided into West and East provinces between Pakistan and India. The word "Punjab" is the compound of two Persian words *i.e.* '*Punj*' meaning five and '*aab*' meaning water. Since the old province was watered by five rivers, *i.e.* the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej, it was therefore, called as the Punjab or, in other words, the 'land of the five rivers'[1]. The province was contained withini well-defined limits ; on the North it was bounded by the Himalayan and Sub-Himalayan ranges, on the West by the Sufed Koh and the Suluеman mountains, on the East by the river Jamna and the Agra Province and on the South by the Sind and Rajputana deserts[2]. Because of its vicinity to the Khyber Pass or the North-West Frontier-the gateway for all invaders to India-the province did not remain under peace for long periods.

The history of the Punjab can be traced as far back as the invasion of the Aryans. They came into the province around 2000 B.C., emigrating towards the regions of the Jamna and the Ganges, around 1500 B.C., where they gradually established bigger colonies and kingdoms. When Buddhism spread in India, it affected the Punjab as well. Numerous Buddhist monastaries and pillars were built by Asoka and Kanishka who ruled over the Punjab from 264 to 227 B.C., and 78 A.D. to 123 A.D.[3] respectively. Some of, these pillars exist even today in the North-Western regions of West Pakistan.

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1. Though the old province was watered by a sixth river as well i.e. the Indus, the ancient inhabitants did not include it for giving the province its present name, firstly because it was dreaded by them and secondly it marked the western boundary of the province to the far west. See S.M. Latif's *History of the Punjab*, Lahore, 1891, p. 1 ; also Khushwant Singh's *History of he Sikhs* vol. I : 1469—1839, Princeton, 1963, p. 5.

2. Gupta, H. R. *Studies in Latter Mughal History of the Punjab* 1707—1793, Lahore, 1944, p. 1.

3. Trevaskis, H.K. *The Land of the Five Rivers*, OUP. 1928, p. 51.

The province was attacked by a number of invaders e.g. Osiris, the King of Egypt[1], Semiramis, the Queen of Assyria who came in ninth Century B.C.,[2] and the Scythians who invaded in the sixth Century B.C.[3] A number of the latter settled down and that led to the introduction of numerous Greek traditions into the social and cultural life of the province. Alexander the Great came in 326 B.C. He defeated Porus, the ruler of the tract between the Jhelum and the Chenab, while a number of other rulers and chieftains had submitted or, later on, tendered their allegiance to him.[4] Alexander marched as far as the Beas.[5] When he reached there, his forces refused to march further as a result of which he had to retrace his steps back to his homeland. On his return, he also reduced Multan[6] and Uchch.[7] During his stay in the Punjab, Alexander had followed a policy of conciliation towards the local rulers; he fought only against those who refused to acknowledge his suzerainty. It is not certain whether he wished to annex the Punjab permanently.[8] He, however, left Greek contingents at various places, as well as built a number of military and naval stations along the course of the Indus, which point out the possibility of his intention to return to the province at some later date.

Soon after Alexander's withdrawal, his officials were expelled by Chandra Gupta Maurya, the king of Magadha. Though his successor Selectus Nicator invaded the province in 305 B.C., that did not lead to the defeat or success of one or the other; they, on the contrary, concluded a pact. The Greeks invaded the Punjab again in 206 B.C. In 165 B.C. they were followed by the Bactrians, and later on by the Scythians and the White Huns. The settlement of those Greeks who preferred to remain behind led to far-reaching results regarding the social and cultural life of the province.

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1. Latif, S. M., *op.cit.* p. 51.
2. *Ibid.* p. 52.
3. Oman C.W.C. : *History of Greece*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1892, p. 126 ; Holdich, T. *The Gates of India*, MacMillan, p. 6, 16, 21, 43, 45, 49, 50.
4. Trevaskis, H.K. *op. cit.* p. 45.
5. Majumdar, R.C., Ray Chaudhuri, H.C. and Datta, K.; *Ancient India*, London, 1963, p. 67.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Latif, S.M., p. 69.
8. Latif, S.M. *op. cit.* p. 69. Majumdar is of the opinion that he definitely wished to annex these territories to his kingdom. *Vide* : *Ancient India, op. cit.* p. 68.

Mohammad bin Qasim came in 711 A.D. After reducing Sind, he occupied Multan in 713 A.D. Then he marched to the north as far as the borders of the kingdom of Kashmir.[1] This frightened its ruler, as a result of which he sent his envoy to seek help from the Chinese Emperor. Mohammad Bin Qasim did not remain long in the province and was soon recalled by the superior authorities due to the change of government at home. During his brief stay, he had adopted an extremely tolerant, and judicious attitude towards the non-Muslim rulers as well as subjects, and his rule was liked by all the sections of the people.[2] After his withdrawal, he was succeded by a number of governors, out of whom Junaid and Hakam proved to be the most successful.[3] From amongst the governors, sent by Abbaside rulers, Hisham undertook successful campaigns against Gujrat and Kashmir[4] though the latter were not annexed permanently. With the dis-integration of the Abbaside power, their authority in Sind and lower Punjab also began to deteriorate. The Fatimids occupied Multan in 977 A.D. In 1005 A.D. they were defeated by Mahmud of Ghazni but were finally expelled by Muhammad Ghori during his attack in 1176 A.D.

The Ghazavids started extending their dominions into the Punjab during the time of Alaptagin. His successor Subuktagin fought two wars against Jaipal, the Hindu ruler of Lahore, in both of which the latter suffered crushing defeats. Mahmud who succeeded his father Subuktagin in 977 A.D. came into the Punjab for seventeen times. He had his first encounter with Jaipal in 1001 A.D. The latter was defeated, but was so badly affected by his defeat that he abdicated in favour of his son Anandpal and burnt himself to death.[5] In 1004 A.D. Mahmud invaded the ruler of Bhatiya[6] for his failure to help him in his encounter with Jaipal.[7] The

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1. Ikram, S. M. *Muslim Civilisation in India and Pakistan* 712—1858 (Second Edition) 1966, p. 4.
2. *Chachnama*, Sindhi Adabi Board, 1963 *See* pp. 277-78, 292, 294, 98, 300. also *see* Ikram, S. M. *op. cit.* pp. 9-11.
3. Ikram, S.M. *op. cit.* p. 11-12.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
5. Jaffar, S.M. *Medieval India under the Muslim kings vol. II : The Rise and Fall of the Ghaznawids.*, Peshawar, 1940. p. 53.
6. Bhatiya has been variously described as Bhatner, Bhatinda, Bhawalpur, Uchch and Bhera but the last one has been adjudged as its most probable identification. *See* Jaffar, S.M. *op. cit.* p. 11 (footnote).
7. The Raja of Bhatiya had been on good terms with Mahmud's father Subuktagin. Mahmud had therefore expected help from him when he fought against Jaipal. *See* Cambridge History of India vol III. p. 14.

latter was defeated and killed. A year later, Mahmud invaded Multan. Its governor Abdul Fath Daud had made an alliance with Anandpal and the ruler of Bhatiya and had also refused to acknowledge Mahmud's suzerainty. Though defeated, he was reinstated by Mahmud. After this, Mahmud left a Hindu prince Sukhpal alias Nawasa Shah to subdue the outlying parts of Multan[1] and himself returned to his homeland.

Mahmud returned in 1008 and defeated the confederate armies which Anandpal had formed against him and consisted of the rulers of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kanauj, Delhi, Ajmer and Kalinjar.[2] Five years later, he conquered Kashmir and also defeated Jaipal II who had succeeded his father Anandpal. In 1017 he defeated the ruler of Kanauj. The later surrendered and agreed to acknowledge his suzerainty. This turned the other Hindu rajas against him; they attacked and killed him.[3] Mahmud was infuriated and he returned to the province to avenge his vassal's death and inflicted a severe defeat upon the ruler of Kalinjar, who had been mainly responsible for his murder. After this, Mahmud left his favourite counsellor and general Malik Ayaz as incharge of his dominions in India with his headquarters at Lahore. He also issued several coins during his stay in Lahore on which Lahore was mentioned as Mahmudpur. Malik Ayaz built numerous buildings including the walls and the citadel of Lahore. After his death, he was burried in the city.

After Mahmud's death his successors did not possess his courage or determination. Firstly they were involved in a bitter hostility with the Saljuk Turkmans, while later on they entered into deadly opposition with the rulers of Ghor. During those periods of distress, the Punjab provided them the needed shelter. As the Ghaznavids gradually lost their territories in Iran and Turan, they began to depend more heavily upon their Indian possessions, so much so that Lahore became their real capital during the reign of Sultan Masud III[4]. When their King Bahram was

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1. According to W. Haig (*Cambridge History of India* vol. III p. 15) and Dr. M. Nazim (*Mahmud of Ghazna, The Life and Times of Sultan:* p. 98) Sukhpal was entrusted with the government of Multan. But that does not seem to be correct, as Abul Fath had already been reinstated in his position on certain conditions.

2. Ferishta, Mohammad Qasim : *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* (trans. by Abdul Hai, Lahore, 1962) pp. 116-117.

3. Jaffar, S.M. *op. cit.* p. 71.

4. *Ibid.* p. 228.

invaded and expelled from Ghazni by Ala-ud-din of Ghor, he took shelter in the Punjab.[1] His successors ruled in the province till 1186 when they were finally expelled by Shahab-ud-din Mohammad Ghori.[2]

After his occupation of Lahore, Mohammad Ghori appointed Ali Kirmani to administer its affairs. In 1176 he had already occupied Multan and Uchch. In 1193 he fought a decisive battle with Pirthviraj, the ruler of Ajmer, after which he left his lieutenant Qutbuddin Aibak as incharge of his newly extended territories including Delhi. Soon after his return, Lahore was invaded and occupied by the Ghakhar tribes. This brought Mohammad Ghori back into the Punjab. The Ghakhars were repulsed, but a party of them ambushed and killed Ghori, while he was encamping near Rohtak,[3] on the banks of the Indus, on his return to his homeland. His successor Sultan Mahmud appointed Qutbuddin Aibak as the king of his Indian territories.[4] Qutbuddin was, therefore, crowned as the first Muslim ruler of India in Lahore, in July 1206. He ruled only for four years. During his period, his father-in-law Tajuddin Yalduz occupied the Punjab but was expelled. Qutbuddin died in 1210 and was burried in Lahore.

Tajuddin again occupied the Punjab but was expelled by Iltutmish[5] (1210—35). Iltutmish also defeated Nasiruddin Qabacha, an adopted slave of Aibak's, who too had forcibly occupied the province. In 1221 Jalaluddin, son of the Sultan of Khwarzm came into the Punjab but was forced to withdraw. After Iltutmish's death in 1236, he was succeeded, by his son Ruknud-din. Ruknud-din was a weak and licentious ruler as a result of which anarchy and confusion began to spread in the realm. His brother Ghias-uddin revolted and was joined by the governors

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1. *Ibid*, p. 233-34
2. For the rule of later Ghazanvids in Lahore, *See* Jaffar, S.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 235-36.
3. Ferishta has written this place as Barmaheek (*op. cit* p. 245)
4. *Tarikh-i-Ferishta op. cit.*, pp. 256-57.
5. Qutbuddin had been succeeded by his son Aram Shah but since he was incapable, some of the prominent nobles raised Iltutmish to the throne. Iltutmish Qutbuddin Aibak's adopted son as well as son-in-law. Aram Shah ruled for less than a year.

of Lahore and Multan, Malik Alauddin and Malik Kabir Khan respectively[1] Ruknuddin marched towards Lahore to suppress their revolt but while he was encamped there, some of his nobles returned to Delhi and placed his sister Razia Sultana upon the throne. During Razia's reign (1232—40), the viceroy of Lahore Malik Izzafddin Kabir Khani revolted. He was followed by Malik Altunia, the governor of Bhatinda. Razia marched but was defeated by Altunia. Though she married him, she was not able to re-occupy her lost throne.

During the rest of the Sultanate period, the peace of the Punjab was frequently disturbed by the inroads of the Mongols and the revolts by the Ghakhars. The former came in large numbers, remained only for short periods and left behind, huge destruction and damage. In 1241 they came and occupied Lahore[2] but retreated before the arrival of the forces sent by Sultan Moizuddin Behram Shah. They again returned under the leadership of Mangu Khan but were repulsed. Nasiruddin Mahmud (1246—66) appointed Sher Khan[3] as governor of the Punjab.[4] He not only took effective measures to check their inroads but also led a successful campaign against Ghazni in 1250. The Mongols came again in 1257 but soon withdrew when they came to know of the approach of Delhi troops. They invaded the Punjab twice during the reign of Giasuddin Balban (1266—86). During the first invasion, they were repulsed with heavy losses but during the second encounter (1285), though they were defeated, Balban's favourite son Prince Mohammad whom he had appointed as Viceroy of the Punjab, after Sher Khan's death in 1270,[5] was killed. The Mongols continued their attacks during the reign of Moizuddin Kaikubad and the Khilji dynasty. In 1298[6] they came as

1. *Tarikh-i-Ferishta, op. cit.*, p. 276

2. *Ibid*, p. 283.

3. He was the cousin of Ghiasuddin Balban.

4. *Ibid*, p. 294.

5. S. M. Latif has mentioned the year of hisdeath as 1267 (See *History of the Punjab* p. 101), but Ferishta writes that he died in the fourth year of Balban's accession to the throne, p. 310.

6. They had invaded twice during the period 1296—1298. In all the Mongols invaded five times. During the last invasion they suffered such a crushing defeat that they did not turn towards India for a long time afterwards. *See* Badauni, Mulla Abdul Qadir: *Mutakhib-ul-Tawwarikh* (Urdu translation by M. A, Farooqi, Lahore, 1962) p. 96-97.

far as Delhi. Ghazi Tughlaq Beg, the governor of the Punjab, took a prominent role in frustrating their designs. He also led a coalition against Malik Khusrau,[1] who had usurped the Delhi throne after murdering Mubarik Shah in 1320. Malik Khusrau was defeated and Ghazi Tughlaq Beg ascended to the throne under the title of Ghiasuddin Tughlaq Shah.

Ghiasuddin Tughlaq Shah (1320—25) built a chain of forts along the western borders of the Punjab. During the reign of his successor Muhammad Tughlaq (1325—51), the Mongols invaded the Punjab in 1327 and advanced as far as Delhi. Muhammad Tughlaq was not prepared for the battle so he persuaded them to withdraw after paying them a large sum of money.[2] The Ghakhars who had frequently disturbed the peace of the province during the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud[3], revolted and defeated Tatar Khan the governor of Lahore in 1341. Though defeated by the Delhi forces, they remained a source of trouble till they were finally suppressed by Sarang Khan, the governor of Multan, during the reign of Mahmud Tughlaq.

The Mongols invaded in 1358 and again in 1396. During their first raid they collected a large booty and retreated before the arrival of Delhi troops, while during the second, they occupied Multan and Uchch.

Taimur invaded in 1398. Shahabuddin Mubarik Khan, the viceroy of the Punjab resisted but could not stand for long. After defeating Mohammad Tughlaq, Taimur appointed Khizr Khan, the former governor of Multan, as the viceroy for Lahore, Multan and Depalpur.[4] In 1414 Khizr Khan became the ruler of Delhi and laid the foundations of the Syed dynasty. During his reign (1414—21) the Punjab remained at peace. It was however disturbed, during the period of his successor Mubarik Shah (1421—34) by the Ghakhars and the Mongols. The former revolted under the leadership of Jasrat, but were defeated by the troops

1. Ferishta, *op. cit.*, p. 454—55.

2. *Ibid* p. 467. Badauni writes that the Mongols were defeated and pursued till Kalanaur by Mohammad Shah. p. 127-28.

3. This Nasiruddin Mahmud belonged to the slave dynasty.

4. Prasad, Ishwari: *History of Medieval India from 647 A.D. to the Mughal conquest*, Allahabad, 1928, p. 299; also; Badauni, *op. cit.*, p. 171; *Fersihta op. cit.*, p. 536.

sent from Delhi.[1] Malik Sikander who distinguished himself in these encounters, was rewarded with the viceroyalty of Lahore.[2] The Mongols under Sheikh Ali came in 1429, and occupied Lahore and Multan, but they were soon repulsed by the troops sent from Delhi.[3]

During the reign of Syed Muhammad (1434—45), Behlol Lodhi, nephew of Islam Khan, the governor of Sirhind, forcibly occupied Lahore and Sirhind after the death of his uncle.[4] He occupied Delhi during the reign of Syed Muhammad's successor, Syed Alauddin (1445—47) and laid the foundations of his own dynasty—the last one of the Sultanate period.

During the reign of Behlol Lodhi, the governor of the Punjab revolted, but was easily suppressed. No important event occurred during the period of his successor Sikander Lodhi. In 1519 the Punjab was attacked by Babur. He reduced Bhera[5] and marched as far as the Chenab. During the latter part of the same year, he again returned but had to retrace his steps soon due to certain developments in his homeland. He again invaded in 1520 and reduced Sialkot.[6] In 1524 Daulat Khan Lodhi, the governor of the Punjab who had developed sharp differences with his relative Ibrahim Lodhi, the Delhi Sultan, sent emissaries, to Babur with the invitation to invade India.[7] Babur accepted, invaded and occupied the territory as far as Depalpur. He however decided to return due to the changed attitude of Daulat Khan.[8] He came back in

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1. Badauni *op. cit.*, pp. 183-84. Jasrat invaded again in 1428 but was defeated as before. Prasad, Ishwari, *op. cit.*, 420
2. Latif, S.M. *op. cit.*, 118 Prasad, Ishwari, *op. cit.*, p. 418.
3. Prasad, Ishwari, *op. cit.*, pp. 420-21. Sheikh Ali had actually come to the assistance of Paulad Turk-bachha who had revolted against Mubarik Shah.
4. Latif, S.M. *op. cit.*, p. 119; Ishwari Prasad writes that Behlol Lodhi who was a trusted general of Syed Muhammad, revolted and invaded Delhi on the instigation of Jasrat Khokhar, but was defeated, p. 424.
5. Talbot, F.G. (Trans. into English), *Tuzk-i-Babari*, Lahore, 1968, p. 148.
6. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, p. 123; Talbot, F.G. *op. cit.*, p. 168.
7. Talbot, F. G., *op. cit.*, p. 169.
8. *Ibid*, 169-70.

1526 and after defeating Ibrahim at Panipat, occupied the Delhi throne. Babur did not live for long and died in 1530. He was succeeded by his eldest son Humayun. Humayun granted large portions of his empire to his three brothers, but they, especially Mirza Kamran, instead of assisting, created troubles for him. Kamran forcibly occupied the Punjab and even tried to seize Delhi in 1539.[1] After defeating Humayun Sher Shah Suri appointed Khawas Khan as the governor of the Punjab. During his successor's reign, its viceroy Haibat Khan revolted, but was suppressed.

Humayun who after his defeat had taken refuge in Iran, returned in 1555 and, after defeating Tartar Khan, the viceroy of Lahore, occupied the city. He then occupied Delhi, but soon died of a fall from his library on January 21, 1556.

At the time of Humayun's death, the Punjab did not constitutte a homogenous province. On the whole, it consisted of two parts-one held directly by the Mughals whereas the other, lying chiefly to the North, enjoyed virtual independence. They included Kangra, Chamba, Mandi, Kullu, Jammu, Kashmir and Muzaffarabad. A number of tribes were also in defiant mood, with several of them, providing active help to Sikander Sur.[2] Akbar sent several detachments in the pursuit of Sikander. He was at last besieged in Mankot where he begged forgiveness and was granted a fief in Bihar.[3] Akbar sent a number of capable governors to the Punjab. The importance of the province also increased considerably, due to his policy of expansion and the hostile activities of certain tribes across the borders of the Punjab. During his period, nearly all the hill chiefs were subdued. Kashmir was annexed in 1586. Though Akbar's younger brother Mirza Hakim invaded the Punjab a couple of times, he did not pose a serious threat as he always retreated before the arrival of Imperial forces. Khan Kalan, the governor of the Punjab even helped him to reconquer Kabul for him, after he had been expelled by

1. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, p. 126.

2. *Ibid.* p. 26.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 30, quoted from *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* V. p. 255.

Suleiman of Badakshan.[1] The Punjab remained as Akbar's headquarters from 1585 to 1598. During this period, several expeditions were despatched for the suppression of the Bilochis, Yousafzais and Roshnais.[2] Akbar also introduced various social reforms[3] and received three Portuguese missions during his stay in Lahore.[4] The important governors of the Punjab during this period were Hussain Khan (1557—60),[5] Shamsuddin Atka (1560—61)[6], Mir Muhammad Khan Kalan (1651—68)[7] Hussain Quli Khan (1568—75)[8] Shah Quli Khan Mahram (1575—78)[9] and Saeed Khan (1578—85).[10]

Jehangir paid numerous visits to Lahore and Kashmir, especially after 1620. During the early part of his reign, his son Khusrau revolted, marched into the Punjab and besieged Lahore for nine days.[11] He was however defeated and severely punished by his father. The Sikh Guru Arjun Dev was also arrested for having provided assistance to Khusrau.[12] In 1620 Kangra was subdued and annexed to the Empire. Amongst the prominent governors of the Punjab during this period may be mentioned the names of Saeed Khan, Quli Khan, Murtaza Khan, Itmaduddaula and Sadiq Khan. Jehangir died in October, 1627 at Chingiz near Bhimbar and was burried at Shahdara on the banks of the Ravi.

During the fratricidal war, which followed immediately after Jehangir's death, Prince Shehryar, the son-in-law of Nur Jehan was crowned in Lahore. He spent nearly seventy lakhs of rupees from the provincial treasury in order to win over the people to his side. He however could not succeed and Shah Jehan ascended to the throne. Shah Jahan did not show as much interest in the Punjab or Kashmir as his father had taken. He came to the Punjab for the first time, after his

1. Akbar, M. *op. cit.*, p. 44.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 75—85.

3. *Ibid*, pp. 110—112.

4. *Ibid*, pp. 96—101.

5—10 For details of their administration *See* Akbar, M. *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 33-41, 42-47, 48-55, 55-60, 61—72, respectively.

11. Prasad, Beni, *History of Jehangir*, OUP, p. 141.

12. Latif, S.M. *op. cit.*, p. 151.

accession, in 1633.[1] He visited again in 1638-389 and celebrated the Nauroz festival in Lahore in the fourteenth year of his reign.[2] During this period, at the suggestion of Ali Mardan, the Governor of the Punjab, a canal was dug ro irrigate the suburbs of Lahore.

When the war of succession broke out between Shah Jehan's sons, the governor of the Punjab Syed Ghairat Khan supported Prince Dara.[3] Dara was also well known in the province, as he had been its viceroy for some time. Though no major battle was fought in the Punjab except for a few skirmishes, yet whatever happened here ultimately proved to be decisive.[4] Dara, after his defeat at Samugarh came over, collected one crore of rupees[5] and raised nearly thirty thousand soldiers in the Punjab. He was also supported by the Sikh Guru Har Rai who not only gave him this blessings, but also provided a number of followers to check the advance of Aurangzeb's forces.[6] Dara was, however, defeated, arrested and finally put to death in 1659.

By that time, a new element had been introduced into the political conditions of the Punjab and that element was the rising power of the Sikhs. The Sikhs formed a new sect founded by Guru Nanak during the reign of Babur.[7] Nanak wished to evolve a new cult, under which all, irrespective of their faith or creed, could unite under one banner.[8] He was especially opposed to polytheism of Hindus, their caste system[9] and the domination of the Brahmans.[10] His movement did not make much headway till the time of Akbar's accession to the throne. The liberalism of Akbar's

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1-2. Akbar M., *op. cit.*, pp. 170, 171 respectively.

3. *Ibid.* p.175.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

5. Ghauri, I.A., *War of succession between the sons of Shah Jahan*, 1657—58. Lahore, 1964, p. 146.

6. Macauliffe, *History of the Sikh Religion*, vol. 4., p. 307. also *See* Akbar, M., *op. cit.*, p. 179.

7. Akbar, M., *op. cit.*, p. 187.

8. Gupta, H.R., *Studies in Later Mughal History of the Punjab*, Lahore, 1944, p. 34.

9. Scott, G.B., *Religion or Short History of the Sikh*, 1469—1930, London, 1930, p. 17.

10. Akbar, M., *op. cit.*, p. 187.

reign and the energetic efforts of Gurus Amar Das, Ram Das and Arjan Dev (1552—1606) helped it to recruit new converts and increase its followers.[1] Guru Amar Das introduced the system of 'Gaddis' divided his spiritual Empire into twenty-two districts and appointed his own men to collect contributions from his followers and look after their problems etc. on behalf of the Guru.[2] A common *langar* was also started wherein all irrespective of caste distinctions could take their meals. Akbar maintained a liberal attitude towards them. He is also said to have visited Guru Amar Das at Govindwal, in the early years of his reign, granted a large tract of land to his daughter Bibi Bhani for the upkeep of the *langar*[3]. His relations with the next Guru Ram Das were also cordial. He visited Guru Arjan Dev at Govindwal in November 1598.[4] Thus by the time of his death, the Sikhs had made considerable progress both in their numbers as well as in their influence, so much so that their Guru Arjan Dev had begun to assume princely status.[5] When Chandu Shah, the Dewan of Lahore, offered his daughter for marriage to his son Hargobind, he declined to accept.[6] He also helped Prince Khusrau during his rebellion against his father. For that, he was arrested and fined two lakhs of rupees."[7]

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1. *Ibid*, p. 188.

2. Macauliffe, *op., cit.*, vol. III, p. 151.

3. Akbar, M., *op. cit.*, p. 189 also *See* Singh, V. (ed.) *Suraj Parkash*, by Santokh Singh , vol. V and Gilani, Ibaadullah : *Sikhs during the Muslim reign* (Urdu), Lahore, 1948, p. 35. (The last book may be consulted for Akbar's relations with and concessions for Sikhs).

4. Akbar, M., *op. cit.*, p. 190.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 191.

6. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

7. Gilani, Ibaadullah, *op., cit.*, p. 60. Many historians have accused Jehangir for having ordered for the murder of Guru Arjan Dev. That is not correct. In fact the Guru died by drowning himself in the river ravi after he had beenharasse by Chandu Shah who had a grudge against him for having declined his daughter's marriage to Hargobind.

Arjan Dev, the successor of Hargobind who was sixth Guru in the line of their succession, was a militant person. He wore a martial dress, girded with two swords—"one to avenge his father's death and the other to destroy the Muslims[1]. He also began to organize his own army and asked his followers to give him arms rather than money. In the beginning, his relations with Emperor Jehangir were normal. Jehangir even appointed him to the command of 700 horses, 1000 foot and seven guns, as well as to keep an eye upon the Mughal officers in the Punjab.[2] He was however, soon removed and put into prison on the charges of embezzlenment,[3] but was released after the intercession of Hazrat Mian Mir. Jehangir did not bother to impose any restriction or ban on either his movement or his rising power. His influence went on increasing so much so that he maintained a stable of 800 horses, 3000 troops and 60 armed men as his personal bodyguard.[4] He also moved from place to place attended by one thousand followers to preach his cult. In 1645, he died and was succeeded by his grandson Har Rai.

Har Rai was "by nature a peaceful guru".[5] Once he gave Dara Shikoh a medicine which cured his ailment. This endeared him to the Prince and when the latter retreated to the Punjab after his defeat at Samugarh, Har Rai met him and provided him with a number of his followers to check the advance of Aurangzeb's forces so that he could recollect his forces or have a safe passage.[6] When Aurangzeb became free from the war of succession, he called upon Har Rai to attend his court and answer the accusations made against him by some of his relatives.[7] Har Rai instead sent his son Ram Rai. Aurangzeb received him well so much so that Ram Rai decided to stay at his court.[8] Har Rai did

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1. Akbar, M., *op. cit.*, p. 193, also Gilani, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-73.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 193. also, Gilani, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
4. Akbar, M., *op., cit.*, p. 194 also *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* (Trans. by Shea & Troyer), p. 277. Gapta, H. R. *op., cit.*, p. 37.
5. Akbar, M., *op. cit.*, p. 195.
6. Gilani, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
8. Akbar, M., *op. cit.* p. 198; Gilani, *op. cit.* p. 103.

not like it and as a result disinherited him from his right to succeed to the *gaddi*. When Har Rai died, his followers raised his younger son Har Kishen as their Guru. Ram Rai felt hurt and he appealed to the Emperor to help him in securing his right to the *Gaddi*. Aurangzeb did not consider it worth-interfering into their internal affairs but later on he agreed to call Harkishen to the court so that the two brothers could settle their differences themselves.[1] Harkishen set out, was received well by Aurangzeb but he soon fell ill.[2] Aurangzeb sent one of his own physicians[3] to attend upon him but the Guru died of smallpox on April 9, 1665. After his death, many Sikh leaders laid their claims to the *gaddi*,[4] but after all Teg Bahadur, son of Guru Hargobind, was proclaimed as their ninth Guru. Teg Bahadur had no desire to become the Guru; he had in fact been pushed into his position by the efforts and desire of his mother. Ram Rai, who had, on previous, occasions appealed to Aurangzeb, to help him in securing his right to the *gaddi*, again requested the Emperor. Aurangzeb had already expressed his disliking for interfering into a matter concerning a question like the succession to a spiritual position. In order to satisfy Ram Rai, he gave him a jagir at Dhera Dun which he accepted.[5] Complaints against Tegh Bahadur, however, continued pouring into the Mughal Court.[6] Aurangzeb, therefore, decided to call the Guru to his court. Tegh Bahadur, at first, tried to avoid, but when Aurangzeb insisted, he appeared before him. In some histories, it is written that the Guru was forcibly fetched by the Mughal troops,sent by Aurangzeb.[7] Nearly all the modern Sikh historians have blamed Aurangzeb for the cold-blooded murder of Tegh Bahadur. This does not seem to be correct, as it is not corroborated by their own contemporary accounts.[8] All of them agree that the Guru died, as a result of his failure to prove his power of working miracles. According to Umdat-ut-Tawwarikh, when the Guru appeared before Aurangzeb, the Emperor asked him to show some of his spiritual powers, as he was reported to have claimed to

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1-3. Gilani, *op. cit*, pp. 106—108.

4. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 332.

5. Gilani, I., *op. cit.*, p. 114.

6. *Ibid.*,

7. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

8. For details *See* Gilani, *op. cit.*, pp. 122—133.

possess. The Guru then wrote a few words on a piece of paper and tied it around his neck. He then invited somebody to strike his neck by sword, claiming that it would do him no harm. The Guru was consequently struck and as a result, his neck was struck off from his head.[1] This occurred on December 11, 1675.

After the death of Tegh Bahadur, Govind Singh was raised to the *Gaddi*. Govind Singh decided to increase his power as well as infuse military spirit amongst his followers.[2] By the time he died, he had achieved considerable success in both of these objectives. In this respect, he was also helped by the continued absence of Emperor Aurangzeb from his capital.[3] Govind Singh made full use of that opportunity for achieving his objectives. In order to make them distinct and infuse self-confidence, he ordered his followers to wear, at all times, Kirpan (sword), Kara (bangle), Kanga (comb), Kes (long hair) and Kachh (underwear).[4] He also built three forts i.e. at Anandpur, Chamkaur and near Nahan. The Hindu Hill chiefs in the northern parts, became jealous of his growing power as well as apprehensive of their own security.[5] They, therefore, decided to curb his power. A series of skirmishes were fought, but they were defeated. They then approached the Mughal Commander at Kangra for help. He sent his son Rustam Khan but he was also defeated. The Hill Chiefs then appealed to Wazir Khan, the Faujdar of Sirhind.[6] Wazir Khan marched and forced the Guru to retreat to Bassauli. But as soon as Wazir Khan's forces withdrew, the Guru again returned to Anandpur.

The Hill rajas then sent their envoys to the Emperor.[7] They complained that the Sikhs had been wrecking havoc in their areas and inspite of their best efforts, they had not been able to subdue them. Aurangzeb therefore, wrote to Wazir Khan and Zabardast Khan (of Lahore) to march against the Guru. The Mughal forces marched and defeated the Guru

1. *Umdat-ul-Tawwarikh*, Chapter I, p. 50, quoted in Gilani, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

2-4. Akbar, M., *op., cit.*, p. 207, 209.

5. For details *See* Akbar, M., *op. cit.*, pp. 211—213; also Gilani, *op, cit.*, pp. 138—143.

6. Akbar, M., *op. cit.*, pp. 216-17.

7. Gilani, p. 146.

in a fierce battle fought near Kiratpur. The Guru took refuge in Anandpur and thereafter in Chamkaur where another battle was fought. After wandering in numerous places, he reached Dina where a number of his followers had already assembled. Wazir Khan sent an army and defeated them in a battle fought at Khildrana. After this, the Guru again moved in disguise from place to place.[1] He had also lost heavily. After the battle of Anandpur his mother had taken his two minor sons to one Gangu Brahman of Kheri. The latter handed them over to the Faujdar or Sirhind who took them alongwith himself, where they were put to death. Driven to extremities, Govind Singh decided to appeal to Emperor Aurangzeb. He therefore wrote him, in Daccan, a versified letter, better known as Zafarnama. In that, he strongly complained against the atrocities of the Hindu Hill Chiefs and claimed that they had lied and misrepresented facts to him.[2] Moved by that letter, Aurangzeb called him to meet him in Deccan.[3] Govind Singh set out, but while he was on his way, news arrived about the Emperor's death.

At the time of Aurangzeb's death, Monem Khan was the governor of the Punjab. He had previously been the Diwan of Prince Muazzam, the eldest son of Aurangzeb. When the war of succession broke out between Aurangzeb's sons Muazzam, Azam and Kam Bakhsh, Monem Khan placed all his resources at the disposal of Prince Muazzam.[4] He received him at Lahore and provided him with a large army. A number of Punjab chiefs also offered their allegiance to him. After his success, Monem Khan was appointed a minister at the court, with the title of Jumlat-ul-Mulk, and a grant of one crore of rupees.[5] Guru Govind Singh, who had been on his way to the Deccan to see Aurangzeb, also returned and declared his support for Prince Muazzam.[6] Muazzam received him well, ordered for adequate arrangements for his stay and the maintenance of his troops; and also granted him some jagirs.[7] A few historians have written that Govind Singh took up regular employment in Muazzam's army.[8] When Muazzam set out for Deccan to subdue his

1. *Tawarikh-i-Guru Khalsa* (Urdu), p. 162, quoted in Gilani, *op. cit.*, p. 150.
2-3. Gilani, p. 152—56.
4. *Latif, S. M.*, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
6-7. Gilani, I., *op. cit.*, pp. 165-166; also Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, Chand & Co., 1955, p. 72.
8. Elphinstone : *History of India*, ii, p. 566.

youngest brother Kam Bakhsh, he took the Guru along with himself. There Govind Singh was killed by a few Pathans.[1] Before his death, Govind Singh had nominated a Hindu hermit Banda Bairagi as his military successor[2]. He had met Banda on the banks of the Godawari while on his way to the Deccan. Banda Bairagi was a fanatic and a free-booter. In 1709 he set out for the Punjab on his mission of carnage and destruction.[3] He first looted a royal treasure near Kaithal. Then he marched towards Samana, where his followers massacred neary ten thousand Muslims.[4] After that, he fell upon the Muslim inhabitants of Ghuram, Thaska, Kunjpura, Shahabad, Mustafabad, Ambala, Kapuri, Chhat and Banur.[5] In 1710 he marched towards Sirhind, defeated its governor, and laid the whole city waste.[6] The fall of Sirhind placed under his control nearly the whole of the country between the Sutlej and the Jamna upto the close neighbourhood of Delhi[7]. After this, he occupied a number of places in the Jullundur and the Bari Doabs, including the fort of Mukhlispur which he renamed as Lohgarh and converted it into his headquarters.[8] During this period, Muazzam (who had ascended the throne with the title of Bahadur Shah) had been away in the Deccan. When he came to know of Banda's inroads, he immediately marched towards Lohgarh. When Banda came to know of the approach of Imperial forces he escaped towards Gurdaspur[9]. The Emperor followed him but before succeeding in his campaign he died at Lahore, in February, 1712.

Bahadur Shah's death led to another war of succession between his four sons, Moizuddin, Azim-ush-Shan, Rafi-ush-Shan and Khajasta Akhter. Moizuddin, Rafi-ush-Shan, and Khajasta Akhter who had

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1. Cunningham has described his murder in these words, "He (Guru Govind) had engaged the services of an Afghan, half-adventurer, half merchant and he had procured from him a considerable number of horses. The merchant or servant pleaded his own necessities and urged the payment of large sums due to him. Impatient with delay, he used an angry gesture and his mutterings of violence provoked Govind to strike him dead. The body of the slain Pathan was removed and buried and his family seemed reconciled to the fate of its head. But his sons nursed their vengeance and awaited an opportunity for fulfilling it. They succeeded in stealing into the Guru's retirement and stabbed him mortally" p. 73. He was killed in 1708 at Nader, on the banks of the Godawari. For other evidences, *See* Gilani , *op. cit.*, pp. 174—75.

2. Gupta, H., *op. cit.*, p. 44. *Singh, Khushwant, A History of the Sikhs*, vol. I 1469—1839, Princeton, 1961, p. 6.

3—8. Gupta, H., *op. cit.*, pp. 46—48 Singh, Khushwant, *op. cit.*, pp. 103—107.

9. *Ibid.* p. 48.

formed an alliance, defeated Azimush Shan's forces in a battle fought outside Lahore in 1712.[1] Azimush-Shan was himself drowned in the Ravi. After getting rid of his other two brothers, Moizuddin ascended the throne, under the title of Jahandar Shah. He ruled only for a brief period; he was weak, effiminate and licentious, the real power having been assumed by Zulfiqar Khan, the Amir-ul-Umera. Farukh Siyar, Azimush Shan's son took advantage of these conditions, and revolted with the help of the two Syed Brothers,—i.e. Abdullah Khan, and Husain Ali Khan, the governors of Bihar and Allahbad, respectively. He defeated Jahandar Shah and ascended the throne in 1713.

During the reign of Farukh Siyar, the peace of the Punjab was disturbed by the renewed inroads of the Sikhs under Banda Bairagi. Farukh Siyar instructed Abdus Samad Khan, his viceroy in the Punjab, to take strict measures against them. Abdus Samad took half-hearted measures, with the result that the sikhs continued their raids with immunity. In 1715 Banda attacked Kalanaur and Batala and ravaged the whole country.[2] At this juncture, the power of Banda was weakened due to the division of his followers, into two groups over the question of their expression of salutation.[3] This division forced Banda to seek shelter in the fort of Gurdaspur. The Mughal forces besieged him for eight months after which he was forced to surrender in December 1715. He was brought alongwith some seven hundred and forty of his followers to Delhi where they were all (about 740) put to sword[4] It may be clearly noted that these men were not murdered for any religious reasons. They had openly broken the law and the peace of the country, wrecked considerable destruction at several places and killed a large of their Muslim inhabitants.[5] Sikhs or no Sikhs they would have been dealt with, as rebels. The Mughal Emperors till Aurangzeb had always been friendly and sympathetic

1. Latif, S .M, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

2. Gupta, H. R., *op. cit.*, p. 49.

3. Banda had introducted a new form of salutation i.e., "Fat-i-Darshan for Wah Guruji ka Khalsa, Wah Guruji Ki Fatah" This offended the Orthodox Sikhs and they formed a separate party under the name of Tat Khalsa. The remaining Sikhs with Banda were called Bandai Sikhs.

4. Khafi Khan, *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, ii, pp. 765—7,

5. Refer to Banda's attacks upon Kalanaur, Samana, Sirhind, etc.

towards the Sikh Gurus. They had granted them large jagirs for the upkeep and maintenance of their religious places.[1] The Sikhs thrived upon plundering especially in the northern Hill States, and after the death of Guru Govind Singh, they assumed an unjustified hatred for the Muslims. Apart from that, no government could allow a group of people to plunder or ravage any piece of land under its jurisdiction. The Sikhs increased their raids whenever the Mughal government became weak or its attention was diverted towards another quarter. After the succession of Banda Bairagi, the Sikhs became involved in an irresoluble conflict with the Mughal government. They suffered huge losses, but could not be crushed completely —mainly due to the weakening character of the Mughal government and its own internal dissensions. After the death of Banda Bairagi the provincial government adopted several measures for their suppression. Many were killed while a large number of them fled away towards the lower spurs of the Himalayas, Lakhi jungle and Malwa deserts.[2]

The Mughal Court lost its strength due to a quick succession of its rulers. Farukh Siyar, soon after his accession, was dethroned by the Syed Brothers, after he had tried to curtail their influence. He was succeeded by Rafi-ud-Darajat, the grandson of Bahadur Shah. Rafi-ud-Darajat soon died and his younger brother Rafi-ud-Daula was raised to the throne. He also died after three months. The Syed Brothers then placed Raushan Akhter, the son of Khajasta Akhtar, upon the throne, under the title of Muhammad Shah. Muhammad Shah soon got rid of them. During his reign, the peace of the Punjab was upset for a number of times. The Pathans of Kasur revolted under Husain Khan.[3] Abdus Samad Khan, the viceroy of the Punjab marched and defeated him near Chunian. There was a revolt in Kashmir as well under Mohtawi Khan. He defeated its governor, and proclaimed himself as an independent ruler. Farukh Siyar sent Momin Khan, who defeated Mohtawi Khan and restored peace in the valley.[4]

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1. *See* Gilani, *op. cit.*, pp. 176—192.

2. Gupta, H.R., *op. cit.*, p. 50-51.

3. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, p. 192.

4. *Ibid*, pp. 192-193.

The Sikhs who had remained quiet for about two to three years after the death of Banda, soon began to raid villages situated at the foot of the hills and on the outskirts of the Lakhi jungle and Malwa desert.[1] Abdus Samad tried to suppress them but failed to achieve much success. The provincial government had been considerably weakened due to the intrigues and consequent division of nobles into rival factions at the Centre. In 1726 Abdus Samad was transferred to Multan, while his son, Zakariya Khan, appointed to the viceroyalty of Lahore.

Zakariya Khan administered his charge with vigour and determination. He appointed Lakhpat Rai and his brother Jaspat Rai as his chief minister and secretary respectively. For the suppression of the Sikhs, he organized several moving columns consisting of light cavalry. These, alongwith numerous similar measures, led to the restoration of peace and order in the province. Zakariya Khan also tried to conciliate the Sikhs by offering them a jagir worth a lakh of rupees and the title of nawab for their leaders.[2] The Sikhs first accepted but when their bands renewed their raids at various places, Zakariya Khan ordered for the confiscation of their jagir and renewal of vigilance over their movements. These measures kept the Sikhs weak and scattered till they were enabled by the circumstances created by Nadir Shah's invasion to indulge into their ravages.[3].

Nadir Shah set out India in 1738. Zakariya Khan tried to resist but was completely defeated. He rendered his submission and asked forgiveness. Nadir Shah accepted and reinstated him on the condition of his paying twenty lakhs of rupees and providing a number of elephants. After this, he marched towards Delhi and defeated Muhammad Shah at Karnal. Muhammad Shah too was reinstated on his promise to pay twenty five crores of rupees as war-indemnity. While on his way back, Nadir Shah demanded one crore of rupees from Zakariya Khan. Zakariya Khan called the leading residents of Lahore and persuaded them to pay the required amount.[4] He also promised to pay annually

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1. Gupta, H.R., *op. cit.*, p. 51.
2. *Ibid*, p. 54.
3. *Ibid*, p. 55.
4. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, p. 207.

into the Persian treasury, the revenue proceeds of the districts of Gujrat, Sialkot, Pasrur and some districts forming the zamindari of Khundayar Khan of Multan.[1]

Nadir Shah's invasion weakened the government and created conditions of chaos, uncertainty and disorder, in the province. The Sikhs took full benefit of these circumstances. They invested the whole country between the Ravi and the Beas as well as the Manjha jungles, harassed parties, and began to plunder villages.[2] Nadir Shah's while on his return to Kabul, had advised Zakariya Khan to take effective measures for their suppression.[3]

Zakariya Khan died in 1745.[4] He had proved to be one of the most capable governors of the Punjab.[5] He was honest and extremely careful of his duties. He also treated the non-Muslims with sympathy and consideration. These endeared him to nearly all the classes and communities in the Punjab. After his death, he was succeeded by Momin Khan who was, however, soon replaced by Yahya Khan, the eldest son of Zakariya Khan. One of the earliest measures of the new viceroy was to despatch a contingent of troops under Dewan Jaspat Rai for putting an end to the raids of the Sikh parties.[6] Jaspat Rai was defeated and killed. Yahya Khan then sent Lakhpat Rai, the brother of Jaspat Rai, who not only inflicted a crushing defeat but also heavily avenged the death of his brother.[7] Nearly a thousand of them were captured, brought to Lahore and assassinated at the Nakhas Khana, or horse market.[8] Several other measures were also undertaken for the suppression of the Sikhs. As a result of them, many lost their lives, thousands took shelter in jungles or barren places, while a large number shaved off their beards and cut their hair short. In the meantime the too brothers Yahya Khan and Shahnawaz Khan, who was at that time the governor of Multan developed a

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., p. 211.
3. Cunningham, J. D., *op. cit.*, p. 126 ft. note; Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, p. 212.
4. Some historians have written the year of his death as 1737-38. *See Maasar-ul-Umera* by Shanawaz Khan (Urdu Translation, Lahore), p. 520.
5. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, p. 212 Singh, Khushwant : *op. cit.*, p. 217 (ft. note).

6-7. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, p. 213.

8. The Sikhs later on built the temple of Shahidganj near this spot, in the memory of one of their priests Bhai Taru Singh, who was included amongst those killed at that place. Latif, S. M., *op. cit.*, p. 213.

conflict[1]. Shahnawaz marched with a big force but the two brothers soon reached an agreement. It, however, did not last for long and while both had assembled for their Idd prayers a suffle ensued. Yahya Khan was arrested while a number of his followers were killed.[2] After that Shahnawaz proclaimed himself as the viceroy of the Punjab, and did not ask or wait, for his confirmation by the Imperial Government. He also replaced the names of the Mughal Emperor's ancestors on his coins, by those of the twelve Imams as he had adopted the Shia faith.[3] Dewan Kaura Mal was appointed as his chief minister whereas Adina Beg was retained as the governor of the Jullundur Doab. Inspite of various attempts by his uncle, Wazir Qamaruddin, Shahnawaz did not release Yahya Khan. Yahya Khan, however, escaped with the help of his aunt and after reaching Delhi laid the whole matter before the Emperor. This frightened Shahnawaz and in order to make his position secure he started negotiations with Ahmed Shah Abdali[4] who had become the ruler of Afghanistan after Nadir Shah's assassination, in June, 1747, for an invasion upon India.

Ahmed Shah set out for his first invasion of India in the spring of 1748. After defeating Nasir Khan, the governor of Peshawar, he marched into the Punjab. Before that, he had sent one of his nobles Bughra Khan to settle arrangements with Shahnawaz Khan. Shahnawaz had, in the meantime, changed his mind, on the persistent advice of his uncle Wazir Qamaruddin who had appealed to him to severe all his relations with Ahmed Shah for the sake of upholding his family's honour,[5] with the result that Bughra Khan had to return empty-handed. Ahmed Shah sent another envoy Baba Sabir Shah but Shahnawaz got him killed. Shahnawaz knew that Ahmad Shah would not go back without a fight. He, therefore, prepared himself for the battle and sent one of his Amirs Zilla Khan to resist Ahmed Shah's troops. Zilla Khan, on the contrary, changed his side and went over to the camp Ahmed Shah.[6] Ahmed Shah marched towards Lahore and easily dispersed the forces of Shahnawaz Khan. He remained in Lahore, for about a month, during which

1—3. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 213-214.

4. Singh, Ganda : *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, 1959, p. 42.

5. Ibid., p. 45; Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, p. 216; Gupta, H.R., *op. cit.* p. 163.

6. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, p. 217.

nearly all the chiefs and zamindars of the province presented themselves and tendered their allegiance to him. Ahmed Shah appointed Dewan Lakhpat Rai and Momin Khan as the governor and the Dewan of the Punjab respectively[1] and himself marched towards Sirhind to meet the Delhi forces

The battle was fought outside Sirhind. In this, Mir Mannu, the son of Wazir Qamaruddin, fought very bravely, and not only saved the Mughal forces from a certain defeat but also obliged Ahmed Shah to retreat to his homeland.[2] Emperor Mohammad Shah was so pleased with his valour that he appointed him as the governor of Lahore and Multan, with the title of Moin-ul-Mulk.[3] Mir Mannu administered the province with vigour and efficiency[4]. He retained Kaura Mal and Adina Beg as his minister and the governor of the Jullundur Doab respectively. After the Sikh bands again began to create disturbances, he ordered numerous measures for their suppression. Their fort at Ram Rauni which they had built in the vicinity of Amritsar was ordered to be raized to the ground.[5] Troops were sent and stationed in the areas, infested by the Sikhs. These along with several other measures, checked their progress with a large number of them once again taking refuge in jungles and other places.[6]

Ahmed Shah Abdali came for this second invasion in 1748. Mir Mannu marched and met him at Sodhara, on the southern banks of the Chenab. He, however, soon realized that his adversaries were superior and, therefore, decided to settle an agreement with the Durrani King. Ahmed Shah agreed on the condition of Mir Mannu's paying him annually the revenue proceeds from Pasrur, Gujrat, Sialkot and Aurangabad[7]. Mir Mannu agreed and even offered to administer the province in his name. After this, Ahmed Shah returned to Kandhar.

Mir Mannu did not have an easy time during his tenure as the viceroy of the Punjab. Apart from the invasions of Ahmed Shah Abdali and the

1. Singh, Ganda, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 63—70. Latif, *op. cit.* p. 218.

3. Gupta, H.R., *op. cit.*, p. 165. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, p. 219.

4—6. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 220-221.

7. That was only the renewal of an earlier pact between Nadir Shah and Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah signed in 1739. Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 77. Gupta, H.R., *op. cit.*, p. 166.

raids of the Sikhs he had also to face the conspiracies of certain nobles at the Imperial Court. His sudden rise and success had made them jealous especially Wazir Safdar Jang[1]. They, therefore, decided to curtail his power and for that purpose succeeded in persuading the Emperor to take away the charge of Multan and grant it to Shahnawaz Khan, the son of Zakariya Khan[2]. Mir Mannu objected and decided to resist it by force. He, therefore, sent his Wazir Kaura Mal to expel Shahnawaz. Several skirmishes were fought; Shahnawaz was defeated after which Mir Mannu rewarded Kaura Mal by appointing him as the governor of Multan[3].

Mir Mannu was so happy with his success and became so over-confident of his position that he stopped the payment of revenue proceeds of the four districts (i.e Pasrur, Gujrat, Sialkot and Aurangabad) to Ahmed Shah in 1751-1752[4]. Ahmed Shah invaded, the two armies met each other near Shahdara, but Mir Mannu soon retreated into the Lahore fort. Ahmed Shah laid siege; it lasted for four months, after which Mir Mannu came out and gave battle near Mahmood Booti, a suburb of Lahore. Mir Mannu was defeated but he once again retrenched himself into the citadel. After some time, he however sent his envoy to Ahmed Shah for peace. Ahmed Shah agreed, received him with honour and even reinstated him in his previous position[5]. He also sent an army under Amir Abdullah Khan to reduce Kashmir. The valley was occupied and Sukh Jiwan Mal, appointed as its governor.[6]

Ahmed Shah's invasion left the Punjab in a distracted condition. It had adversely affected its administration, with the result that several that Sikh parties again began to raid the areas between Amritsar and the northern hills.[7] Mir Mannu sent Adina Beg to pursue them. Adina Beg suddenly fell upon them, while they had assembled for a religious festival at Makhowal.[8] He, however, did not persist in his severe policy

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1—3. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 221-222.

4. Gupta, H.R., *op. cit.*, p. 167; Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

5. For details *See* Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 102—121.

6. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, p. 224.

7. Gupta H.R., *op. cit*; p. 73; Nairang, G. C., *Transformation of Sikhism*, Lahore, 1945, p. 219-220.

8. Baqir, M : *Adina Beg Khan :* Proceedings of the Idara-i-Maarif-i-Islamia, Lahore, 1936, p. 266.

and even tried to settle an agreement with some of their leaders on their assurance to remain peaceful. He also gave employment to some of them including Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, into his army.[1]. These measures put a check upon their depredations, though only for a brief period.

The Mughal government, during those days, presented a hopeless picture. Nearly all the nobles were divided into two major parties i.e. the Irani and the Turani groups. Mir Mannu was no exception to them. He was in favour of Intizam-ud-Daula after the revolt of Safdar Jang due to his removal from the office of the Wizarat.[2] This led to a civil war between the two parties and it lasted for six months. Ghazi-uddin II (also known as Imad-ul-Mulk) who had succeeded as Amir-ul-Umera after his father's death in 1750 at last invited the Marathas to expel Safdar Jang.[3] Safdar Jang was defeated and forced to retire to Oudh. The Mughal Emperor Ahmed Shah did not remain happy with Imad-ul-Mulk for long; the latter, therefore, again invited the Marathas. The Marathas accepted, invaded and forced Ahmed Shah to take refuge in Delhi where he was captured and put into prison.[4] He was succeeded by Azuddin with the title of Alamgir Sani. Almagir Sani was not very much interested in government affairs with the result that the real power was in the hands of his Wazir Imadul Mulk. By then, the Mughal Empire, had also lost in its extent. A number of states had declared their independence—Punjab too having become tributary to Ahmed Shah Abdali.[5]

Mir Mannu died in 1753; this removed one of the last efficient and capable governors from the province.[6] Alamgir Sani appointed his three years' old son Mahmud Khan as the viceroy of Lahore and Multan, whereas Mir Mannu's two years old son Muhammad Amin was appointed as his deputy.[7] Mir Mannu's widow Murad Begum—better known as Mughlani Begum—was made the regent, whereas the actual administration was assigned to Momin Khan. This did not satisfy both the Mughlani Begum and Momin Khan and they sent their requests to Ahmed

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1. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, p. 225; also Malcolm J., *A sketch of the Sikhs*, London, 1812, p. 82. and Cunningham, J. D., *op. cit.*, p. 87.

2—5. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

6. Gupta, H.R., *op. cit.*, pp. 102—108.

7. *Ibid*, p. 114; Singh, Ganda, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

Shah Abdali to confirm their appointments, as the province was really under his jurisdiction.[1] Ahmed Shah, therefore, appointed Muhammad Amin as the governor of the Punjab and Momin Khan as his deputy, in January, 1754.[2] These appointments were not accepted to some of the nobles at Lahore. Bhikari Khan, a Turkish noble had himself desired to become the deputy governor and after the appointment of Momin Khan to that office, the began to assert his independence. He was however captured and put into prison by Mughlani Begum.[3] His revolt was followed by that of Qasim Khan who had also won over about eight thousand Sikhs to his side.[4] He was however captured by his own men and turned over to the authorities.[5] Unluckily for Mughlani Begum, her son Amin Khan died of small-pox in May, 1754, whereafter she assumed all the power into her own hands. This led to numerous problems; a number of nobles refused to be ruled by a woman.[6] The new arrangement had also established some sort of dyarchy in the province. Both she and Momin Khan held their separate courts and conducted the administration of the province; there was hardly any demarcation or division of power between them. The boundaries of the province had been also restricted, to a considerable extent. Gujrat, Aurangabad, Pasrur and Sialkot were being administered directly by the officials appointed by Ahmed Shah Abdali. Amritsar, Batala, Kalanaur and Pathankot had become the strongholds of Sikhs[7] and Adina Beg had assumed virtual independence in the Jullundur Doab.

The first to revolt against the ascendancy of Mughlani Begum was Khawaja Mirza, the Faujdar of Eminabad. He easily defeated her troops and displaced her from her position.[8] Mughlani Begum, however, did not loss courage and sent her envoys to Kandhar in order to secure the help of Ahmed Shah Abdali. Ahmed Shah agreed and instructed

1. The province had been ceded to Ahmed Shah Durrani under the Treaty of March 1752; Singh, Ganda, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

2. Singh, Ganda *op. cit.*, p. 139.

3. *Ibid*, p. 139-40.

4-5. Gupta, H.R., *op. cit.*, pp. 117—119.

6. *Ibid*, p. 120.

7. *Ibid*, p. 121. also *See* Singh, Khushwant , *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 141-42.

8. Singh, Ganda, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

Aman Khan, the governor of Peshawar to help her regain her former position. Aman Khan marched and defeated Khawaja Mirza and re-installed Begum on her *gaddi.*[1] She was, however, soon invaded by her deputy Khawaja Ubedullah Khan, whom she had reduced to a nonentity. Begum's troops were easily overcome. Peace was conlcuded with the help of Mir Momin Khan and Hadi Khan, the Durrani Agent, as a result of which Mughlani Begum was removed from her position, and Khwaja Ubedullah became the master of Lahore.[2] His rule did not last long and was soon replaced by Sayyed Jamiluddin a nominee of Wazir Ghaziuddin.[3]

Mughlani Begum again tried to regain her position. She wrote for help, to Imad-ul-Mulk at Delhi whom her husband had promised to give his daughter in marriage. Imadul Mulk also wanted to assist her so that he could persuade her to leave the province. He, therefore, left for the Punjab in January 1756. He met Adina Beg at Sirhind, who promised to deliver Lahore if provided with two to three thousand soldiers[4]. Imadul Mulk agreed and Adina Beg sent Sadiq Beg Khan to Lahore. This frightened Ubedullah Khan and he fled away towards the Jammu hills. Mughlani Begum was restored,[5] but was soon taken away to Delhi, by Imadul Mulk, who appointed Adina Beg as the viceroy of the Punjab on an annual tribute of thirty lakhs of rupees.[6] Khawaja Ubedullah who had retreated to Kandhar soon returned and occupied Lahore in October 1756. The Mughlani Begum was opposed to the restoration of Ubedullah Khan. She, therefore, urged Ahmed Shah Abdali to invade India. Ahmed Shah too had not liked the occupation of the Punjab by Imadul-Mulk. He had sent his envoy Qalander Beg Khan to Delhi to protest against it but the latter had to return without any success.[7]

Ahmed Shah left Kandhar in the autumn of 1756 for his fourth invasion. An advance-guard was sent under his son Taimur Shah and Commander-in-Chief Jahan Khan. Adina Beg fled away towards the

1. *Ibid*, p. 144.

2-3. *Ibid*, pp. 144-45.

4-5. Singh, Ganda, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

6. Baqir, M., *op.cit.*, 267. He however does not mention about the restoration of Mughlani Begum.

7. Singh, Ganda, *op cit.*, p. 149.

Kangra Hills and Jahan Khan marched, upto the banks of the Sutlej without any oposition. Ahmed Shah reached Delhi on January 28, 1757. At Karnal Mughlani Begum had joined his camp. Ahmed Shah was so pleased with her that granted her the title of Sultan Mirza and even called her as his son.[1] He also agreed, on her request to restore her prospective son-in-law to the office of the Wizarat. He granted her the Jullundur Doab, Jammu and Kashmir as a fief in which she appointed Adina Beg, Raja Ranjit Dev and Khawaja Ibrahim Khan as governor respectively.[2] Abdali, however, soon took them over from her and gave the whole country upto the west of Jumna to his son Taimur Shah whom he appointed as his Viceroy In India.[3] Mughlani Begum vigorously protested, but Abdali did not agree with the result that she had to return to Lahore to live in a simple quarter of two rooms. Before his departure, Ahmed Shah left Khan Jahan to assist his son Taimur Shah. As Taimur Shah was only twelve years of age, the whole administration was run by Khan Jahan.[4] Khan Jahan knowing the abilities and experience of Adina Beg appointed him as governor of the Jullundur Doab on an annual tribute of thirty-six lakhs of rupees.[5]

Adina Beg's relations with Khan Jahan, however, broke down within a short time. Khan Jahan had begun to demand tribute from him, barely two months after his appointment. He also called upon him to present himself at Lahore. Adina Beg was scared and did not wish to go himself. He, therefore, sent some agents, but Khan Jahan insisted on his personal attendance. Adina Beg even then did not go with the result that a contingent was sent from Lahore under Murad Khan to fetch him. Adina Beg resisted and gave a singal defeat to them, with the help of a large number of Sikhs whom he had enlisted in his army.[6] Khan Jahan then marched in person but Adina Beg fled away into the northern Hills. Khan Jahan then turned his attention towards the Sikhs who had helped Adina Beg. Their fort at Ram Rauni was demolished and their tank at Amritsar,

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1. Gupta, H.R., *op. cit.*, p. 135.

2-3. *Ibid.*, p. 136-37. Singh, Ganda, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-87.

4. Baqir, M., *op. cit.*, p. 268.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 268.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

filled up.[1] The Sikhs were extremely enraged and they began to march in large numbers towards Lahore.[2] Khan Jahan first dispersed them but was later defeated by the Sikhs in a desparate encounter.[3] This marked the first victory achieved by the Sikhs over the Afghans.

When Adina Beg came to know of the defeat of the Afghans he returned to the Jullundur Doab, and with the help of a few chiefs defeated an Afghan army under Sarfraz Khan at Jullundur. These reverses weakened Taimur Shah's position considerably with the result that he had to evacuate Lahore in the middle of 1758.[4] The Sikhs then marched and occupied Lahore, under their leader Jassa Singh Kalal, who proclaimed the establishment of the Khalsa and issued the first Sikh coin from the provincial capital.[5] They however did not give a befitting treatment to their benefactor Adina Beg and even expelled his agent Khawaja Mirza Jan from Lahore.[6] This enraged Adina Beg and he invited the Marathas on the promise of paying one lakh of rupees for each day of marching and fifty thousand for each day of halting.[7] The Marathas accepted and their army under Raghu Nath Rao and Malhar Rao, marched into the Punjab. Khan Jahan was defeated and forced to retreat to Attock from where he withdrew to Kandhar. The Marathas occupied Lahore, appointed Adina Beg as the viceroy of the Punjab on an annual tribute of seventy-five lakh of rupees[8] and left the province after stationing a small detachment at Lahore—the Punjab thus having become one of their tributary states.

Adina Beg governed the Punjab for about five months i.e. from April to September 1758. He had been working in various capacities in the province for the last twenty years, and had administered his assign-

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1. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, p. 229.

2. According to Ganda Singh, Adina Beg had secured the safety of the Jullundur Doab from the Sikhs by paying them a lac and a quarter of rupees, p. 146.

3. Singh, Ganda, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-47.

4. Baqir, M., *op. cit.*, p. 270. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, p. 230.

5—7. *Ibid*, p. 270.

8. *Ibid*, p. 271.

ments successfully.[1] After his appointment as viceroy, he spent some time for the reorganization of his administration and then truned his attention towards the restoration and preservation of law and order in the province. It was extremely necessary from another point of view as well. He knew that until peace was established he would not be able to collect sufficient revenue for paying his tribute to the Marathas.[2] The Sikhs formed the chief source of disorder and lawlessness in the province. Adina Beg first advised their leaders to become peaceful[3] but after he failed to persuade them, he decided to crush them by force. He prepared a large army and secured the assistance of numerous rajas and chieftains,[4] in his campaign against them. He sent Dewan Hira Mal and Guru Aqil Das of Jandiala to Adinanagar where a large number of them had assembled. The Sikhs however, defeated them and even killed the Dewan.[5] Adina Beg then made Mirza Aziz Bukhsh incharge of the operations against the Sikhs and also instructed the local zamindars and other chiefs to expel them from their respective areas. Mirza Aziz also cleared away many jungles so that the Sikhs could not take shelter in them. Thus expelled and pursued from various places, a large number of them took refuge in their fort of Ram Rauni.[6] Mirza Aziz laid siege and, after some period reduced it, forcing them to flee away towards Malwa. Mirza Aziz's forces pursued and again defeated them near the village Sanghulan.[7] This constant warfare with the Sikhs fell heavily upon the economic condition of the province. It was further deteriorated by the outbreak of a famine as a result of the failure of rains in July and August.[8] Soon afterwards, Adina Beg died at Batala on September 15, 1758.

Adina Beg had been the only capable governor and successful military leader after Mir Mannu. He took charge of the province at a time when anarchy and confusion reigned everywhere, and held it only for a brief period of about five months. He was equally adept in diplomacy and successfully held the balance between Ahmed Shah Abdali, the Sikhs and the Marathas[9]. Like other Mughal nobles, he was an opportunist and his main aim was the preservation of his own interests and stature. He secured help from any quarter which could serve his interests or get

1—4. Gupta, H.R., *op. cit.*, p. 99.

5—7. *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

him into power. But inspite of these drawbacks, which were not uncommon during those days, his period as viceroy of the Punjab is a testimony to his capabilities and administrative qualities.[1] He was not a fanatic nor a blind-folded persecutor. He took severe actions against the Sikh bands, only after peaceful efforts had failed to bring about any results. His death, therefore, once again plunged the province into chaos and disorder. The Marathas appointed one of their generals Shamaji as the governor of Lahore, whereas Sadiq Beg and Mughlani Begum were appointed as Governors of Sirhind and the Jullundur Doab respectively. The Maratha governor could not curb the Sikhs who had once again begun to raid at various places. In the meantime, Ahmed Shah Abdali who had been extremely unhappy over his son Taimur Shah's expulsion, decided to invade India. He sent an advance party under his general Nuruddin who marched upto the Chenab, without any opposition. Ahmed Shah himself crossed the Indus in the winter of 1759. He defeated the Marathas' general and occupied Lahore. After appointing Karim Dad Khan and Zain Khan as the governors of Lahore and the Chahar Mahal (i.e. Gujrat Aurangabad, Pasrur and Sialkot)[2] respectively, he himself marched towards Delhi. He fought two battles with the Marathas at Badli and Sikandara, defeated and entered Delhi. Another battle was fought at Panipat in 1761 in which the Marathas were completely and decisively routed. After staying at Delhi for a few days, Ahmed Shah returned to the Punjab.

While Ahmed Shah was busy in his wars with the Marathas and had also called his officials including Karim Dad Khan and Zain Khan from the Punjab, the Sikhs began to take advantage and organize raiding parties at numerous places. They also formed themselves into a confederacy while they were assembled at Amritsar for the Diwali festival. After this a large number of them turned towards Lahore, laid siege and agreed to raise it only after having been paid thirty thousand rupees for their *Karha Parshad*.[3] After this return from Panipat, Ahmed Shah did not have sufficient time to take any decisive steps for their suppression. He appointed new governors for various districts e.g. Khwaja Obeid Khan for Lahore, Sar Buland Khan for Multan and Zain Khan for Sirhind.[4]

1. Also *See* Baqir, M., *op. cit.*, pp. 275—277.
2. Singh, Ganda, *op. cit.*, p. 227.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 265. Singh, Khushwant, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
4. Singh, Ganda, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

After this he returned to Kabul.

The Sikhs harassed and pursued Ahmed Shah till the Indus.[1] On their return, they were resisted by Khwaja Mirza Jan, who held the charge of the *Chahar Mahal* i.e. the four districts of Gujrat, Sialkot, Pasrur and Aurangabad. Mirza Jan was defeated and killed.[2] Soon after his arrival at Kandhar, Ahmed Shah sent one of his generals Nuruddin Bamezai, into the Punjab, at the head of an expeditionary force. He was met by the Sikh Sirdar Charhat Singh, was defeated and forced to retreat.[3] This forced Khwaja Obeidullah, the governor of Lahore to march against the Sikhs but he too was defeated. The Sikhs followed him till Lahore. Obeidullah besieged himself in the fort, while the Sikhs occupied the outskirts of the city. Elated with their victory, they proclaimed their leaders Jassa Singh Ahluwalia as the King of Lahore with the title of Sultan-e-Qaum.[4] After, this the Sikhs marched towards Jandiala, the headquarters of Niranjani Sect and laid seige to it. When Ahmed Shah came to know of the discomforiture of his officials, he decided to march into the Punjab himself. Guru Aqil Das of Jandiala had also sent his emissaries with appeals for urgent help. When the Sikhs came to know of Ahmed Shah's approach, they fled towards the trans-Sutlej side. Ahmed Shah pursued. At last a fierce battle was fought in February 1762 in the villages to the south of Raipur and Gujjarwal, within six to ten miles of Malerkotla.[5] The Sikhs lost heavily; they retreated to Gahal and from there to the villages of Qutba and Bahamami, where they were surrounded by the hostile Ranghur Tribes and most of them, cut to pieces.[6] The number of Sikh casualities has been variously estimated by different historians. According to Tarikhi-Hussain Shahi, (by Imadudin) the Sikh lost nearly thirty thousand, while Miskin,[7] and Forster[8] have both put the number at twenty five thousand.[9] Both the figures seem

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1. *Ibid.*

2-3. *Ibid*, p. 273.

4. Ibid *op. cit.*, p. 274.

5-6. *Ibid*, pp. 277—280.

7. Vide *Memoirs of Tahmasp Khan Miskin.*

8. Vide *Travels*, vol. I.

9. Sinha, N.K., *Rise of the Sikh Power*, Calcutta, 1916 p. 68.

to be exaggerated as according to Ganda Singh (*Ahmed Shah Durrani*), the total number of Sikhs who fought in the battle was about thirty thousand.[1] He, therefore, estimates their casualties to be around ten thousands.[2] Princep has put it at twelve thousand.[3] Because of this heavy loss, this encounter is also known as *Wadda Ghalu-Ghara* or the great holocaust. After this, Ahmed Shah marched towards Barnala and from there to Amritsar. Then he turned towards Patiala; its chief Ala Singh submitted, was brought to Lahore where Ahmed Shah granted him a robe of honours as well as confirmed him in his position.

The *Ghalu Ghara* did not crush the power of the Sikhs. Barely after three months, they again began to raid various places.[4] A fierce battle was fought near Amritsar. The next day, the Sikhs dispersed and fled away into the Lakhi jungle. Ahmed Shah then called the Delhi wazirs to Lahore, to settle arrangements at the centre. Shah Alam II was retained on the condition of paying an annual tribute of forty lakhs of rupees. After this, Ahmed Shah appointed Kabuli Mal, Zain Khan, Saadat Khan, Ubeid Ullah and Nuruddin Bamezei as the governor of Lahore, Sirhind, Jullundur Doab, Kalanaur and Kashmir respectively.[5] He himself left Lahore for Afghanistan on December 12, 1762.

Soon after Ahmed Shah's departure, the Sikhs again began to raise their heads. They divided themselves into two major groops i.e. the Buddha Dal or the Council of the Elders, which was meant to expand the power of the Khalsa, and the Taruna Dal, or the Council of the Younger, which was established to renovate the tank at Amritsar.[6] The Sikhs became so emboldened that the Afghan officials were reduced to helplessness. They overran Kasur and the Jullundur Doab and forced the latter's governor Saadat Khan to take refuge in the citadel.[7] When

1. *Vide*, p. 277.
2. *Ibid*, p. 280.
3. Princep, H.T., *The Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab*, Calcutta, 1834, p. 20.
4. Singh, Ganda, *op. cit.*, 285.
5. *Ibid*, p. 288.
6. *Ibid*, p. 289.
7. *Ibid*, p. 290.

Ahmed Shah came to know of these conditions, he sent Sardar Jahan Khan in November 1763 to help his officials in the Punjab. Khan Jahan was met by a Sikh army, was defeated and forced to retreat for the safety of his life. The Sikhs then marched, under Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, against Sirhind. They defeated and killed its governor Zain Khan in an encounter fought in January, 1764. They then gave the country to indiscriminate plunder.[1] Later on the province (Sirhind) was handed over to Ala Singh of Patiala, for twenty-five thousand rupees.[2] The Sikhs then moved into the Jamna-Gangetic Doab and also ransacked and occupied the Jullundur Doab. In February 1764, they moved towards Lahore and laid seige to it. Kabuli Mall, the Governor of Lahore, after great exertion, was above to pursuade them to raise it, after paying a large sum of money and agreeing to accept on of their vakils at Lahore.[3] Thus by that time, the whole of the province to the east of the Chenab, except for a few places like Lahore and Multan had been ransacked by the Sikhs and was under their virtual control.[4] They also occupied Rohtas, on the banks of the river Jhelum after defeating its governor Sarbuland Khan.[5] Multan and the Dera were also reduced. These news completely upset Ahmed Shah Abdali; his labour in the Punjab, seemed to be on the verge of extinction. He, therefore, decided to march into the Punjab. He also wrote to Naseer Khan, the Chief of the Baluchis to join in his holy war against the Sikhs.[6] Naseer Khan agreed and their combined forces marched against the Sikhs. When the latter heard of their advance, a large of them took to their heels. Though a few battles were fought at Lahore and Amritsar, they were hardly pitched encounters. The Sikhs never came in their full numbers and after fighting for some time, withdrew from the battlefield. After the major cities had been cleared of the Sikhs, Ahmed Shah decided to return to Afghanistan. Kabuli Mal was retained as the governor of Lahore. On his way back Ahmed Shah was again harrassed by the Sikh parties but since they would not stay for a battle, he could not do much against them.

No sooner had Ahmed Shah left the Punjab, the Sikh Sirdars reoccupied their areas. The celebrated the Baisakhi festival at Amritsar on

1. *Ibid*, p. 292. Cunningham, J. D., *op. cit.*, p. 93.

2. Lal, Kanhaiya : *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, 1884, p. 86.

3. Shujauddin, M. : *Political and Cultural History of Lahore*, Urdu The Naqoosh, Lahore, November, 1962, p. 108; Singh, Ganda, *op. cit.*, 294.

4-5. Singh, Ganda, *op. cit.*, p. 294—96.

6. Shujauddin M., *op. cit.*, p. 108; Singh, Ganda, p. 296.

April 10, 1765 and decided by the Gurumata to invade and occupy Lahore.[1] Sirdar Lehna Singh and Gujar Singh Bhangi, marched from Ranghar Waniyeke. Kabuli Mall, the governor of Lahore, had gone to the Jammu hills to recruit soldiers. His nephew Amir Singh offered a brief resistance but the Sirdars occupied the city easily on April 16. They were also joined by Sobha Singh Kanhaiya. After their seizure, they divided Lahore and its neighbourhood into three portions between themselves. After this, the Sikhs invaded Patiala to punish its ruler Ala Singh, for his help and friendship for Ahmed Shah Abdali. They, however, soon came to terms; but Ala Singh died in August and was succeeded by his grandson Amar Singh. Perturbed over the loss of his dominions and the increasing power of the Sikhs, Ahmed Shah crossed into the Punjab for his eighth invasion in November, 1766. He reached Behgy, near Rohtas without opposition. A Sikh army under Ballam Singh tried to resist but was defeated and dispersed. On his way, he received allegience from the local zamindars who also promised to expel and take punitive action against the Sikhs. Ahmed Shah reached Lahore, after stopping at Daska and Eminabad. As soon as the Sikh rulers of Lahore came to know of his approach, they evacuated and fled away in different directions. Ahmed Shah pitched his camp at Mahmood Booti, a suburb of Lahore. A delegation of prominent citizens of the city waited upon him and requested him to appoint Lehna Singh as its governor, for his impartiality and judicious administration.[2] Ahmed Shah agreed, wrote to Lehna Singh but the latter declined for the fear of provoking the wrath of his co-religionists.[3] Ahmed Shah then appointed Dadan Khan as the governor and Rehmat Khan Rohilla as his deputy.[4] He left his heavy baggage at Lahore and himself moved towards Jandiala. He had planned to set up his headquarters at Vairowal from where he intended to send his contingents in various directions, against the Sikhs. In the meantime, a large body of the Sikhs invaded Lahore and completely looted his baggage. Ahmed Shah returned but before his arrival, the Sikhs had dispersed away. In the meantime, Ahmed Shah had realized that it was not possible for him to continue his ceaseless warfare against the Sikhs. A peaceful settle-

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1. Singh, Khushwant, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-61. Singh, Ganda, *op. cit.*, p. 308. Shujauddin, M., *op. cit.*, 109.

2-3. Shujauddin, M., *op. cit.*, p. 109. Singh, Khushwant, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

4. Singh, Ganda, *op. cit.* p. 312.

ment was in the interests of both the parties. Hence a few efforts were made[1] but they failed to materialize due to the intransingent attitude of the Sikh Sirdars.[2] In the meantime, the Sikhs continued to ravage and loot, whenever and wherever an opportunity offered them to do so. They also defeated Jahan Khan near Amritsar but when Ahmed Shah marched, they fled away. After this, Ahmed Shah moved into the Jullundur Doab. While he was there, the Sikhs occupied the whole of the territory between the Ravi and the Sutlej. They also defeated Naseer Khan the chief of the Bilochis. Ahmed Shah had by then been in the Punjab for quite some time without achieving his main objective. Whenever he marched, the Sikhs dispersed away but after he moved away, they returned, plundered the Afghan detachments and reoccupied their territories. He had also not been able to pay the arrears of his soldiers for some months. He therefore decided to return to his homeland. Though he made two more attempts to regain his lost dominions, yet the Sikhs had grown too powerful to let him succeed completely.[3]

Ahmed Shah was succeeded by his son Taimur Shah after his death in 1772. Taimur Shah had been the viceroy of the Punjab, for the period of 1757-58. At that time he was only eleven years old and the whole administration was run by his deputy Jahan Khan. He was expelled by Adina Beg in April 1758. Inspite of peaceful temperament[4] and desire to keep aloof from the Indian affairs, he was forced by circumstances to launch several invasions upon the Punjab. His first invasion was in 1774. A sikh leader Milkha Singh tried to resist him at Rawalpindi but was easily dispersed. Taimur marched only upto the Chenab, after which he had to return to his capital. Five years later, he came back to free Multan from the Sikhs. The latter were defeated at Rohtas and Shujabad, and Taimur Shah occupied Multan in February, 1780.[5] After appointing Muzaffar Khan as its governor, he himself returned to Afghanistan.

Taimur Shah came back in 1780. Bahawal Khan, the Nawab of Bahawalpur who had accepted his suzerainty had failed to remit his

1-2. *Ibid,* p. 313.

3. *Ibid,* p. 318.

4. Gupta, H. R., *op. cit.*, p. 234.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 239-241.

tribute to the Afghan King.[1] When Bahawal Khan came to know of Taimur Shah's invasion entrenched himself in a fort in the heart of the desert. Taimur sent Satdar Madad Khan to lay seige. At last Bahawal Khan submitted and besides clearing off his arrears, also promised to remain loyal.[2] Taimur launched his fourth invasion in December 1785, which was directed against Azad Khan the governor of Kashmir.[3] Azad Khan had expelled his two elder brothers after his father's death in 1783. They appealed to Taimur Shah for help. Taimur Shah marched and defeated Azad Khan at Khushipura, after which the latter shot himself dead. Taimur Shah made his fifth invasion in December, 1788. The Nawab of Bahawalpur and the Amirs of Sind had failed to send their tribute. A number of Rajput Princes had also been requesting him to help them against the invasions of the Marathas.[4] A party of Sikhs tried to resist Taimur Shah near Multan but were easily defeated. The Nawab of Bahawalpur was also humbled but was pardoned after he promised to pay ten lakh of rupees. After this, Taimur Shah marched into Sind and realized the arrears of tribute from the Amirs.[5] He was, however, forced to hurry back, due to the threatening activities of Shah Murad of Turan on his frontiers.[6]

Like his predecessors Taimur's son and successor Shah Zaman, also made several invasions upon the sub-continent. His first invasion was launched in 1793. After he reached Hassan Abdal, he sent his generals Ahmed Shah and Bahadur Khan to reduce the country between the Jhelum and the Chenab. Shah Zaman, however, had to return soon due to his brother's rebellious activities at Herat [7] He came, for the second time, in 1795; occupied Rohtas and dispersed away Sikh army, but again had to hurry back due to the invasion of Western Khurasan by Agha Muhammad Khan.[8] A year later, he again returned to the Punjab. The Sikh Sirdars who had occupied Lahore fled away and Shah Zaman entered the city in January 1797.[9] During his stay at Lahore, he sent several contingents against the Sikhs. Some of their Sirdars submitted but Shah Zaman again had to leave his work unfinished due to his brother's revolt at Herat.[10] As soon as he withdrew, Lehna Singh

1-2. *Ibid*, pp. 243-44.

3. *Ibid*, p. 244.

4—6. *Ibid*, pp. 248-252.

7. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, p. 301.

8—10. *Ibid*, pp. 301-302.

and Sobha Singh returned and re-occupied Lahore. They, however, soon died and their positions were occupied by their sons Chet Singh and Mohar Singh respectively. Shah Zaman came for his fourth invasion in 1798. The Sikh Sirdars again fled away. Shah Zaman sent Kutbuddin of Kasur to pursue them. Some of them tendered their allgeiance—including Ranjit Singh, the Chief of Sukerchakia Misl. Shah Zaman had once again to leave due to the invasion of Khorasan by the Persian King.[1] Before his departure, he entrusted administration of the province to his general Shahanchi Khan.[2] While he was crossing the river Jhelum which was at that in high floods, twelve of his guns sank into it. Ranjit Singh who had accompanied him to bid farewell, promised to retrieve and later despatch them to him at Kabul. Ranjit Singh succeeded in taking out eight of them, which he sent to Shah Zaman.[3] Shah Zaman was so pleased that he appointed him as the governor of Lahore. By then, the city had been re-occupied by the Sikh Sirdars, Chet Singh, Mohar Singh and Sahib Singh, and Shah Zaman's general Shahanchi Khan, defeated, at Rassul Nagar and Gujrat. Now that he had been invested with its government by Shah Zaman, Ranjit Singh considered his right to occupy it. For that purpose, he contacted some of its prominent citizens who promised to help him and open one of the city gates at the time of his invasion. Ranjit Singh invaded and made his entry into Lahore through the Lohari Gate[4] as he had been already settled with his friends. Chet Singh retrenched himself in the fort and offered to leave on the condition of allowing him safe passage out of the city. Ranjit Singh accepted and thus became the master of Lahore, though he continued to administer it in the name of his benefactor i.e. Shah Zaman till the latter's dethronement.

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1. Shujauddin, M., *op. cit.*, p. 113.
2. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, p. 305.
3. Shujauddin, M. *op.cit.*, p. 113. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, p. 306. Cunningham, J. D., *op. cit.*, p. 108.
4. Shujauddin, M. *op. cit.*, pp. 113—115. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 348-50.

CHAPTER 1

Ranjit Singh's Rise and Consolidation of Power*

Ranjit Singh's Ancestors

"The man who liquidated the warring misls, nurtured the consciousness of regional nationalism to forge a unified kingdom... was Ranjit Singh Sukerchakia. He was born on November 13, 1780.

The foundation of the Sukerchakia fortunes was laid by one Budh Singh... Budh Singh died in 1718, leaving his sons a few villages of their own and many others in the neighbourhood which paid them a fixed sum as protection tax. Naudh Singh fortified his village, Sukerchak (hence Sukerchakias), joined forces with Nawab Kapur Singh and fought several engagements with Abdali. As the Afghans retreated, the Singhpurias and the Sukerchakias occupied the lands between the Ravi and the Jhelum. Naudh Singh was killed in a skirmish in 1752. Charhat Singh, the eldest of Naudh Singh's four sons, shifted his headquarters to Gujranwala, which he fortified and successfully defended against the Afghan governor of Lahore. Abdali razed the fortifications to the ground, but, on the Afghans' retreat, the Sukerchakias rebuilt their fortresses and recaptured their earlier possessions...

Charat Singh's son, Maha Singh, inherited his father's daring and ambition. He married a daughter of Gajpat Singh of Jind and thus strengthened his own position among the Sikhs. He captured the territory north and northwest of Gujranwala... In a short time Maha Singh succeeded in raising his misl from comparative unimportance to one of the leaders of the confederacy. This aroused the envy of the misl then most powerful, the Kanhayas. The two came into conflict over the control of Jammu and in one of the many skirmishes... Gurbakhsh

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*This chapter consists of extracts from:
Singh, Khushwant: A History of the Sikhs vol 1. Princeton, 1963
Chopra, Gulshan Lall: The Punjab as a Sovereign State (Lahore) 1928
Griffin, Lepel H: Ranjit Singh (Rulers of India) Oxford 1898.
Chhabra, G.S.; An Advanced History of the Punjab vol. II, Ludhiana 1965.

Singh, son of the leader Jai Singh Kanhaya, was killed. Jai Singh's pride was humbled and he agreed to the betrothal of his deceased son's only child, Mehtab Kaur, to Maha Singh's five-year-old son, Ranjit Singh. Jai Singh died shortly after, leaving the Kanhaya estates to his widowed daughter-in-law, Sada Kaur, the mother of Mehtab Kaur.

Maha Singh died in 1792. The legacy which Ranjit Singh inherited from his ancestors consisted of a large district in the heart of the Punjab and an ambition that knew no bounds.

Ranjit Singh was twelve years old when his father died. A virulent attack of smallpox had deprived him of vision in his left eye and deeply pitted his face. He did not receive any education......He became an inveterate hunter, and love for horses became an absolute passion. He learned to drink hard and enjoy the good things of life. A sudden change came over him when he reached the age of fifteen, when he assumed control of the Sukerchakia estates and married. The marriage brought him under the influence of his mother-in-law, Sada Kaur, who was the head of the Kanhayas. She more than anyone else directed his unbounded energy towards unifying the Punjab.

The Punjab in 1798

The map of the Punjab in 1798 resembled a jigsaw puzzle consisting of the territories of the misls, the district of Kasur... ruled by a Pathan family, and Hansi in the southeast where the English adventurer, George Thomas, had set up his kingdom"[1]

...The chronic factionalism of the misls and the extra territorial

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1. (The position of other principalties was as follows :
Multan was governed by Muzaffar Khan Sa 'd ɔzai, son of Shuja Khan, who claimed common descent with the Abdali King Ahmad Shah. Daera was ruled by Abdul Samad Khan; Mankera, Hot, Bannu and the neighbouring country, by Muhammad Shahnawaz Khan Moin-ud-Doula, the successor of Nawab Muhammad Khan, and Tank by Sarwar Khan Katti Khel. Dera Ghazi Khan including Bahawalpur, and a tract of country adjoining Multan, was ruled by the Daudpotra, Bahawal Khan; Jhang by Sial Ahmad Khan; Peshawar by Fateh Khan Barakzai, the nominal vassal of Mahmud Shah. The fort of Attock was in the possession of the Wazir Khel, under Jahandad Khan; the Kangra hills were under Raja Sansar Chand and the country from Hoshiarpur to Kapurthala governed by independent Sikh Sardars, and their confederacies, called misls and other independent chiefs and so were Wazirabad, Dhanni, Khushab and Pakpattan , the seat of the shrine of the great saint Farid Shakar Ganj. Ed.

loyalties of the Pathans of Kasur and George Thomas made the Punjab extremely vulnerable—particularly from the north, for the Afghans looked upon most of Northern India as a part of their empire. Abdali's ....son and successor, Taimur, kept up his father's pretensions, but all he could do was to hold on to Kashmir and eject the Bhangis from Multan. Taimur's sons were not lacking in ambition and as soon as Shah Zaman took his father's place he proclaimed his intention of re-establshing the Afghan empire in India.

Zaman's first attempt to conquer India brought him as far as Hassan Abdal; he had to return to Afghanistan to put down a revolt by his brother, Mahmud. Two years later, he was back in the Punjab again and in addition to retaking Hassan Abdal he captured Rohtas from the Sukerchakias. Ranjit Singh was thus the first Sikh chieftain to suffer at his hands. Once more Zaman had to return home, ... Ranjit Singh did not have much difficulty in taking back Rohtas. But the Punjab had not yet seen the last of Zaman and his Afghan (soldiers).

...There were three other powers who had their eyes on the Punjab.

The Gurkhas, hitherto known only as a warrior race, had, under Amar Singh Thapa, become a formidable power in the eastern Himalayas. They had begun to move westwards along the mountain ranges until they came to the territory of Sansar Chand of Kangra. The choice for the Gurkhas and Rajputs lay between fighting each other, or joining hands to take the Punjab and share the spoils. The wretched state of the misls made the latter alternative seem more profitable.

The Marathas had recovered from the defeat....on the field of Panipat (1761). They had taken Agra, reduced the Mughal Emperor at Delhi to subservience, and re-entered Southern Punjab. Their troops were trained by Europeans and were better disciplined than the Sikhs. In the north they had French generals—De Boigne, Perron and Bourquin —to direct their conquests.

The English were less conspicuous but potentially more formidable than the Marathas. Ostensibly their only interest in the region was to protect the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, whose territories extended to the

river Ganges. Nevertheless, the conquest of the whole of India had begun to stir the imaginations of most Englishmen in the country, and they seldom missed an opportunity to extend their frontiers. They had agents in all the big cities of India, Persia and Afghanistan, and were fully informed of what was going on. It was the English, more than anyone else, who realised that Zaman's invasions spelled danger to their own possessions in India, and shrewdly guessed that the people who might be counted on to put up an effective resistance to the Afghans were neither the Marathas, nor the Rajputs, nor the Gurkhas, but the Sikhs. They also knew that the one man who could muster the Sikh forces and unite the Punjab was the young Sukerchakia chieftain, Ranjit Singh...."[1]

Sikh Misls

"The Sikh misls were, in popular estimation, twelve in number.... These are, in their order of importance, as follows :

1. Phulkian	7. Krora Singhia
2. Ahluwalia	8. Nishania
3. Bhangi	9. Sukarchakia
4. Kanheya	10. Dulelwala
5. Ramgarhia	11. Nakkais
6. Singhpuria	12. Shahids.

Of these, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 9 and 11 held lands north of the Sutlej, and the remaining six, south of that river. The Phulkian misl was composed of a group of chiefs descended from a common ancestor, and represented at the present day by their descendants, the Maharaja of Patiala, the Rajas of Jind and Nabha, the Sirdars of Bhadour, Malod and many others of less importance. It played a very important part in early Sikh history, but inspite of the family connection of its members or perhaps in consequence of it, united action by the misl was rare....

The Ahluwalia family was founded by Sadho Singh, a Jat of the Kalal or distiller caste, who settled the village of Ahlu from which the

1. Singh, Khushwant: A History of the Sikhs vol. I pp. 187—91.

family took its name. But the true founder of the confederacy was Sirdar Jassa Singh fifth in the descent from Sadho... He did more than almost any chief to consolidate the Sikh power, and at the time of his death, in 1783, was probably the most influential of the Sikh chiefs. His possessions were chiefly in the tract of country between the rivers Sutlej and Beas.

The Bhangis (founded by Chajja Singh) took their name from the enslavement to Bhang.. of their famous leader Sirdar Hari Singh, who, with his brothers Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh, made his headquarters in the Amritsar district and overran the neighbouring country and captured and held the city of Multan for everal years..[1]

The Kanheyas were quite as powerful as the Bhangis and retained their possessions longer owing to their connection by marriage with the Maharaja Ranjit Singh....The possessions of the Kanheyas included a large part of the Amritsar and Gurdaspur districts....

The Ramgarhia misl shared with the Kanheyas the sacred city of Amritsar and the neighbouring districts... Sirdar Jassa Singh ... succeeded to its leadership in 1758. He first fortified Amritsar, a portion of which he surrounded with a high mud wall, calling it Ram Rowni or the fort of God. It was soon attacked and destroyed by Adina Beg, the imperial governor of the Jalandhar Doab; but, on his death, Jassa Singh rebuilt it, and renamed it Ramgarh, from which the confederacy took its name.

The Singhpuria confederacy was at one time very powerful, and, before the days of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Ala Singh of Patiala, its founder, Sirdar Kapur Singh was perhaps the most renowned of the Sikh barons... He seized the village and district of Faizullapur near Amritsar from Faizulla Khan, and gave it the name of Singhpura, whence the title of the misl, though it is often known as Faizullapura. This chief died in 1753, and Jassa Singh Ahluwalia succeeded to the greater part of his influence... This confederacy held portions of Ludhiana, Nurpur, Jalandhar and the north-western portion of the Ambala district.

The Krora Singhias, who took their name from Sirdar Krora Singh, had possessions chiefly between the Jammu and Makanda rivers....

1. They held important cities of Lahore, Amritsar, Gujrat and Sialkot.

The Nishanias, who took their name from the Nishan or banner of the Khalsa, were never of much consequence. . . . Members of the misl held Ambala, Liddran, Shahabad, Amloch, and other districts.

The Sukerchakias are famous not from the amount of their original possessions but from the fact that Ranjit Singh was their last representative. . . .

The Dulelwala confederacy took its name from the village of Sirdar Tara Singh, who. . . .held a great portion of the Ludhiana, with some estates in Firozpur. The Nakkais inhabited what is known as the Nakka country lying between Lahore and Gogaira in the direction of Multan. It was never a powerful confederacy... But the Jats of this part of the Panjab were notoriously brave, and under Sirdar Hira Singh and Ram Singh they acquired territory worth nine lakhs of rupees per annum, in Gogaira, Kasur and Sharakpur.

The Shahids, the last of the Confederacies, were rather a religious than a military body... The founder of the Shahid misl was Sudda Singh, the muhant or head of the shrine at Talwandi, where Guru Govind Singh had made his resting place (Damdama)... This confederacy, which used to join itself to others rather than fight on its own account, obtained estates about Rania, Khari and Jaroli...

The composition of these confederacies was always changing, and their possessions passed from one hand to another very rapidly. They fought against each other.. and their internecine war was only ended by Maharaja Ranjit Singh crushing all .. not shielded by the British guarantee. Even within the borders of each confederacy itself, the barons were always quarrelling, and first one chief and then another took the lead. This was due to the constitution of Sikhism, under which no such thing as vassalage or feudal superiority was acknowledged.. The more important chiefships gradually increased in power, their smaller neighbours were compelled, either for protection against others or to avoid absorption altogether, to place themselves under the protection of some leader. . . .

All that a Sikh chief asked in these days from a follower was a horse and a matchlock. All that a follower sought was protection and permission to plunder in the name of God and the Guru under the banner of the Chief. There was little question of pay.. In these days every

village became a fort, built on a high mound to overlook the plain country, with but one entrance and narrow lanes in which two men could hardly walk abreast.. No man could consider his land, his horse, or his wife secure unless he was strong enough, to defend them; for.... the Sikh leaders were... more robbers than patriots and plundered with frank impartiality .. . The Sikh army was known as the Dal Khalsa, the army of God, sometimes the Dudha Dal or veteran army. It consisted for the most part of cavalry called kittiawand, who found their own horses and received a double share of prize money. Each chief, in proportion to his means, furnished horses and arms to his retainers who were called Bargirs; and as the first tribute exacted from a conquered district was horses, the infantry soldier was, after a successful campaign, generally transformed into a trooper. The infantry were considered an inferior branch of the service .. and the battles of the Sikhs were invariably cavalry actions. The only infantry who enjoyed any respect were the Akalis. They were a fanatical body of devotees, who dressed in dark blue and wore round their turbans steel quoits, partly for show and partly as weapons ..

Their other distinctive signs were a knife stuck in the turban, a sword slung round their neck, and a wooden club. These men, excited by hemp, were generally the first to storm a town..they were lawless and uncertain, and, in peaceful times, enjoyed almost boundless license. The Sikh weapon was the sword ... they possessed scarcely any artillery and although Ranjit Singh, with the aid of French and Italian officers, formed a very powerful and well-appointed artillery, it was, to the last, a branch of the service hated by every ... Sikh, and principally filled by Muhammadans."[1]

Ranjit Singh's occupation of the Central Punjab

"In 1797 Ramnagar was finally captured by Ranjit's ministers . . . Ranjit personally took part in the . . . campaign and . . . showed great skill when attacked with a sword by Hashmat Khan, the Chhata leader . . . . After Ranjit's second marriage with a Nakain princess Dewan Lakhpat Rai was sent by Ranjit Singh on a perilous enterprise, in which he was killed. The despatch of the Dewan was the first independent

1. Griffin L.H.: Op. Cit., pp. 78—87.

act of the Prince, and as such marks this personal assumption of power .... Soon afterwards Ranjit Singh gained an opportunity to visit Lahore, while on the way to Sada Kaur's estates; and was entertained in the fort by the Bhangi Sirdars of the place. This was followed by Shah Zaman's second invasion of the Punjab. The Shah penetrated to Lahore. Ranjit Singh was one of the Sirdars who fought in the defence of the Saman Burj. His conduct is said to have impressed the inhabitants of the city. This may account to some extent for the invitation subsequently sent to him by the leading citizens for the occupation of Lahore. Ranjit received the invitation in the summer of 1799, just before he had secured permission from Zaman Shah to govern the capital on behalf of the Afghans. This grant by itself was of little value, for it was unaccompanied by any material assistance. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that it suggested to the young prince the possibility of his occupying the city.

Occupation of Lahore

In this most important undertaking, Ranjit was assisted by Sada Kaur and the Nakai Sirdars ... The capture of the city and the fort proved an easy matter. The defenders scarcely fired a shot. The peculiarly favourable circumstances under which this success was secured may be enumerated as follows :

(*a*) The Bhangi Sirdars were too engrossed in their debaucheries and too jealous of each other to offer a united resistance.

(*b*) The Bhangi Misl as a whole had no uniform plan or policy; and its different strongholds lay in territories which were not contiguous, and were interspersed by Ranjit's possessions ...

(*c*) The Prince had in this undertaking the active support of the leading citizens of Lahore, who opened the city gates to him.

(*d*) The active co-operation of the Kanheyas ... and ... of the Nakais ... was an invaluable material addition to the Prince's resources.

(*e*) The old age and infirmity of Jassa Singh of the Ramgarhia Misl, the inveterate enemy of Ranjit Singh and Sada Kaur, prevented the formation of an alliance against the Sukerchakias.

(*f*) . . . Zaman's grant invested Ranjit's conquest with an appearance of legitimacy.

The conquest of Lahore was an important addition to Ranjit's possessions, and greatly enhanced his political prestige as the holder of the traditional capital of the Punjab. It also meant the destruction of the chief centre of Bhangi influence in the province; although they still possessed strengoholds at Amritsar and Gujrat. Before proceeding further, however, Ranjit assumed the emblems of kingship. He proclaimed himself the Maharaja of Lahore and established a mint of his own. But soon after this his energies were required to dispel a formidable alliance, formed under Bhangi leadership by five of the strongest chieftains[1] of the Central Punjab. For about two months the rival armies lay within sight of each other, at a place called Bhasin, situated half-way between Lahore and Amritsar. But Ranjit's enemies dispersed without a serious battle owing to the death of the leader (Golab Singh Bhangi), and the want of unity among themselves. Thus Ranjit secured an easy triumph.

The defeat of the Bhangi alliance induced the Maharaja to march against the religious capital of the Punjab. In this he was assisted by a new ally, Fateh Singh, the Ahluwalia chief[2]. Ranjit Singh attacked the city in 1802, at the head of an army consisting of the Kanheya, Nakai and Ahluwalia troops in addition to his own; and, after a few days' siege, it surrendered . . . This conquest destroyed another Bhangi stronghold. By it Ranjit Singh secured considerable material of war, including the famous Zam Zama and several other guns, and territory yielding a handsome revenue. Moreover, the religious and commercial importance of the city enhanced the conqueror's prestige.

The other members of the late alliance were also punished one after another. They came, in fact, under that general policy of ruthless aggression and plunder which the Maharaja henceforth followed towards his neighbours. I need not enter into the tedious details of the numerous

1. They were Gulab Singh Bhangi of Amritsar, Sahib Singh Bhangi of Gujrat, Jodh Singh of Wazirabad, Jassa Singh Ramgarhia and Nizamuddin Khan of Kasur.

2. Fateh Singh had exchanged turbans with Ranjit Singh shortly before the conquest of Amritsar, thereby binding himself to an alliance with him.

campaigns which he carried on against rulers of Kasur,[3] Wazirabad,[4] Gujrat,[5] Jhang[6] and various other places . . . as a result of this policy, Ranjit Singh succeeded in absorbing the Central Punjab into a single kingdom before 1809".[7]

Relations with East India Company

"To one friendship the Maharaja remained ever constant, from one alliance he never sought to shake himself free. This was the friendly alliance with the British government, then represented in Hindustan by The East India Company. In the first years of the century, before he had appreciated the power and policy of the English, he was doubtful what line to adopt towards new neighbours, and in December, 1808, had all but decided on war with them. But when his and their position was once defined and assured by the treaty of 1809 by which he renounced for ever all supremacy over the Cis-Sutlej Chiefs, he frankly accepted the duties and responsibilities which the agreement imposed, and for thirty years remained the true and faithful ally of the British Government. He trusted its words with a calculated confidence which was astonishing in so suspicious and unscrupulous a ruler, and which, at the same time, was the highest proof of statesmanship. Nor was his confidence misplaced. The British Government invariably treated Ranjit Singh in a spirit of frankness and friendship; they realized that he was a useful buffer between their unconsolidated provinces and the unknown shadowy power beyond the passes of the North West Frontier, whence so many invading armies had poured down on the plains of Hindustan . . .

In October, 1804, Jaswant Rao Holkar . . . besieged Delhi with a large force, but was repulsed by Colonel Ochterlony and Colonel Burn.

3. The first invasion of Kasur took place soon after the break up of the alliance of 1800 ; the second in 1801; the third in 1802, and the fourth in the same year, but after the death of Nizam-ud-Din Khan and the succession of his brother Kutub-ud-din Khan. During the two latter invasions Ranjit succeeded in exacting tribute. In 1807 he finally annexed the territory, after a brief campaign in which he was supported by Jodh Singh Ramgarhia. The acquisition of Kasur, the mythological rival of Lahore, removed the Pathan colony and increased the popularity of the Maharaja among the Sikhs. (*The invasions against Kasur have been separately dealt with in the next chapter*).

4. Jodh Singh of Wazirabad acknowledged allegiance to the Maharaja in 1802.

5. Gujrat was finally wrested from the Bhangis in 1809. Henceforth, the Bhangis ceased to exist as a political power.

6. Jhang was subjected to successive military raids and incursions, before it was incorporated into the Sikh dominions in 1806.

7. Chopra, Gulshan Lall, The Punjab as a Sovereign State (Lahore) 1928, pp. 11—15.

Two months later . . . the Marathas were utterly routed by Generals Lake and Fraser . . . Holkar, left without an army and after vain attempts to create one south of the Sutlej, went northwards to seek help among the Sikh chieftains . . . Holkar remained at Patiala for some months, but its Maharaja would not risk much to aid him, and the other Cis-Sutlej Chiefs seeing that his cause was hopeless, were equally discreet. At last in October, 1805, Lord Lake having again taken the field . . . Holkar fled to Amritsar and endeavoured to obtain the alliance of Ranjit Singh, who was much inclined to assist him. But he was dissuaded from this step . . . by his advisors Fateh Singh Ahluwalia and the Raja of Jind . . .

A treaty was made with Holkar which restored to him the greater part of the territory which had been wrested from him, and a supplementary agreement, dated the 1st of January, 1806, was made with Ranjit Singh and the Ahluwalia chief. This professed to be a treaty of friendship and amity between the . . . Company and the Sirdars Ranjit and Fateh Singh, by which the latter agreed to cause Jaswant Rao Holkar to at once leave Amritsar and never again to hold connection with him, or aid him with troops, or assist him in any manner whatever. The British Government . . . promised that as long as those chiefs abstained from holding friendly connection with its enemies, or from committing any act of hostility on their own part against it, the British armies would never enter their territories nor would the government form any plans for the seizure or sequestration of their possessions or property.

These treaties, which excluded Holkar from the Punjab, practically secured Ranjit Singh from English interference in his plans of conquest north of the Sutlej . . .

It was at the invitation of his uncle Raja Bhag Singh, of Jind, that Ranjit Singh, on the 26th of July, 1806, crossed the Sutlej with a large force, with the object of settling serious disputes . . . between that chief and the Maharaja of Patiala. The English viewed his approach with some anxiety, and strengthened their garrison at Karnal; but he was too cautious to offend them, and contented himself with seizing the town and district of Ludhiana and Ghumgrana, which he divided among his friends. The Ludhiana family was of ancient descent, Muhammadan Rajputs, and it was represented by two widow ladies, whom Ranjit Singh plundered of all their possession without remorse.

The next year, about the same time, he returned to Patiala . . . and effected a settlement between the Raja Sahib Singh and his wife, the famous Rani Aus Kaur, much to the advantage of the latter, who had bribed him highest. On this occasion he seized on his return march many estates, Naraingarh, Wadni, Morinda, Zira and others, chiefly in the Firozpur district, and distributed them among his adherents.

The Cis-Sutlej-Chiefs now perceived that by inviting Maharaja Ranjit Singh to intervene in their disputes they had, . . . created a monster whom they could in no way control. So in March, 1808, the Raja of Jind, the Bhai of Kaithal, Lala Singh, a very influential chief, with the agent of Raja Sahib singh of Patiala visited Delhi to ascertain from Mr. Saton, the Resident, if the British government were prepared to extend to them their protection. This the British government desired to do, but were uncertain how best to act. They wished to limit the ambition of the Maharaja to the north of the Sutlej . But . . . they were afraid of thwarting him so abruptly as to cause a rupture of friendly relations and throw him into the arms of France . . .

The Maharaja was quite astute enough to realize the embarrassments of the English, but was not in a position to profit by them. He felt himself anything but secure. The English were irritated by his invasion of Cis-Sutlej territory; the Afghans were always ready to strike from the north; the Sikh barons of the Punjab proper were restive and suspicious; those whom he had subdued, eager for revenge; those whom he had not yet attacked, fearful of his treachery or violence. At the same time, his project of bringing all the Cis-Sutlej States under his rule and forming a kingdom which should include all the children of the Khalsa, was ever present with him, and he had reasonable hope of its accomplishment. His three Cis-Sutlej expeditions had shown him how weak were the Phulkian Rajas and Malwa chiefs, so torn by petty feuds as to be incapable of uniting against him; while the English government had, hitherto, made no direct remonstrance, and had even given the chiefs who sought its protection at Delhi an evasive answer. The announcement of the approach of the English envoy who left Karnal in the middle of August, caused Ranjit some uneasiness but he determined to strengthen his position before the negotiations should commence and formed an army at Kasur preparatory to a new invasion of the Cis-Sutlej. Here Mr. Metcalfe arrived on the 11th of September, having visited Patiala

enroute, where the Raja again begged for protection and vainly tried to induce him to take the keys of the city, to be restored to him on behalf of the British government.

Mr. Metcalfe lost no time in placing before the Maharaja the proposal which he was instructed to make of an alliance, offensive and defensive, against France, in the event of an invasion which both the government and the Lahore State were equally interested in repelling. The Maharaja cordially assented to the proposal, but required in return the acknowledgement of his sovereignty over all the Sikh states and people. This claim Mr. Metcalfe had no authority to concede . . . Ranjit Singh struck his camp and crossed the Sutlej, wither the envoy however displeased at the discourtesy shown him, had no option but to follow. From Khai to Faridkot, which was captured; from Faridkot to Maler Kotla, where a heavy tribute was demanded, Mr. Metcalfe accompanied the Maharaja's camp, and it was only when the latter proposed to march to Ambala, in the very heart of the States seeking British protection, that the Envoy withdrew to Fatehabad. He had submitted a draft treaty to the Maharaja which was only concerned with the alliance against France; while that which Ranjit Singh proposed in return asked not only for a firm alliance with England, but that no interference should be allowed in his disputes with Kabul, and that his sole and undisputed sovereignty over the whole Sikh country, north and south of the Sutlej, should be acknowledged.

The policy of the Maharaja was skilful, and bold and deserved that success which it would probably have achieved, had the danger of a French invasion been a real and not an imaginary one. He cared nothing for France, and felt that Napoleon was not his enemy but that of the English government. If the English desired him to join them against France, they must be prepared to pay. So he pressed his claims on the Envoy and the Governor-General with insistance; he seized everything of Cis-Sutlej territory that he could while the negotiations were pending, in order that at their close, whatever the result, he might be left in possession of what he had actually conquerred; and he cleverly kept the Envoy in his camp to weaken the resistance of the chiefs and to obtain some sort of official sanction for his enterprise.

After Mr. Metcalfe had left the camp, the Maharaja continued his career of conquest; he seized Shahabad and Ambala, and would have

despoiled Patiala, but he knew that this would cause a breach with the English; so he contented himself with summoning the frightened Raja Sahib Singh to his camp, where he exchanged turbans with him and swore eternal friendship. He then returned to Amritsar, where he was rejoined by our Envoy on the 10 December.

Instructions had now been received from Calcutta. The impossibility of a French invasion was beginning to be realised, and a treaty with Ranjit Singh against so chimerical a danger was understood to be worthless, or, at any rate, not worth the concession of the authority of so strong and unscrupulous a ruler being extended over States which detested him and which had eagerly claimed British protection. The Maharaja was accordingly informed that the Governor-General had learnt with great surprise and concern of his pretensions south of the Sutlej, and was still more astonished to find that he sought the assistance of the British government in his designs. He was told that the government was the successor of the Marathas, whom they had defeated, and that during that contest the Maharaja had himself suggested the Sutlej as a boundary. Since that time the Government had relieved the Cis-Sutlej chiefs from all tribute and would not allow them to be subjugated but took them absolutely under its protection. It was further intimated that the Maharaja's conduct to the Envoy had been discourteous and contrary to etiquette in invading Cis-Sutlej territory while a reference was being made to the Governor-General, and a demand was made that all the territories seized south of the Sutlej since the first reference of the question to the British government should be restored and the Sikh army withdrawn to the north of the river.

The Maharaja vainly tried to evade compliance with these terms, of which he bitterly complained. The Envoy, he said, had been sent to conclude a treaty against France and cement a lasting friendship with him, but the treaty had been altogether forgotten, and the only friendship shown was to thwart his most cherished policy. His disgust was such that he prepared for war. Troops and ammunition were collected from all quarters; the new fort of Govindgarh at Amritsar was armed and provisioned for a siege, and General Mohkam Chand was recalled from Kangra and marched to Philaur on the Sutlej, opposite the town of Ludhiana, where he encamped. To this hostile move-

ment the Government replied by sending a British force to Ludhiana under Colonel Ochterlony, who, passing Patiala and Nabha, was received with many demonstrations of satisfaction and regard. The negotiations at Lahore meanwhile progressed slowly. The Envoy was persuaded that the Maharaja, who talked of joining his army on the Sutlej, had determined on war, and he advised the Commander-in-Chief to invade the Punjab as the best way of terminating a situation which was becoming intolerable. But wiser counsels at last prevailed with the Maharaja, who saw that further resistance was hopeless, and on the 2nd April, 1809, he evacuated Faridkot and withdrew his Ambala garrison to the north of the Sutlej. No further difficulties were raised to the conclusion of the treaty, which was signed on the 25th April, and ratified by the Governor-General on the 30th May following. By it the British Government agreed to abstain from any interference with the territories and subjects of the Maharaja north of the Sutlej, while he agreed to respect the territories of the chiefs south of the river, who, in a supplementary proclamation, were assured of British protection, without interference in their rights and authority and without payment of tribute, subject to certain obligations of aid and assistance against any common enemy.

The history of the Cis-Sutlej states from this time until the first Sikh War was distinct from that of Lahore. The Maharaja honourably observed his engagements, and, recognizing that the power of the English was invincible, he, frankly and for ever, abandoned his dream of Cis-Sutlej supremacy and turned his attention to the expulsion of the Afghans from the northern districts of the provinces, and the reduction of Multan, Kashmir and the Derajat. Whether he was serious in preparing for war in the early part of 1809 is doubtful. Mr. Metcalfe certainly believed him to be so; but at that time the great sagacity and shrewdness of the Maharaja were only imperfectly known, and it is more probable that he was only playing a game of brag to the last, in the hope that the British Government might withdraw a portion of their demands. In this he was partially successful, for he was only compelled to restore the Cis-Sutlej districts seized during his last campaign. Those of former years which he had retained or given to his Sirdaras were left to him, though he was not permitted to claim allegiance from the Cis-Sutlej chiefs even for lands which he himself had given them."[1]

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1. Griffin, Lepel H. Op. cit., pp. 167—181.

"Historically the treaty of 1809 has a greater interest on account of its latent rather than its immediate effects. Its ultimate effect on the stability of the kingdom of Lahore was very unfavourable. It gave to the English an amount of influence and a degree of control over the relations of Ranjit Singh with the neighbouring states, such as Sindh, Bahawalpur and Afghanistan, which they otherwise could not have acquired. This fact, as we shall see later on, brought the two powers to the brink of war in 1836. Lastly, the close contact between the boundaries of two states, the rulers of which were imbued with different ideas of political and territorial integrity was likely to lead to war. This is clear from the difficulty of reconciling the commercial pursuits of the English with the military ambitions of the ruler of the Punjab.

The Cis-Sutlej settlement, brought about as it was by a military demonstration, left behind it a legacy of suspicion and distrust which continued for several years. Each side entertained imaginary apprehensions, proof of which was constantly sought in the other's military or diplomatic activities. The political correspondence of the Company's Agents during the three years following the agreement are full of exaggerated reports of the hostile intentions of the Sikh ruler. The latter too was not without his fears, which revealed themselves in his efforts to construct forts and strengthen outposts on the Sutlej frontier. By degrees however this mutual distrust was partly removed. In 1812, Ranjit Singh invited Ochterloney, the English agent at Ludhiana, to Lahore, to attend the marriage of his son, Prince Kharak Singh. The invitation was accepted and the English Agent was received in a cordial manner. The conversations that took place during the visit re-assured both parties regarding the situation . . .

In 1822 a fresh crisis arose between the two governments over a place called Wadhni . . . situated to the south of the river Sutlej. It had been transferred by Ranjit Singh to his mother-in-law, Sada Kaur, in 1808. Sada Kaur was treated by the English Agents at Ludhiana and Ambala as an independent head of the Kanheya Misl, and they now wanted to protect her possessions on the left bank of the river. The occasion for this arose from a quarrel with her son-in-law. She was imprisoned by the Prince, whose troops occupied the fort of Wadhni. On this, the Agent at Ludhiana ordered an English detachment to eject the Sikhs. This was done. Ranjit prudently avoided a collision; but, growing

paprehensive of his neighbour's policy, he began defensive preparations within his own territory, as well as presenting matters to the Governor-General. The latter recognized the Agent's mistake and receded from the position which had been taken up.

. . . In 1825-26 new complications threatened to arise between Ranjit Singh and the Company, owing to the flight of Fateh Singh Ahluwalia and Kutub-ud-din Khan of Kasur across the Sutlej; but they soon afterwards returned to the Punjab and the excitement subsided. The attitude of the English in this affair was entirely reasonable.

Towards the end of 1826 Ranjit Singh was attacked by sickness, and he sought the aid of Dr. Murray, an English army surgeon at Ludhiana. The latter stayed with Ranjit for eight months and closely studied the political and military situation in the Punjab. His frequent interviews with the Maharaja and his Sirdars enabled him to collect an extremely useful fund of informations, which he regularly supplied to the authorities at Ludhiana and Delhi. At the same time, Lord Amherst, the new Governor-General, visited the northern provinces and excited both the fear and curiosity of the Sikh ruler. On his arrival in Simla, the Maharaja thought of arranging an interview with him, and expressed his ideas on the point to Dr. Murray several times, but owing to the indisposition of Ranjit, the meeting never took place. Ranjit however sent instead a complimentary mission, composed of Dewan Moti Ram and Faqir Imam-ud-din, to Simla to wait upon the Governor-General, who returned the compliment by sending Captains Wade and Pearson and Surgeon Gerard. They visited the Punjab in the middle of 1827 and were accorded a hearty welcome by its ruler. In 1827-28 a new dispute arose about the Maharaja's claims over Chamkaur, Anandpur, Makhowal, and Ferozpur ; but this was soon afterwards settled to the satisfaction of both parties.[1]

. . . In 1831 Lord William Bentinck arrived in Simla and received a complimentary mission from Ranjit Singh. Its members were Sirdar Hari Singh Nalwa, Dewan Moti Ram and Faqir Aziz-ud-din. Captain Wade was in turn deputed to the Sikh ruler with a letter of thanks, and secret instructions to ascertain if Ranjit wished and was prepared to

1. Ranjit's claim to the possession of the places other than Ferozepur was recognised by the English.

propose a meeting with the Governor-General . . . Soon after this Lieut. (afterwards Sir Alexander) Burnes arrived with horses from England, which were presented to Ranjit Singh on behalf of King William IV . . .

One object of sending King William's presents to the Maharaja by water was to ascertain quietly the commercial value of the Indus; and Burnes' observations convinced the Governor-General of its superiority over the Ganges and the Jamna . . .

Soon after the meeting at Ropar, Lord William Bentinck deputed Captain Wade to the court of Lahore, to explain the object of Colonel Pottinger's mission to Sindh, to propose a free navigation of the Sutlej in continuation of that of the Indus, and to convince the Sikh ruler that the objects of the Company's government were merely commercial.[1] The Maharaja was on the other hand already feeling his way towards Sindh, and had expelled Bahawal Khan from his territories on the right bank of the Sutlej. He was now maturing plans to seize Shikarpur. Consequently it was with the greatest hesitation and reluctance that he yielded to the suggestions of Captain Wade[2]. . . .

Fear of Russian designs had existed in the mind of the English for some years and in 1832 had been discussed between Captain Wade and Ranjit Singh. But the danger was not regarded as sufficiently near to require any change in the relations of the Company's government with the powers beyond the Indus. It is needless for our purpose to discuss the validity or unwisdom of the fears which were revived in English circles in 1836 by the attack on Herat by Persia under the influence of Russia.[3] It may, however, be stated that henceforth two considerations began to influence English policy. The first . . . was commercial; and the second was political. The effect was seen in the decision of the new Governor

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1. See Governor-General to Captain Wade, 18th December, 1831. This consideration, however, was kept studiously in the background, and purely commercial motives were advanced.

2. Ranjit agreed to the common use of the Sutlej and the Indus, and to the residence of a British officer at Mithankot to superintend the navigation. He also temporarily gave up his intentions against Shikarpur, but not without telling Captain Wade plainly that the commercial measures of the English hindered the attainment of his military ambitions. See Captain Wade to the Governor-General, 13th February, 1832.

3. Ranjit suspected the English after 1832 of entertaining deeper designs against Sindh than the establishment of commercial relations only. In one of his conversations with Captain Wade he asked the number of battalions which Colonel Pottinger had taken to Sindh to conclude the convention of 1832 with the Amirs.

General, Lord Auckland, to mediate between Dost Mohammad and Ranjit Singh,[1] and thus to prepare for a threefold alliance against the possible Russian menace. This was in 1837. Burnes, who was already at Kabul on a commercial mission, was now invested with diplomatic authority Captain Wade was at Lahore, and was instructed to sound the Sikh ruler. . . . In the end the Amir veered round to the Russians and the Persians; and the English envoy returned as a diplomatic failure.

It was now decided to help Shah Shuja to recover the throne of Afghanistan. The scheme of a joint military enterprise, which had been repeatedly put forth by the Shah but had been hitherto ignored by the English, was decided upon by the Governor-General. Ranjit was to be a party to the enterprise. ' He was informed of the English project in May, 1838, by Sir William Macnaughten who went to Lahore for that purpose. Ranjit did not show any liking for the scheme, and seemed to distrust the active co-operation of the English. In fact the change of attitude of the Governor-General towards the ex-king had occurred so suddenly[2] that it naturally aroused the suspicion of the Sikh rulers, who saw in this bold plan and in the readiness of the English to carry it out, the traces of an intention to establish their influence in Afghanistan. Hence he wanted to avoid furthering a measure which threatened to surround him with English influence. In the reality of the Russian menace the ruler of the Punjab showed little interest. His attitude towards that vexed question was as indifferent as it had been to the Napoleonic scare some thirty years before. He suddenly broke up his camp at Adinanagar as he had done in 1808 at Kasur; leaving the English Envoy to act as he thought fit. It was not till he had been expressly informed that the expedition would be undertaken whether he joined it or not, that he consented to the conclusion of the Tripartite treaty, which was but a slight modification of his own terms of 1834. The minor points were settled between Ranjit Singh and Lord Auckland during the latter's visit to the Punjab at the end of 1838. The campaign was opened by an advance from two directions; one through Sindh and the other through the Punjab. The

1. Until 22nd August, 1836, the English refused to interfere in Sikh-Afghan disputes. See the abstract of a letter of that date, addressed by Macnaughten to Wade; *vide* Punjab Press List, vol. VI, p. 194.

2. Until 20th January, 1838, there was no intention in the mind of the Governor-General to support Shah Shuja. See Government to Captain Wade, 20th January, 1838, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations.

auxiliary Sikh force was reluctantly assembled at Peshawar under Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh."[1]*

Policy towards the N.W. Frontier

". . . Throughout the history of India, the problem of the protection of this frontier, and its proper administration, has already been a headache to the Indian rulers. And Ranjit Singh could be no exception. According to one view, Ranjit Singh had a powerful ambition to annex Afghanistan to his authority . . . thus avenging upon the Afghans for their invasions . . . in India. And the very fact that he joined in the Tripartite Treaty, proves this assertion. But this does not seem to be correct.

There is no doubt that for some time, Hari Singh Nalwa had been advising Ranjit Singh for a forward policy and that his French officers too were anxious to try their hands in Afghanistan, as Ranjit Singh himself once told Wade: "The French officers tell me that if I place ten regular battalions, two or three regiments of cavalry, and a few pieces of artillery at their disposal they will engage to conquer Kabul and subdue the whole of Afghanistan to my authority". Yet, Ranjit Singh never seems to have entertained the idea very seriously, despite the prevailing chaotic conditions in that country, for a long time from the death of Azim Khan to be accession of Dost Muhammad. And several considerations weighed with him in this connection. Firstly, the local climatic, territorial and geographical conditions, to which neither he nor his Sirdars and soldiers had ever been used . . . Secondly, he did not feel himself to be strong enough for the purpose, which should have definitely aroused the jealousy of the British in India. Thirdly, Russia too should not have viewed Ranjit Singh's increasing influence on this side with friendly eyes, nor was Ranjit Singh himself willing very much to bring his frontiers closer to those of Russia in any way. And fourthly, there were powerful frontier tribes who could never have been tamed, and without which, his occupation of Afghanistan should have spelled a disaster for him.

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1. The Sikhs were very unwilling to co-operate with the English of whom they were extremely jealous. The author of the Ibrat Nama says that a few Sikh regiments actually refused to act, objecting to their position as auxiliaries of the Company's forces (pp. 278—280).

* Chopra, Gulshan Lall, op. cit., pp. 65—76.

He, therefore, . . . contended himself with the conquests in these regions, such as those of Bannu, Kohat, Tonk, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan and Peshawar. But there again he preferred rather to rule through the local Mohammadan Chiefs in return for tributes than annex the territories directly to his authority . . . Till the year 1834, he continued appointing locally important Mohammadan chiefs as its governors, *i.e.* of Peshawar. Only when he was fully satisfied with the possibility of annexing and keeping it within his control, that in that year he sent a strong expedition and annexed the territory .

His policy towards the border tribes . . . could be termed as a 'tip and run' policy . . . It meant keeping these tribes in awe by sending occasional and powerful expeditions, but never attempting to bring them under regular governmental control. He built several forts in this area, which besides helping in defence against Afghanistan, and in the collection of tributes etc. were calculated to keep these tribes down. Such forts were, for instance, built at Nara, Daram, Maru and Satana. Forts at Machin and Sikham, were built to fortify Peshawar. Forts also existed at Khairabad, Jahangira, Shahkadur and Attock, and they were also built at Manshera, Nawasahr and Haripur. Besides, Ranjit Singh organised powerful movable columns, which helped keeping tribal people down.

Still, however, Ranjit Singh does not seem to have been successful in maintaining perfect peace in this country. In several clashes with these tribes, some of the most important Sikh generals and officers such as Amar Singh Kalan, Diwan Ram Dyal and Attar Singh had to lay down their lives. Syed Ahmad of Peshawar too was assisted by most of these tribes to create serious troubles on the Maharaja's frontiers. Such troubles, however, rarely resulted in an ultimate loss of territory to the Maharaja".[1]

1. Chhabra, G. S. op. cit., pp. 70—72.

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1. Chhabra, G. S. op. cit., p. [illegible]

CHAPTER II

Ranjit Singh's opposition and invasions against Muslim Principalities.*

Kasur

"In 1800 the Maharaja . . . proceeded against Nizam-ud-din Khan of Kasur, who had entered into an alliance with Sahib Singh Bhangi, but his attempts to reduce the Pathan chief to subjection were unsuccessful, and he returned to Lahore, though not before he had burnt and pillaged the suburbs . . ."[1].

"In 1801 Nizam-uddin Khan against whom an expedition had been sent under Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, was compelled to submit to the terms proposed to him. He repented of his rashness, and, acknowledging himself a feudatory of the Lahore ruler, sent his brother Kutb-ud-din Khan, to pay his respects to the Maharaja. The Pathan chief further bound himself to furnish a quota of troops under his brother, to follow the sovereign of Lahore, and, as security for carrying out these stipulations, two Pathan chiefs, Haji Khan and Wasal Khan, were sent to Lahore as hostages...[2]"

"The Maharaja had scarcely returned from Chiniot, when intelligence reached him of a fresh disturbance raised by Nizam-ud-din Khan. . . . He collected a large force of the Afghans and pillaged two villages within the boundary of the Lahore territory, and was preparing to do further mischief. The Maharaja, much enraged, wrote (in 1802) to Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, to repair to Kasur with all haste, bringing with him as many troops as he could collect . . . Ranjit Singh himself followed at the head of his chosen troops. The Pathan, who was well prepared, met the confederate army of the Sikhs, and a severe battle was the result....

*Material for this Chapter has been taken from :
Latif, Syed Muhammad, History of the Punjab, Lahore, 1891.
1. Latif, Syed Muhammad: op. cit., p. 353.
2. *Ibid*, p. 354.

The Pathans, finding themselves unable to cope with the enemy in the open field, retired to the fort. After great slaughter on both sides, the fort was taken, and the remnants of the garrison were put to the sword . . . The city was completely plundered, and a large number of the inhabitants, consisting of men, women and children,were made prisoners of war. Nizam-ud-din Khan, seeing that his cause was helpless, prisoners himself before the victor . . . (he) was, (however) reinstated, on promise of future submission, and payment of a large nazrana, together with the expenses of the war"[1]. . . .

"On his return from the Ganges, news reached him of the assassination, in a domestic feud, of Nizam-uddin Khan, of Kasur, by his brother-in-law Wasal Khan, Haji Khan and Najib .. The cause of the quarrel was the resumption of the jagirs of the murderers by Nizam-ud-din Khan. The occasion appeared to favour the designs of Ranjit Singh, who, with a large force of confederated Sikhs, marched (in 1802) against the new chief, Kutb-ud-din, . . . Kutb-ud-din was thoroughly prepared for Ranjit Singh's advance, and boldly resisted it. He fortified the whole of his strongholds, stationed his Afghan troops in ambush about the country, and did everythting in his power to frustrate the Maharaja's designs, and in this he succeeded so far that, for several months, the invaders gained no advantage over the besieged. Ranjit now had recourse to his old plan of trying to persuade the Afghans that all was for their benefit, and that it would be to their advantage to surrender. This ruse having failed, he determined to cut off their supplies, by which means he ultimately succeeded in gaining the day. Famine caused many deaths among the besieged, and eventually forced them to capitulate. As the Maharaja had no desire to protract the siege, he readily consented to receive a war indemnity from Kutb-ud-din Khan, as the penalty of his rebellion, and retired from the country . . ."[2]

"Kutb-ud-din Khan, of Kasur, . . . had again become troublesome. The Maharaja, by removing such a thorn in his side as Kutb-ud-din Khan, from his vicinity, was anxious to strengthen his own position . . . The acquisition of the mythological rival of Lahore from its Mahomedan owners, and the subjugation of the Pathan colonists would tend materially to the advancement of his own prestige and popularity amongst

1. *Ibid*, p. 357.
2. *Ibid*, p. 358.

the Khalsa. A formidable expedition was organised, headed by himself and Jodh Singh, the son of . . . Jassa Singh Ramgarhia . . . The territory was invaded in February, 1807. . . . The invader invested the town cutting off all communications from without. The siege lasted for a month, by which time the besieged had consumed all their store of provisions . . . The Sikhs laid waste the whole territory with more than their ordinary vengeance, and their artillery levelled to the ground a great portion of the city walls. The city, being thus reduced, was given up to plunder . . . Much barbarity was shown by the Sikhs towards the tender sex, many of whom committed suicide by strangling or throwing themselves into wells . . . Hundreds of women and children were carried away as slaves, and numerous helpless people were deprived even of their wearing apparel . . . Kutb-ud-din shut himself up in the fortress of Kasur. But internal seditions and broils completed the ruin of his family, and, at the end of March, he was compelled to surrender, and retire to his territory of Mamdot, on the opposite bank of the Sutlej, holding it in jagir, subject to his supplying 100 horsemen for service when required . . . To Fatteh Din Khan, nephew of the chief, and son of Nizam-ud-din Khan, Ranjit Singh gave a jahgir at Marup, in the Gurgaon district, subject to the same military conditions as were imposed upon his uncle. Kasur with the whole of the country adjoining it, lapsed to the kingdom of Lahore . . .

. . . The property of Kutb-ud-din Khan in particular, which fell into the hands of the Maharaja, consisting of jewels, rich stuffs and fabrics, shawls, horses and camels, is said to have been enormous; while thousands of Qurans and Arabic and Persian books, plundered by the Sikhs, were sold at very cheap rates in the bazars of Lahore"[1].

Multan

". . . Maharaja set out for Multan at the head of his army (in 1802 after the fourth invasion of Kasur). The chiefs and other dignitaries of his court endeavoured to dissuade him . . . representing that the troops were weary and exhausted with their recent exertions, and that they could not be expected to resume the arduous duties of war for some time. Ranjit Singh regarded these counsels as effiminate and untimely, and consequently rejected them. His sole idea was the prize upon which he

1. *Ibid*, pp. 366-67.

had set his mind. Multan was rich, and Multan he must have at any cost . . . When the troops entered the nawab's dominions, Muzaffar Khan sent his confidential agents to the Sikh chief to induce him to withdraw on receipt of a nazrana and promise of future submission. The nawab met Ranjit Singh thirty miles from the city. The Maharaja received him with honour and, having exacted a large tribute from him, retracted his steps to Lahore[1] . . ."[2]

"Ranjit's next expedition was into the districts which had been conquered by Ahmad Shah in Hindostan . . . Ranjit made a good impression on the Durrani governors of districts, and they, for the most part, elected to make their submission to him. He then led his army into the Mahomedan country between the Chinab and the Indus, and the Nawab of Jhang was again pressed to settle an annual tribute, which was now raised to 1,20,000 rupees. A fresh attack on Multan was resolved upon(in 1805); but when the Maharaja's advance guards had reached Mohatma, a village 20 miles north of Multan the Nawab, who had no wish to fight with the Sikhs, paid 70,000 rupees as ransom to Ranjit Singh, who then departed, after having bestowed a valuable khilat on the nawab . . ."[3]

"Ranjit Singh next (after the conquest of Kasur in 1807) proceeded to Dipalpur, the fort of which he invested and reduced . . . At Dipalpur, he received nazrana from the neighbouring chiefs and sardars, and he then marched to Multan, an expedition undertaken at the instigation of Abdul Samad Khan, the Baddozai chief, who had . . at one time been appointed Governor of Multan by Shah Zaman, but was at last defeated by Muzaffar Khan and dispossessed of his fort and jagirs . . The cause of the expedition was stated to be that the Nawab, after concluding his treaty in 1802, renewed in 1805-6, by which he acknowledged his submission to the Maharaja, had given protection to his enemy, Ahmad Khan, the Sial of Jhang, providing him with men and money, and thereby

1. Rai Kanhia Lal, in his History of the Panjab writes a long account here of a battle having been fought between the troops of Muzaffar Khan and those of Ranjit Singh, in which the latter was victorious. He represents that the Sikhs entered the city, and indiscriminately plundered the inhabitants, but the nawab at length sued for peace, and his request was granted. I have been unable to corroborate this account from contemporary historians. All that really occurred has been given above. See Dewan Amar Nath's History of Lahore (manuscript edition), and compare it with Mc Gregor, page 158, and Panjab Chiefs, page 483.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 358-359.

3. *Ibid*, 362.

enabling him to recover a considerable portion of his territories, and, secondly, he was suspected of intriguing with Kutb-ud-din Khan, of Kasur. On his way, he occupied and garrisoned various dependencies of the Multan Government, and in April he laid siege to Multan itself. The walled town was captured, but the citadel, into which the principal inhabitants had retired, with their valuables, offered a stubborn resistance. Ranjit Singh, who was unprovided with the means of carrying on a difficult and protracted siege, was glad to accept the payment of .. a tribute, of Rs. 70,000 .. and retired with credit. ."[1]

(Invasion of Sahiwal)

In 1803 Shah Shuja's forces had tried to occupy Multan, but had been repulsed by Nawab Muzaffar Khan. The Nawab wanted to re-establish his friendly relations with the ex-Afghan king, but had not been successful as Shah Shuja wanted his territories for his own use. Ranjit Singh, during his first interview with Shah Shuja assured him of his help in recovering his lost provinces of Multan and Kashmir. Shah Shuja did not trust the Sikh ruler fully and no sooner had he recrossed Attock, leaving Ranjit Singh to settle his affairs with the Musalman chiefs, east of that river, than he made preparations for a descent on Multan. The affairs of the recently-subdued district of Sahiwal, however, preluded him for a short time from prosecuting his plans against Multan. The revenues of Sahiwal now amounted to Rs. 1,50,000, and Fatteh Khan, its chief had, in 1804, agreed to give Ranjit Singh 25 horses and 25 camels annually, as tribute. This tribute had, in January, 1809, been commuted for an annual payment of the sum of Rs. 12,000 and the chief having recently failed to remit the tribute punctually, Ranjit Singh found a pretext in this act of default for invading his territory, and accordingly marched to Sahiwal, at the head of his troops, in the spring of 1810, and summoned the chief to his presence.

(Capture of Sahiwal and Khushab)

The Biluch chief, suspecting treachery, sent his minor son, Lal Khan, with rich presents to the Maharaja who received the boy with great cordiality and withdrew, apparently satisfied. Thence the Maharaja

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1. *Ibid*, p. 367-68.

proceeded to Khushab, which place was now finally reduced after a siege of several days, the chief Zafar Khan, being expelled. Having thus lulled the suspicions of Fatteh Khan, who thought himself secure, Ranjit Singh at once returned to Sahiwal by night, when he immediately assaulted and captured the fort, having succeeded in completely taking its defenders by surprise. Fatteh Khan was put in chains and sent to Lahore with his family, his castle at Kachi, and all his estates being confiscated to the State. In the same month of February, an army was sent against Uch. the residence of the Sayads of Gilan and Bokhara, whose religious sanctity, however, saved them from ruin, the Sayads waiting on the Maharaja, with a present of horses, and engaging to pay tribute.

After these transactions, the Maharaja hastened on his long contemplated expedition to Multan, and called upon Muzaffar Khan to surrender it to him in the name of the Kabul king, to whom the governor was bound. The Nawab sent his agents with an humble message and promising to pay the stipulated subsidy, within a reasonable time, but, as the Maharaja was determined upon annexing this fertile province, no excuses were listened to, and, in a short time, the whole Sikh army was encamped before Multan, after having ravaged the surrounding country by the way. The nawab made his preparations for defence, and provided the fort with an abundance of water, provisions and supplies. The Sikh army, which had reached Multan on the 24th of February, took possession of the city on the following day. The appearance of the Sikh army at Multan and their occupation of the town, spread alarm throughout the neighbouring country; Muhammad Khan, the chief of Leia and Bhakkar, bought off the invader by the payment of Rs. 1,20,000 as a ransom for his State, and the chief of Bahawalpur, Sadiq Muhammad Khan, though a friend of Muzaffar Khan, offered a lakh as tribute, but, as the Maharaja wanted more substantial aid, the offer was not accepted. The Bahawalpur chief was, at last,compelled to furnish a contingent of 500 cavalry for service in the impending Multan campaign.

The citadel of Multan was now closely besieged by the Sikh army but the Pathans offered a stout resistance....A heavy bombardment was kept up for several days, but without any effect....Recourse was at length had to mining; but the besieged successfully countermined. Ranjit

Singh . . . personally reconnoitred the enemy's position, examined his posts and fixed his own, marking out the spots for the batteries, and assigning lines of approach to the different chiefs, whose sense of duty to their countrymen was appealed to, with vehemence . . . Some little impression that was made on the ramparts of the citadel by the Sikh artillery had the effect only of redoubling the zeal of the besieged, who, in countermining, blew up the battery of Sardar Atar Singh Dhari, close to the fort, killing the sardar and twelve others, and severely wounding many more . . . The siege lasted for two months, during which the Sikh army was greatly reduced, and its best soldiers and generals killed or incapacitated . . .

Nor did the Sikh army meet with better success in other quarters. Dewan Mohkam Chand, who had been sent to reduce Shuja Abad, found the fort impregnable. A general assault was made, on the 21st of March, but the Sikh army was repulsed with considerable loss . . . Another general attack was made on the 25th, but with no better result.

These protracted military operations now caused a scarcity of provisions in the Sikh camp both in Multan and Shuja Abad, and the Maharaja, seeing his case to be hopeless, retired on the 19th of April, being forced to acknowledge himself completely foiled in his attempt . . . finding himself compelled to accept now, the very terms which he had on so many previous occasions rejected with scorn, namely, a tribute of two and a half-lakhs of rupees, twenty chargers and a contingent in time of war . . . Rs. 30,000 was paid in advance, while Abu Bakr Khan, brother-in-law of Muzaffar Khan, was delivered up as a hostage for the payment of the balance . . .

. . . The Multan Governor, Muzaffar Khan, in the meantime, opened a correspondence with the British Governor-General in Calcutta, and the Maharaja did the same with Colonel Sir David Ochterlony at Ludhiana, proposing joint action against Multan, but both the chiefs were left to themselves, and told to settle their affairs as best they could. . ."[1]

"When the expedition against Bhimbar, under Prince Kharak Singh, was undertaken, two more expeditions were organised (1812), one under Dal Singh for the levy of arrears of tribute from Muzaffar Khan, Nawab

1. *Ibid*, pp. 385—87.

of Multan, and the other under Desa Singh Majithia, for the renewal of operations against the hill chiefs near Kangra, who had had shown an inclination to re-assert their independence. Dal Singh entered the district of Mitha and Tiwana, in the Shahpur district, and Uch. in Bahawalpur, and having exacted tribute from the chiefs of those places, appeared before Multan. The balance of tribute due was Rs. 50,000, for which Abu Bakr Khan was kept as a hostage in Dal Singh's camp . . . the sum, due to the Sikh chief as paid by Muzaffar Khan, and Abu Bakr Khan was set at liberty. Dal Singh then made an attack on Kot Kamalia, which he subdued, and returned to Lahore . . ."[1]

"The Maharaja, being joined by Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, moved in the direction of Multan and Bahawalpur, at the head of his troops, collecting tribute and exacting nazranas from the zemindars on the way. At Pakpattan, Dewan Sheikh Muhammad Yar, the Sajjada Nishin of the great mausoleum of that place, presented the Maharaja with a fine horse and a sword set with jewels. The district was at first placed in charge of Jamadar Khushal Singh; but out of consideration for the sanctity of the saint, whose remains are deposited there, it was restored to the Sajjada Nishin, on condition of his agreeing to pay a tribute of Rs. 9,000 per annum. Sube Rae and Kishan Das, vakils of the Nawab of Bahawalpur, having then visited the Maharaja, a fresh agreement was executed by the nawab to pay a nazrana of Rs. 80,000, and an annual tribute of Rs. 70,000. The Maharaja, marching by easy stages, next reached Harappa, where he was joined by Daya Singh, Qutb-ud-Din Khan Kasuria, and Missar Dewan Chand, who were returning with their advanced division from Bahawalpur, after the new agreement made with the nawab. The Maharaja ordered them to Tolamba, where he himself arrived on the 15th Chet, 1873, Samvat.

Here Sayad Muhsin Shah, vakil of Muzaffar Khan, Nawab of Multan, brought presents . . . for the Maharaja, who demanded a lakh and twenty thousand rupees as nazrana. The agent asked for time to pay the subsidy, offering to pay Rs. 40,000 in cash and the balance after two months, but the Sikh ruler, becoming impatient laid siege to Ahmadabad, which was reduced without difficulty . . . Then, crossing the Chinab at Trimu Ghat, the Maharaja encamped at Salar

1. *Ibid*, p. 393.

Wahan with his troops. An advanced column of Sikhs reached Multan to enforce payment of the tribute; and Phula Singh Akali, intoxicated with bhang, suddenly stormed the town, at the head of a band of fanatics, with such impetuosity that the storming party gained possession of the outworks of the citadel. The nawab, seeing that the Sikh ruler was determined to proceed to extremes if the subsidy was not soon paid, remitted Rs. 80,000 through Dewan Bhawani Das, and promised, in a short time, to pay the balance of Rs. 40,000. The cupidity of the Lahore ruler being thus satisfied, he marched on to Mankera . . . The Maharaja made a demand of Rs. 1,25,000, while the nawab offered only 20,000. The Maharaja considering himself affronted, ordered the Mankera country to be the devastated with fire and sword. The forts of Mahmud Kot, Khangarh and Muhammadpur, were closely besieged and subjected to a heavy cannonade. Phula Singh, the notorious Akali fanatic, committed the grossest atrocities on the Mussalman population, and the garrisons, on coming out of the blockaded forts, were subjected to insults of a revolting description, notwithstanding the solemn pledges given that they would be secure from maltreatment. At length, Rai Pindi Das, having arranged to pay fifty thousand rupees in cash through Jamadar Khushal Singh, and the heat of the weather being severely felt, the Sikh forces withdrew, leaving Sher Muhammad Khan to govern the country.

(Annexation of Jhang)

The Maharaja now proceeded to Jhang, where Ahmad Khan, the Sial chief, was summoned to his presence, and called upon to pay forthwith a large nazrana. He pleaded his inability to do so, on which he was seized and sent a prisoner to Lahore . . . The whole country, yielding a revenue of four lakhs of rupees, was confiscated . . . Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, was in the meantime sent to Uch . . . and Kot Maharaja, which he seized evicting the Sayads of Uch . . . who were now provided with a jagir. Rajab Ali Khan, the chief of Kot Maharaja, was seized and sent a prisoner to the Sikh capital . . .

In the beginning of 1817, Fakir Nur-ud-din was sent to settle the Ramgarhia territory, and in Magh (January) of the same year, Dewan Moti Ram, Bhawani Das Peshawaria, Hari Singh Nalwa, and other sardars, were sent against Multan, with a large force, to enforce the payment of tribute . . . The Sikh army besieged the fort, but Muzaffar Khan

made a gallant defence and compelled the invaders to raise the siege and retire. When the army reached Lahore, the Maharaja placed Bhawani Das . . . in confinement, besides imposing on him a fine of Rs. 10,000. Troops were then sent, under Prince Sher Singh and Tara Singh, against Muhammad Khan of Hazara who had given trouble to Hukm Singh, Chimni, the Sikh governor of Atak. Thousands of people from the surrounding country, flocked to the standard of Muhammad Khan, and a battle was fought which ended in the total rout of the Mohamedans . . . Muhammad Khan himself was killed . . . and was succeeded by his son Syed Ahmad Khan. As a punishment, the amount of his tribute was raised from Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 75,000, and the Sikh troops were withdrawn. The same year, a treaty was concluded with the Nawab of Mankera . . . binding the nawab to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 80, 000 and to supply a number of horses and camels and a contingent of troops for service in Multan in case of war. During the latter part of the year, the Maharaja's attention was wholly absorbed in making military preparations for an expedition against Multan . . .

In January, 1818, an army of 25,000 Sikhs marched from Lahore to the south-west frontier. The chief command of the expedition was given to Prince Kharak Singh, assisted by Misr Dewan . . . Repeated excursions and continued exactions, had so strained the resources of the country(*i.e.* Multan), and spread such devastation over it, that the Maharaja saw the time had come when this long-coveted possession could be secured without any considerable difficulty. Yet he prepared himself for all possible contingencies, and was fully alive to the danger of a Musalman combination in the cause of their faith .. Before undertaking this expedition, he released Ahmad Khan, the Sial chief of Jhang .. retaining Inayat Khan, his eldest son .. as security for his good behaviour at Lahore. On Ahmad Khan a jagir of Rs. 12,000 was bestowed, for his subsistence at Mirowal, in the Amritsar District. An exorbitant sum was now demanded, together with five of Muzaffar Khan's best horses, and this requisition not being complied with, the forts of Khangarh and Muzaffargarh were stormed and captured ... A proclamation was issued by the nawab, calling on the faithful to draw the sword in the cause of Islam and hundreds of Mussalmans gathered from the surrounding country and were supplied with arms by the nawab. The Sikhs .. closely besieged the town of Multan, which was defended by Nawab Muzaffar Khan with great vigour. The siege lasted for several days, until, at length, several breaches having

been effected in the walls of the city by the incessant fire from the Sikh batteries, the invaders took possession of the town in February, after a severe struggle. The bombardment of the fort now commenced. The citadel was ill-provisioned for a siege and the nawab had a garrison of only 2,000 men there. With such scanty means at his disposal, Muzaffar Khan made a defence so gallant, that the Sikhs had never before witnessed the like .. The Sikhs made several assaults, but the small garrison repulsed the attack each time, with severe loss to their enemies .. The nawab, was however, obstinate in his refusal, and was determined to repel the enemy or die. Desertions now began to take place on the side of the nawab, for the Sikhs offered bribes to his Pathan adherents, and few of them were able to resist the temptation. At length the defenders of the citadel were reduced to two or three hundred fighting men, for the most part, the immediate dependents and connections of the nawab. All the rest had either been killed, or gone over to the enemy. This devoted little band determined to hold out to the last extremity. While matters were in this stage, one Sadhu Singh, an Akali fanatic taking with him a few companions, as fanatical and reckless as himself, rushed without orders, on the 2nd of June, into an outwork of the fort and fell suddenly on the Afghans .. The Mussalmans, who were resting after the care and toils of the night, were taken by surprise. The Sikh soldiers, seeing this from the trenches, made a simultaneous advance .. and the entire work was carried, the defenders being all slaughtered in a hand-to-hand fight. The whole Sikh force, flushed with this success, advanced to the assault of the fort and effected an entrance through the breaches .. which were the result of four months' battering .. The old Nawab Muzaffar Khan .. ..with the remnant of his followers, his own sons, kinsmen, and personal attendants, made a stand with drawn swords at the door of his residence .. This handful of heroes now rushed on their assailants, and so furious and desperate was the onset, that many fell beneath their swords. Cutting his way through the enemy, the nawab, with his devoted little band, reached the tomb of Bahawal Hak. Here the nawab determined on standing his ground to the last, and such was the terror inspired by the desperate valour displayed by him, that the Sikhs drew back and opened fire on them with their matchlocks. .. Thus fell, the grey bearded Nawab Muzaffar Khan covered with wounds, but disdaining to the last to accept the protection of a hated foe, and with him fell his five brave sons, Shah Nawaz Khan, Mumtaz Khan, Ayaz Khan, Haknawaz Khan and Shah Baz

Khan. There also were killed Nasrulla Khan, nephew of the nawab, one of his daughters, and his counsellors Khan Mahomed Khan, Khoda Yar Khan and Sahib Dad Khan .. The city and fort were now given up to be plundered by the Sikh troops. Great were the ravages committed by the Sikhs on this occasion .. The precious stones, jewellery, shawls and other valuables belonging to the nawab were confiscated to the State .. The arms were all carried away. In the town many houses were set on fire and nothing was left with the inhabitants that was worth having. Hundreds were stripped even of their clothes. Outrages were committed on the women, many of whom committed suicide by drowning themselves in the wells .. Hundreds were killed in the sack of the city, and indeed there was hardly a soul who escaped both loss and violence..."[1]

Bahawalpur

.. The Sikh monarch made his sudden appearance in the territory of Nawab Bhawal Khan (in 1807) .. The nawab sent his confidential agents to the Maharaja, and, terms having soon been arranged, the Sikhs retraced his steps to Lahore .. Fakir Aziz-ud-din .. was then sent to Bahawalpur, on his behalf with a rich khilat for Nawab Bhawal Khan..."[2]

"...Nawab Sadiq Mahomed Khan of Bahawalpur, to whom the district of Dera Ghazi Khan had been leased for two lakhs and twenty-five thousand rupees per annum, having withheld payment for two years, General Ventura was sent to Bahawalpur ... to enforce the tribute (in 1831). The Nawab still failed to remit the money; property belonging to him, to the amount of six lakhs of rupees, was confiscated."[3]

Maler Kotla

"He marched (in 1808) against the Pathan possession of Maler Kotla, held by Ata Ullah Khan, from whom he demanded a lakh of rupees as tribute. Most of his villages en route had been devastated, and he was now threatened with the plunder of his city if the fine were not paid without delay. The Khan, pressed with the Sikhs' extortionate demand, paid a portion of the fine in cash, and the balance was raised by a mortgage of the fort of Jamalpur and three other strongholds to the Raja of Patiala. The Pathan chief laid the matter before the British

1. *Ibid*, pp. 410—12.
2. *Ibid*, p. 368.
3. *Ibid*, p. 455.

envoy, on his arrival in that territory but Mr. Metcalfe, though expressing his sympathy with the oppressed chief, declined to interfere..."[1]

Bhimbar

"After the nuptial ceremonies of the heir-apparent and the observances of the Holi festival ... military operations were resumed and, intelligence having been received, in the spring of 1812, of the murder, by Sultan Khan, the chief of Bhimbar, of his relation, Ismail Khan (who had been placed in charge of a portion of the Bhimbar territory, in consequence of occurrences which had led to a campaign two years previously, under the command of Dewan Mohkam Chand) a portion of the Lahore army... was detached under the command of Bhai Ram Singh ... to punish the refractory chief ... The Bhimbar chief offered battle from an elevated position ... The action began with a brisk fire of musketry from both sides, which the Sikhs supplemented with their artillery, but the ground chosen by the Bhimbar chief, gave him the advantage throughout, and the Sikhs... were utterly routed, on the third day. When intelligence of this disaster was received at Lahore, Dewan Mohkam Chand was despatched in all haste to the scene of action with a fresh contingent from Gujrat. Sultan Khan had strengthened his position, but negotiations were opened through Sardha Ram, the secretary to the dewan, and the Khan surrendered, on condition that he should be treated with honour, and have his territory restored to him by the Lahore darbar. He was conveyed to Lahore, and put in irons by Ranjit Singh, who did not scruple to break the solemn pledges of his generals. Sultan Khan was kept in captivity at Lahore for six years, and was then removed to Jammu, where he died. All his possessions, and property in Bhimbar were seized."[2]

Kashmir

"The heirs of Ismail Khan, the murdered chief of Bhimbar, who had recently been disappointed by the ruler of Lahore in their efforts to obtain the restoration of their estates, and Aziz Khan, Chief of Rajauri, raised the standard of revolt. This insurrection was countenanced by the governor of Kashmir and supported by the Mahomedan chiefs and sardars of the neighbouring country. Ranjit Singh, who had so often had occasion to try his strength against these Mussalman states, now marched in

1. *Ibid*, p. 375.
2. *Ibid*, p. 392-93

person to reduce them. He thought it the more necessary to do so to further his designs against Kashmir, as the possessions of the chiefs in question commanded the route to the Pir Panjal mountains. The confederate army of the chiefs was entirely routed, and the country finally annexed about the middle of November. The independent chiefs and jagirdars who had joined in the insurrection fled to Kashmir and were afforded protection by the governor, Ata Muhammad Khan.

"The plans of Ranjit Singh against the much-coveted of valley of Kashmir were now approaching completion. His newly-married son, Kharak Singh, had subdued Jammu. His own personal exertions had ended in the complete overthrew of the Mussalman chiefs of Bhimbar and Rajauri, and the final annexation of these territories to those of the Khalsa. His Sikh sardars and generals had penetrated the various principalities in the hills south of Kashmir, and had, after repeated actions, rendered them tributary to the Lahore Kingdom. It only remained now to make a general advance into the valley itself; and the friendship professed for the ex-kings of Kabul, and the most humane duty of relieving the unhappy monarchs from their pending distress, were ample excuses to justify an immediate advance. But another chief from beyond the Indus, quite as enterprising and ambitious as the ruler of Lahore, was making preparations for an attack ... This was Fatteh Khan, the famous wazir of Shah Mahmud of Kabul, who was advancing, in order to punish the brothers, Ata Muhammad Khan, governor of Kashmir and Jahandad Khan, Governor of Atak, for having assisted Shuja-ul-Mulk, in his attempt to recover Peshawar, and to recover the provinces for the Kabul Government. Eight thousand Afghan troops were already at Rohtas, while the wazir himself crossed the Indus, towards the end of November (1812), at the head of a considerable army. The recent successes of the Sikh arms in territories so near that which the wazir now contemplated making the threatre of military operations, rendered it necessary for both chiefs thoroughly to undertsnad the views of each other before those operations commenced on one side or the other. The wise wazir perceived the necessity of securing the Maharaja's co-operation or at least his sympathy, to ensure success in the task of conquering Kashmir, which would be rendered extremely difficult, if opposed by the Lahore ruler. He accordingly deputed his dewan, Gudar Mal, to the Court of Lahore, with suitable presents, inviting the Maharaja to unite with him in the invasion

of Kashmir, and proposing a friendly meeting, with the view of facilitating negotiations. The Maharaja gladly accepted the proposal, and the chiefs met on the bank of the Jhelum, on 1st of December, when it was agreed that the Maharaja should assist the wazir with troops, and, at the same time, afford facility for the march of the invading army through the passes recently subdued by him. The Maharaja demanded ... in return for the succour required, namely, a portion of the revenue of the valley, but the politic wazir offered a third of the spoil expected, which was eventually agreed upon. Upon these terms twelve thousand Sikh troops, under Dewan Mohkam Chand, were placed at the disposal of the Afghan commander, and the joint armies of the Sikhs and the Afghans marched from the Jhelum, while the Maharaja returned to Lahore. The Pathan chief had, however, no intention of allowing the Sikhs to take any prominent part in the reduction of the valley, or to claim the credit of conquering it. What he really wished was the neutrality of the Sikh ruler. A heavy fall of snow impeded the progress of the invading army, as it reached the Pir Panjal Range. The Sikhs less accustomed to endure the severities of a mountain winter, than the hard Afghans, were unable to move. Fatteh Khan, without waiting to consult the dewan, or even informaing him of his intention, pressed forward his mountain troops by double marches. Mohkam Chand, seeing how the Afghan had tried to outstrip him, induced the chief of Rajauri, by the promise of a jagir of Rs. 25,000, to show him a route which would enable him to reach the valley at the same time as the wazir. This the chief did and the...dewan, with a handful of troops.... penetrated into the valley, in time to be present at the siege of Shergarh and Hari Parbat, much to the amazement of the Kabul wazir. But the portion of the Sikh army which thus reached its destination, was exhausted by its march through the hills and by exposure to cold, and was consequently unable to render any material help. Ata Muhammad, the governor, fled after offering but a feeble resistance; the valley was reduced, and soon afterwards all the strongholds of the province were captured by ... Fatteh Khan, without difficulty ... Wazir Fatteh Khan now declined to allow the Sikhs the third share of the plunder, as had been stipulated. In the meantime, Shah Shuja, availing himself of the confusion which followed in Kashmir, consequent on the invasion of the valley by Fatteh Khan, effected his escape from confinement and joined the camp of Dewan Mohkam Chand. The dewan, with the consolation of having secured the prize of the ex-king's person, if none other, returned

to Lahore, with his troops, much fatigued by their mountain toils in an uncongenial climate. The Maharaja received Shah Shuja with every appearance of respect; but his wrath knew no bounds when he was informed that Mohkam Chand had returned empty-handed, and that Fatteh Khan had refused to give him the stipualated share ... He determined on revenge, and his expedient did not entirely fail him. Jahandad Khan, the Governor of Atak, and brother of Ata Muhammad Khan ... finding that the party of Shah Mahmud had gained the ascendancy in Kashmir, and that his own brother was driven from the position, was alarmed, and Ranjit Singh opened negotiations with him with the offer of a large jagir for the surrender of the fort of Atak, which commanded the passage of the Indus. Jahandad Khan ... agreed to the Maharaja's proposals, and permitted Dia Singh, who was already present in the neighbourhood of Atak ... to occupy the fort in the name of the ruler of Lahore. Fakir Aziz-ud-din and Dwewan Devi Das were sent, immediately afterwards, at the head of a strong force, to settle the surrounding country. Fatteh Khan remonstrated with the Maharaja with respect to this usurpation, accusing him of bare-faced treachery. He demanded the immediate surrender of the fort, which Ranjit Singh, confident in his own strength, refused, until the promised share of the Kashmir plunder was given to him. Upon this, Fateh Khan marched to Atak, after placing the affairs of Kashmir in the hands of his brother, Azim Khan. The fort of Atak was closely blockaded ... The Afghan and Sikh armies lay opposite each other for a long time, and frequent skirmishes took place, in which the Sikhs lost heavily; but Dewan Chand avoided a general action till the Afghans had exhausted their supplies, and the hot weather had set in. The province had also been visited by a famine. At length, the season having sufficiently advanced, the Dewan determined to make a move, and marched to Haidaru, on the Indus, five miles from the fort. The Afghan troops took up a position to oppose the further advance of the Sikhs ... The dewan, fresh for action, drew up his Sikhs in order of battle ... Dost Muhammad (Fateh Khan's brother) first made a resolute cavalry charge, which was, however, repulsed by a heavy fire from the Sikh battalion. The Afghans rallied, and Dost Muhammad, making a general attack with his horse, threw the foremost Sikh troops into confusion, capturing some guns. The Sikhs were beginning to give way, but Mohkam Chand, coming up on his elephant with two guns, opened on the enemy with grape. The latter, owing partly

to the check thus received, and partly to the fierce heat of the sun, were compelled to retire ... Fatteh Khan, believing that Dost Muhammad Khan had been slain, fled, and the victorious Sikhs pursued the Afghans, and drove them out of Khyrabad. The wazir retired to Kabul, leaving another brother Yar Mohammad Khan, incharge of Peshawar, Kohat and Eusafzai, with Sultan Muhammad Khan as his naib, or second in command. Mohkam Chand, after relieving the fort of Atak, returned victorious to Lahore in the month of August. The battle of Haidaru was fought on the 13th of July, 1813, and was the first on record in which the Sikh troops, under the Lahore darbar, had beaten the Afghans ... "[1]

"In October, 1813, the Maharaja visited Jawala Mukhi and Kangra, via Pathankot, and then joined the camp of Kanwar Kharak Singh at Sialkot. Thence, taking the Wazirabad and Gujrat route, he reached Bhimbar and encamped on the banks of the Jhelum. Preparations were made here on a grand scale for an expedition into Kashmir, and all the jagirdars and tributary hill chiefs were summoned to join the Maharaja's camp with their respective contingents. Sardar Desa Singh Majithia, was appointed to collect the nazrana, and succeeded in levying Rs. 40, 000 from the raja of Nurpur, Rs. 50,000 from the raja of Jasrota, and one lakh from minor hill chiefs ... When all the preparations were complete, the Maharaja crossed the Jhelum and entered Bhimbar and Rohtas. At Rajauri he was joined by Raja Agar Khan, chief of that place, who was honourably received by him. Thatta, seven kos from Rajauri, was easily reduced; but at Bahram Kalla, five kos further, on the Pir Panja' route, the Kashmir troops, under Wazir Ruhulla offered a determined resistance. The place was difficult of access, being surrounded by streams which flowed in deep currents. The bridge over one of these streams, between Thatta and Bahram Kalla, was destroyed by order of the governor; but the chief of Rajauri pointed out a different route which, obviated the necessity of crossing the stream. A detachment of 30,000 troops was sent ... and the pass was seized without difficulty by the Sikh troops ... (after) the reduction of Bahram Kalla, one of the most difficult passes of the valley ... orders were now issued...for an advance on the Pir Panjal range. But heavy rains interfered with the further progress of the Sikh troops, and it was reported that the summits of the Pir Panjal were still covered with deep snow. Further operations were, therefore, suspended,

1. *Ibid*, pp. 394–97.

and the Maharaja, having made arrangements for strengthening the newly captured passes beyond Rajauri, and for collecting grains and stores in select places, returned to Lahore ... on the 26th of December."[1]

"Towards the middle of the year (1814) he (Ranjit Singh) determined on making a complete conquest of Kashmir, and military operations were accordingly commenced. All the hill chiefs, as well as those of the plains, were summoned to Sialkot, and the Maharaja, having himself repaired thither in person, a grand review of the Sikh troops took place ... Dewan Mohkam Chand, remonstrated against this expedition, urging that the season was not propitious; that sufficient supplies had not been collected on the route; that it would be extremely desirable, if not absolutely necessary, to construct large depots of provisions at Bhimbar and Rajauri, so as to provide against the possibility of a determined opposition being offered, and that the hill chiefs were hostile. These warnings were, however, unheeded ... The troops moved to Bhimbar early in June, and advancing slowly from that place, reached Rajauri, en route to the valley. The Maharaja encamped at Shah Bagh, in Rajauri, and received the respects of Raja Agar Khan, the chief of that hill state ... An attempt to gain over Raja Ruhulla Khan of Punch, failed, as his son was already a hostage with Muhammad Azim Khan, the Kabul governor. Raja Agar Khan of Rajauri, was then consulted as to the best route by which to invade the valley. He ... not only misled Ranjit Singh as to the number and strength of the enemy, but advised a division of the army, the main body commanded by the Maharaja in person, to pursue the Punch route by the Toshu Maidan Pass, the other detachment to enter Kashmir by the Bahram Galla route, via Supin, in the valley ... The detachment appeared before Bahram Galla, on the 18th, and secured possession of the pass by bribing the defenders, who were retainers of the Punch Raja. The following day ... the advanced column of the Sikhs surmounted the lofty barrier of the Pir Panjal by the Sarai and Madpur Pass, occupying Haripur, and dislodging the Afghans who defended those places. Azim Khan having heard of this defeat, sent a strong force to meet the invaders, and an action was fought on the 22nd of July, near Haripur, when the Kashmirians, being defeated, were followed by the Sikhs to Supin. On the 24th, the Sikhs, under Dewan

1. *Ibid*, p. 397.

Ram Dayal, made an assault on Supin, but the town was strongly defended by Shakur Khan ... The place, was, moreover, visited by a snowstorm, and the Sikhs, being quite unaccustomed to such an event, could make no stand. Muhammad Azim Khan's cavalry coming up, the Sikhs were completely routed, and many of their sardars killed, ... The routed Sikhs met with greater disasters the following night, going from place to place over snow-covered hills and valley, in order to escape from the relentless Afghans, who hung close upon their rear ...

The main body, however, of the Sikh army, under the Maharaja, which had advanced in the direction of Punch, met with no better fortune. Heavy rains delayed its march from Rajauri, and the army started for its destination on the 26th of June, exposed to wet and cold. Ranjit Singh reached Punch, on the 28th, only to find it evacuated. This was done by order of the Punch Raja, whose people were direcrted to desert towns ... leaving nothing behind for the invaders to plunder ... The effect of such tactics soon began to be felt, for the supplies of the Sikh army were running short, and this necessitated a halt in Punch till the middle of July. Ranjit Singh then moved with his army to Mandi, and thence to Toshu Maidan, on the skirts of the valley. Here he found the troops of Muhammad Azim Khan drawn up to check the progress of the invading army. Raja Agar Khan suggested to Ranjit Singh the advisibility of an attack on the Kashmir troops; but the Maharaja, after reconnoitring the position of the enemy, deemed it advisable to refrain from taking the offensive. The Kashmir and Lahore enemies ... both (remained) inactive for several days. Here the Maharaja was informed of the precipitate haste with which Dewan Ram Dayal had carried on operations beyond the Pir Panjal range, and deplored the critical position in which his troops were placed in that quarter. He forthwith despatched ... five thousand cavalry and infantry to assist Ram Dayal ... Muhammad Azim Khan, seeing everything in his favour, thought the time had come for offensive operations against the main army of Lahore, which had been long in view, and was now suffering from cold and sickness, and still more from desertion. A desultory fire was opened by Wazir Ruhullah Khan, the Punch raja, on the Sikhs, on the 9th of July and resulted in disorganising the Sikh troops. The attack was resumed on the following morning with greater vigour and with worse result for the cold-stricken Sikhs. The Maharaja now found that he must retreat, and he accordingly fell back on Mandi, leaving Ram Dayal to his fate, The retreat soon

became a hurried and disastrous flight. Heavy rain fell, the roads were all but impracticable, and checked by Ruhulla Khan, and tormented with the wet and cold, the Sikhs were much harassed on the way by the hill tribes ... In the midst of these difficulties, the Maharaja continued his retrograde march, setting the town of Mandi on fire. The retreat was attended with the loss of many men and officers ... Many were also disabled and many drowned in a stream...Ranjit Singh, stripped of nearly all his baggage, and his army all but disorganized, reached Punch, which he set on fire ... He continued his flight to Kotli, the raja of which place would have endeavoured to cut off his retreat, but was prevented from effecting his purpose by his rani; who was won over by the persuasions of Fakir Aziz-ud-din ... to permit the Sikhs to pass. Thus did the Maharaja reach Bhimbar and make his way out of the hills, whence, taking the nearest route, and attended by only a few followers, and with still fewer comforts he reached his capital on the 12th of August."[1]

"Ranjit Singh again thought of giving effect to his long-cherished scheme of finally annexing the Kashmir valley to his dominions. A circumstance which highly favoured his views of aggrandisement occurred at this juncture. Bir Dhar, the Minister of Jabbar Khan, the Kashmir Governor, having cause for disatisfaction with his Afghan master, fled from Kashmir and sought an asylum with the Maharaja, at Lahore. He was a man of considerable influence, which he now used to further the plans of the Maharaja, supplying him with important information as to the strength of the Afghan forces at various points in the country to be invaded. Muhammad Azim Khan, the most energetic of the Barakzai brothers, was at this time absent from Kashmir, furthering his projects in countries remote from the valley, which had been divested of the most efficient of the Afghan troops, and, on that account, was not in a position to help the brother whom he had left to govern the country in his absence.

In the month of April (1819) the Sikh army moved from Lahore, under the command of Mishar Dewan Chand Zaffar Jang, the conqueror of Multan ... A second division of troops was placed under Prince Kharak Singh, to support the advance column under the Mishar, while the Maharaja, with a third division as a reserve, halted at Wazirabad, to expedite the transit of the munitions of war and personally supervise the

1. *Ibid*, pp. 402—404.

prompt despatch of stores and supplies to the seat of war ... Ranjit Singh delayed the march until May, 1819, when the hot weather had set in. Mishar Dewan Chand ... reached Rajauri, the raja of which place, Aziz Khan, violating his oath of perpetual friendship on account of the excesses committed by the Sikh soldiers on his people, broke into rebellion. The Mishar ordered his arrest, and the Raja thereupon fled. His son, Rahimullah Khan, however, joined the Sikhs, and was sent by Dewan Chand to Wazirabad, to the Maharaja, who was pleased to create him raja in place of his father.

The Maharaja, with his camp, moved to Gujrat, and from thence to Bhimbar. Mishar Dewan Chand, taking with him the pick of the Sikh cavalry, which marched over the mountains on foot along with the infantry soldiers reduced Rajauri, on 23rd June, and entered Bairam Gala. Mir Muhammad Khan, the thanedar of Punch, tendered his submission to the dewan, and so did Muhammad Ali, the thanedar of Supin. Zabbar Dast Khan, the raja of Punch, who had fled to his fort of Tari, having closed the gates of that stronghold, refused to attend before the Sikh general and offered resistance. Raja Sultan Khan, whose knowledge of the country was of great value, was ordered to reduce the fort. The raja, with the men under him, scaled the rampart, and a fight ensued, in which large numbers of the defenders were killed. Zabbar Dast Khan at length surrendered, and the fort was occupied by the Sikh troops. The governor of Basana was prevailed upon by Raja Rahimullah Khan, to swear allegience to the Maharaja, and Namdar Khan, an influential zemindar, placed his entire resources at the disposal of the Sikh commander. The passage to the Pir Panjal being thus secured, Mishar Dewan Chand divided the army under him into three divisions, each of which was to reach the valley by a different route. He himself headed the detachment which had to cross the Pir Panjal, and crossing this barrier, descended into the valley. The Pathans opposed this advanced detachment, and an engagement ensued, which lasted the whole day. Many were killed on both sides, till, at length, the Sikhs charging with the bayonet, the Pathans fled in dismay, leaving their camp, which was plundered. On the 16th of June, the whole army of the Sikhs in the valley 12,000 strong, took up a position at Serai Ali, on the road to Supin. The Maharaja then arrived at Shahabad and saw that his arrangements for supplies and reinforcements were complete. Sardar Jabbar Khan, with 5,000 Afghans, took his stand on the plains of Supin ... A severe

fight took place between the two armies on July 5th. The Afghans fought splendidly, and succeeded at first in repulsing the invaders ... Upon this, the Sikhs made a rally, and so desperate was their next onset that the Afghans, after a short struggle, gave way ... and fled precipitately to Shergarh, leaving the valley to be occupied by the invaders ... Sardar Jabbar Khan was wounded, and had a narrow escape. Kashmir was now in possession of the Sikhs, who made a triumphant entry into the city. The following day the troops of Maharaja occupied Shergarh. Jabbar Khan, with the remnant of his Afghans ... went to Bhimbar, and eventually reached Peshawar. On entering Kashmir, the Sikhs commenced plundering the inhabitants according to their invariable practice, but they were stopped by Mishar Dewan Chand, and the city was thus saved from the rapacity of the invaders. The Sikhs then reduced Azimgarh, a fort difficult of access, from its being situated on the summit of high hills near Rajauri, and strongly fortified.

The Maharaja, on receiving the news of the conquest ... made great rejoicings, and sending Fakir Aziz-ud-din to make enquiries about the climate, and Dewan Devi Das to take charge of the assessment and revenues, returned to Lahore ... The farm of Kashmir was given to the Bir Dhur Pandit for fifty-three lakhs of rupees, and that of the shawl manufacture to Jawahir Mal for ten lakhs."[1]

Peshawar

"The commotions in Afghanistan were favourable to the views of Ranjit Singh, who conceived that the time had come to put his designs on Peshawar, and the country beyond the Atak, into execution, the more so as the Khatak Mahommedans had recently raised the standard of revolt and defeated a detachment of the Sikh troops. ... When all his arrangements were complete, he marched to Atak in October 1818, sending Bawa Phaddi, his confidential agent, in advance of the troops. The Bawa was murdered by the rebellious Khattaks, ... A Sikh detachment ... was sent to chastise the Afghans, and an action was fought in which the Afghans were defeated. Firoz Khan and Najib-ullah Khan, the Khattak chiefs, made their submission, and were pardoned, on payment of heavy nazrana. Ranjit Singh then reduced Khairabad, on the right bank of the Indus, and captured Jahangira, and the territory

1. *Ibid*, p. 417—19.

on the opposite bank of the river. At Naushera he ascertained from Dewan Sham Singh and others, who had been to Peshawar, that the Afghans had no organised force with which to oppose him in the field. He then directed an advance on Peshawar, which city he occupied on 20th November. Yar Muhammad Khan, the Afghan governor of Peshawar, evacuated the town on the approach of the Sikhs, and fled to the Eusafzai hills. The Maharaja saved the city from pillage, but set the Bala Hissar on fire; as also the village of Chamkani, the residence of Sheikh Umar. To Dewan Sham Singh was entrusted the task of collecting nazranas from the Arbabs and leading men of Peshawar, and Rs. 25,000 was realized under this head. The Maharaja stayed at Peshawar ... for three days, receiving the respects of the leading men of the tribes, and conferring dresses of honour upon them. On the fourth day he retired, placing his ally Jahandad Khan, Wazir Khel, brother of Ata Muhammad Khan, to whose treachery he owed the psossession of Atak ... in charge of affairs at Peshawar. He was, however, left to his own resources and furnished neither with troops nor with money to maintain possession. The Maharaja carried with him fourteen guns, which he had captured at Peshawar, and with them crossed the Atak, on his way back to his capital. About the same time, Dost Muhammad Khan, Barakzai brother of Yar Muhammad Khan, sent his agents, Damodar Mal and Hafiz Ruhulla, to the Maharaja, offering to pay a bribe of one lakh of rupees per annum if allowed to retain possession of Peshawar and its suburbs. The proposal was accepted ... Shortly afterwards, however, intelligence was brought to him that the Barakzai Sardars, having come down to the plains with their mountain hosts, had taken possession of Peshawar, expelling the powerless Jahandad Khan, who had sought refuge at Hasht Nagar. The Maharaja was greatly irritated, and forthwith sent Sardar Dal Singh at the head of 12,000 troops with orders to replace the expelled Governor Jahandad Khan. Dal Singh ... was followed by Prince Kharak Singh and Mishar Dewan Chand Zafar Jang. The Kabul agents, Mirza Hasan, Hafiz Ruhullah and Damodar Mal, however, arrived, and presented Rs. 50,000 in hundis, and a number of horses, with fruits, on behalf of Dost Muhammad Khan. The presents were received, and the Sikh troops which were advancing on Peshawar, recalled."[1]

"Towards the beginning of April, 1822, Muhammad Azim Khan,

1. *Ibid*, pp. 415-16.

who had succeeded to the authority of his brother Fatteh Khan, moved to Peshawar, accompanied by the fugitive Jagirdar Jai Singh Attariwala. His object was to keep Ranjit Singh on the left bank of the Indus, and he even threatened Khairabad, the principal station held by the Sikhs on the opposite bank. The Maharaja sent Mishar Dewan Chand to watch the movements of the Afghans, and he was shortly after reinforced by detachments under General Ilahi Bakhsh and by Dhankal Singh's battalions. Several skirmishes took place between the Afghans and the Sikhs, and these proceedings brought the Maharaja himself westward; but affairs at home compelled Muhammad Azim Khan to retreat, and the Maharaja, after visiting Akhnur in the Jammu hills, returned to his capital in June.

... In December, 1823, the Sikh army moved to Rawalpindi whence Fakir Aziz-ud-din was sent to Peshawar to exact tribute from the Barakzai Governor, Yar Muhammad Khan. The Sardar, being unprepared to resist the demand, sent a present of valuable horses to the Maharaja, and, this having satisfied him, Aziz-ud-din was recalled. The Maharaja ... returned to Lahore in January, 1824.

Muhammad Azim Khan, who was in power in Kabul, did not approve of the action of his brother of Peshawar, and marched for Jallalabad, to take into his own hands, the management of affairs beyond the Khaiber. He reached Peshawar on the 27th of January, and Yar Muhammad Khan, suspecting his designs, fled to the Eusafzai hills. The Maharaja, having heard of this movement, sent Prince Sher Singh, at the head of a detachment of cavalry ... The Sikh troops, having crossed the Atak, laid siege to the fort of Jahangira, which, after some loss on both sides, was occupied by the Sikhs, the Afghans retreating precipitately to the hills. The defeat sustained by the Afghans had only the effect of doubling their zeal. They collected in large numbers on the Teri hills, 18 kos to the west of Atak, and were joined by the Jehadis, or religious warriors, from Swat, Buner, and the country of the Afridis, and the Khattaks. Muhammad Azim Khan was still in Peshawar, and had issued poclamations calling on all the faithful to draw the sword for the faith. The Maharaja, having heard of this grand combination, mustered his army at Shahdara across the Ravi, and, sending Prince Kharak Singh, and Mishar Dewan Chand forward, followed at the head of his troops. Muhammad Azim Khan, had now reached Manshera, between Peshawar

and Atak, while the Afghans under Dost Muhammad Khan and Jabbar Khan, brother of Azim Khan, prepared to meet the Sikhs. The Maharaja at the head of 15,000 horsemen, forded the river on the 13th of March. The guns were carried across on elephants. The stream ran deep in some places, and the rash attempts, to ford it .. resulted in no trifling loss to the Maharaja, as no fewer than a thousand men were drowned ... The whole army entered Akhora, where Ranjit Singh was joined by Jai Singh Atariwala, who showed himself anxious for pardon, and was re-admitted into favour. Twenty thousand mountaineers of the Khatak and Eusafzai tribes, all volunteers in a holy war ... assembled on the left bank of the river to fight for their faith against the infidel invaders, while Azim Khan, with the regular Afghan army, was encamped on the right bank. The Maharaja sent eight battalions and two batteries, under Generals Allard and Ventura, to keep Muhammad Azim Khan, in check, and with his main strength, fell upon the Ghazis, who had taken up their position around the heights near Naushera, on the left bank of the river. A strong detachment of the Sikh forces was posted behind the Teri hills, on which the mountain levies had collected, and this was to move to the rear at a moment's notice. The Sikhs forces, under Sat Gur Sahee, and Colonel Maha Singh Akalia, made an advance on the hills, and were met by a body of Afghans under Muhammad Zaman Khan, nephew of Azim Khan, and Sadiq Khan, son of the deceased Firoz Khan of Khatak* The latter made a furious assault in overwhelming numbers; and the fire of their matchlocks, coupled with a shower of stones from the hills ... resulted in much loss to the advancing Sikh columns ... A large number of Sikhs fell, and the Afghans compelled their assailants to retreat down hill. Upon this Phula Singh, the Akali desperado, made a furious charge with some horsemen .... But the Musallman infantry were equally fired with religious zeal and fervour, and were moreover, advantageously posted. They rushed upon their assaulants with such determination and fury, that the latter were completely routed and their leader slain ...... Exultant at the success of the charge, the Afghans fell upon the flying Sikh columns, and executed fierce vengeance on them. Ranjit Singh, with his reserve, now led the attack in person, and a promiscuous fire was opened on the enemy by his rallying battalions, as well as by the artillery which had been drawn up in line opposite to them. The Ghazis,

* The Khatak territory was occupied by the Sikhs during the course of this campaign.

though unprovided with supplies or provisions, and even defrauded of their promised pay, met the assault with extreme bravery, repulsed every attack until sunset, by which time about half their original number had perished. Ranjit Singh now brought forward his Najib and Gorkha battalions in support of the advanced columns, and placed a strong detachment at the base, with orders to shoot instantly any soldier of the Lahore army who should be found turning his back. At the same time orders were given to the troops posted on the other side of the hills, to advance to the rear and charge and dislodge the enemy from their position in that direction.

The position of the Ghazis, who were ignorant of the art of war, was thus surrounded, and they found themselves between two fires. Sword in hand, they fell upon the Sikh artillery and engaged in a hand-to-hand fight. But by this time a great number of them had fallen, and the Sikhs dislodged them from their positions. The ramnant of the Pathans cut their way through the enemy to the mountains in the darkness of night, but not before they had inflicted severe loss on ...the Khalsa army. ... The Sikhs had in this battle not less than 24,000 fighting men present, and the loss on their side in killed and wounded was estimated by Captain Wade at 2,000. The number of Afghans killed exceeded 3,000. Notwithstanding their defeat with great slaughter, the brave and resolute mountaineers re-assembled the following day to renew the contest, under their leader Pirzada Muhammad Akbar; but Muhammad Azim Khan, fearing lest his treasures and harem at Minchini...... might fall into the hands of the invaders, broke up his camp, and the Ghazis, being without countenance, or support, reluctantly dispersed.......Azim Khan, hastily collecting the wreck of his forces, and picking up his harem and wealth at Michini, crossed the Momand hills with precipitate haste, and regained the valley of Jallalabad, leaving the field clear for the Sikh monarch and his army. The following day the Maharaja proceeded against the fort of Hashtnagar and occupied it. Ranjit Singh made his entry into Peshawar on the 17th of March and his Sikhs plundered the whole country up to the Khaibar Pass, though the town of Peshawar was saved from pillage. The feeling of the entire Mussalman population was intensely roused against their infidel invaders, and the united bands of these zealots cut off all the strugglers of the Sikh army, whose camp had to be watched continually every night to guard it against their predatory excursions. Ranjit Singh, finding that public feeling throughout the country was

bitterly against him, did not think it prudent to retain it. He privately sent for Yar Muhammad Khan and Dost Muhammad Khan, who repaired to the Sikh camp from Dhaka, bringing with them five horses, including the far-famed Gauhar Bar (or Shower of Pearls). ...He rewarded their treason to their brother and their services to himself by wisely allowing them to retain Peshawar as tributary to the Lahore Darbar. He, however, took care so to divide the territory between the brothers that Dost Muhammad Khan was placed in an antagonistic position to Yar Muhammad and his brothers, the object ... being to create an occasion for future dissensions and strife among the brothers, which should place him in a position to support one party or the other, as policy might dictate. After effecting these arrangements, the Maharaja returned to his capital, on the 26th of April."[1]

"The unsettled state of Peshawar and the probability of its becoming tributary to Kabul under Dost Muhammad Khan, or Shah Shuja, in the event of a fresh war breaking out between the two for the sovereignty of Afghanistan, now induced Ranjit Singh to make an endeavour to annex that province permanently to his dominions. Soon after the Dasahra, orders were issued to Sardar Hari Singh, to proceed with all his forces from the Eusafzai hills to Peshawar, and there act as lieutenant to Prince Nau Nehal Singh, who was, in the meantime, sent from Lahore in that direction, accompanied by Generals Ventura and Court and a large body of troops. The force crossed the Indus at the end of April, (1834), and, on arriving in the vicinity of Peshawar, an increased tribute in horses, rice, swords, etc., was demanded. The horses, etc., which were offered were rejected as unsuitable, the object of the Sikhs being to gain time. The Barakzai Sardars in possession of Peshawar, apprehensive of the designs of the Sikhs, had already sent their facilities to Michni...... with their guns and other property. They themselves remained in Peshawar with their horses, ready to be saddled at a moment's notice. ....Everything which was portable had been carried away, even to the doors and windows of their houses. This had indeed, always been the custom at Peshawar, whenever there was a report of the Sikhs approaching its vicinity. The remnants of the old Ghulam Khana of Peshawar who, on account of their being Shias, were dissatisfied with the rule of the Barakzai brothers, opened a clandestine correspondence with Hari Singh,

1. *Ibid*, pp. 428—31.

and so did the principal Hindu dewans of the country. Hari Singh, finding every thing in his favour, sent a meassage to the Barakzai Sardars ......to evacuate the city and retire to the garden of Ali Murdan Khan, as the Shahzada Nau Nehal Singh desired to see the city. The Sikh force was, in the meantime, in motion, and Sultan Muhammad Khan, observing this with a spy-glass.........made immediate preparations for flight. The horses were saddled and mounted in a trice. The houses were evacuated, as if by magic, and all fled to the adjoining hills, except Abdul Ghias Khan and his party...... The Sikhs, having now completed the circuit of the city, entered and occupied the Bala Hissar, and, simultaneously with it, the town was occupied, on 6th May, 1834. The discomfited sardars fled to Takkal and Sheikhan, at the foot of the hills ...... Had Sultan Muhammad Khan made the least attempt to defend the country, it would not have fallen so easy a prey to them as it did.

......Peshawar was taken, but Ranjit Singh's mind was not at rest, and he concentrated his whole attention on frontier affairs. Troops were daily sent in that direction; Kanwar Kashmira Singh was sent to Attak at the head of his troops, and Sardar Teja Singh to Peshawar. Last of all, the Maharaja himself set out for Peshawar........

The occupation of Peshawar by the Sikhs had been a source of great trouble to Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, as he had always laid claim to it as a dependency of Kabul. In vain did the Amir solicit the mediation of the British Government to induce the Sikhs to retire from Peshawar and to adjust the difference between him and the Lahore ruler; he was told that the Government was unwilling to meddle in the affair; though a plain declaration was made to Dost Muhammad and his brothers of the desire of the British Government to form a connection with them by an interchange of commercial facilities. Left thus to his own resources...... the Amir made preparations for a march in the direction of Peshawar. At the same time.... he opened a correspondence with the Shah of Persia. He had desired Nawab Jabbar Khan, his brother, and a man of great influence at Kabul, to become a party to this correspondence, but the Nawab refused to have anything to do with the affair, declaring that he had always advocated a connection with the British Government, and would continue to do so.

At length the Amir broke up his camp at Jallalabad, and, by easy marches, reached Bassowal. A host of Ghazis,... also joined the Amir

from the surrounding country. He assumed the proud title of Ghazi or Champion of the Faith, and endeavoured to rouse the population generally to a sense of their duty, which he declared was to destroy the infidel invaders of Peshawar. The Sikhs, on their part, endeavoured to gain over many of the Maliks or petty chiefs of the Khaibar, by assigning allowances to them; but these abandoned the cause of the Sikhs and joined the Amir, on the plea of religious feeling. Having passed the defiles of the Khaibar, the Amir encamped at Shekan at the foot of the hills. The news that the Afghans had actually taken up a position on the plains of Peshawar, induced the Maharaja ... to accelerate his march to that place, where he soon arrived, restoring confidence among his troops. He was joined by Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan, who lent his moral support ... The personal attention and exertions of the veteran ruler of Lahore now effected an immediate change in the disposition of the army ... The camp near the Afghan detachments remained stationary, as if no movements were in contemplation. Further time was gained by amusing the Kabul Amir with negotiations, the diplomatists on the part of the Afghans being, Nawab Jabbar Khan and Agha Husain, the latter being deputed to watch the proceedings of the former, who lacked the Amir's confidence. Subsequent events, however showed that the Agha was no more honest a dependent of the Amir than his Barkazai colleague, he having accepted a large sum of money from the Sikhs, and promised to prevail upon his master to retrace his steps to Kabul. The time, thus gained was made use of, by the Lahore ruler in concentrating his troops and redistributing them, so as to completely surround the Afghan positions ... While these arrangements for an attack were going on, the Maharaja deputed Fakir Aziz-ud-din and Mr. Harlan, an Anglo-Indian who had lately entered his service, to the Amir's camp, with instructions to induce the Amir to retire. Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan was also sent along with the envoys, to assist in carrying on the negotiations. These were, however, still pending when the Amir was informed, to his great surprise, that all his troops were surrounded by the Sikhs ... He now clearly saw that his choice lay between retreat and flight. If he remained stationary, there was the danger of his being deprived of his munitions of war, including his guns and military equipage. In his dilemma, he consulted Mirza Sami Khan, his confidential minister, and the idea now suggested itself of arresting the Sikh envoys in the Amir's camp. Dost Muhammad Khan knew well that the presence of Fakir Aziz-ud-din, the

the Maharaja's physician ... was absolutely necessary for his existence, and it was conceived that the Maharaja would be compelled to cede Peshawar in exchange for the indispensable Fakir, on that, at any rate, a large sum of money would be offered as ransom. To avoid, however, the disgrace which would attach to an action so opposed to international laws, it was resolved to involve Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan in the proposed detention of the Sikh envoys. The Amir accordingly sent for the sardar, and, after an exchange of oaths on the Quran as to secrecy, informed him of his resolution. It was suggested that, as the envoys had come with him, it would be most convenient and conducive to the interests of the parties concerned, if he carried them off ... The sardar at once saw that the object of the Amir's policy was to bring about his ruin at the expense of his own reputation. He feigned to fall in with the scheme and promised compliance ... considering the oath to be made under circumstances ... not to be legally binding. Dost Muhammad ... summoned the Fakir and Mr. Harlan into his presence and reproached and abused them. On being somewhat appeased by the persuasive speech of the learned Fakir, he said that he had kept the envoys in the Afghan camp merely as hostage for the due fulfilment of the terms proposed, which were the surrender of half the territory of Peshawar to his brother, Sultan Muhammad Khan, and the payment to himself of a few lakhs of rupees as nalbandi, literally, the cost of shoeing his horses. The Fakir urged that it was necessary for him and his colleague to return to the Maharaja to acquaint him with the Amir's propositions, but to this, it was replied that this could be more conveniently done by letter. The Fakir then argued that the detention of the envoys was a direct infringement of the respect which, among the Afghans, as among all the other nations, is attached to their person. To this the Amir replied that the Sikhs were ... infidels, and not like other people, that they themselves broke oaths and treaties, and that with such people it would be only fair to act in a different manner. The envoys were then made over to the charge of Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan. The latter, however, ... instead of carrying off the envoys, escorted them with all honour to his own camp, and eventually sent them to Michni, there to await the Maharaja's orders.

Dost Muhammad Khan now resolved on an orderly retreat; but the greater part of his army Bazar was plundered by the Ghazi's. Late in

the evening, he reached the heights of Chaghari in the defiles of the Khaibar, when he heard the reports of the Sikh salvoes discharged in triumph at the flight of the Kabul troops. The Amir, however, consoled himself with the thought that he had outwitted the Sikhs in the matter of the arrest of Fakir Aziz-ud-din and Mr. Harlan, whom he believed to be still in the custody of Sardar Muhammad Khan. In the meanwhile, he continued his retrograde movement to Shekhan, but was told at Jaharghi that his scheme for the capture of the envoys had failed, and that they were far beyond his reach. The Amir and his confidential minister, the Mirza, were much mortified and chagrined at having been duped by Sultan Muhammad Khan, in addition to the utter failure of their scheme. He ordered his forces to be concentrated at Jallalabad, a few battalions being sent in advance to Surkh Pal, where his soldiers took the guard by surprise and plundered it of its horses, arms and ammunition. The Amir was unable to restore order among his troops, and retraced his steps to Kabul during the night."[1]

Invasion of south of Multan

"After the Dasahra (1821) the Sikh army was ordered to rendezvous at Amritsar, and the Maharaja, taking the command in person, marched to the Indus, with the object of finally reducing the countries south of Multan. The resources of Hafiz Ahmad Khan, the nawab of Mankera, had been annually drained by extortions and forced contributions, as well as by the ravage and waste of his country, so that Ranjit Singh had hoped that this territory would fall an easy conquest. Having crossed the Indus at Mitha Tiwana, he was joined by Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa, and sent Mishar Dewan Chand and Kirpa Ram, who had joined him at Khushab, to reduce the Bhakkar fort and town. Sayad Imam Shah and Hakam Shah, agents of the Nawab of Mankera fled from Bhakkar on the approach of the Sikh troops, and the place was reduced without resistance. From this place, Sardar Dal Singh and Jamadar Khushal Singh were sent, with a detachment of 8,000 troops, to reduce Dera Ismail Khan. Manal Rae, the Nawab's governor at Dera Ismail Khan, offered resistance; the city was besieged by the Sikh troops, and, the governor having been seized, the Nawab's forces dispersed. The whole of the property and war munitions belonging to the Nawab fell into the hands of the Sikhs. Khangarh, Leia and Manjgarh were next successively reduced without opposition, and the whole Sikh army then

1. Ibid., pp, 467-71

marched to Mankera. The nawab, having paid the arrears due to his troops, made preparations for a determined resistance. The city of Mankera was surrounded with a mud wall, and the fort was of brick; but the invading army had to struggle against natural difficulties. The citadel and the town were situated in the midst of the sandy deserts and on a cluster of sandhills. The entire absence of waterworks and wells in the country invaded, reduced the Sikh army to great straits. A detachment was advanced to invest the stronghold, and the place was blockaded. A supply of water was brought for the besieging army on the backs of camels, bullocks, horses and ponies from Manjgarh and other places, by land, at great trouble and expense. The Maharaja had heavy guns with him, and with these a continual fire was maintained against the besieged. But the Mankerian troops had effectively secured every gateway and bastion, and provided the rampart with means of defence. They poured a hot fire of musketry and cannon on the besiegers, who had carried their works close to the ditch. In the meanwhile the followers of the Sikh army, under the personal supervision of the . . . Maharaja, had succeeded in digging twenty wells in their camp, and a supply of fresh water was now at hand, to the great relief of the invading army. A further division now moved forward to complete the investment, Ranjit Singh himself superintending the conduct of the whole. The siege lasted for twenty-two days, during which the nawab held his own. But desertions now commenced on his side, and some of his principal sardars, having secretly come out of the fort, joined Ranjit Singh, and pointed out the spots at which an attack could be successfully made. The dispositions for the attack were accordingly changed; but the nawab, seeing treachery on his ancestors, sent his agents, Kazi Gul Muhammad and Ali Jah Sikandar Khan, to Ranjit Singh, to propose terms of capitulation. These were that the nawab should be allowed a safe conduct from the citadel to his camp, bringing with him the whole of his family, men, arms and property and that he should be allowed to retain possession of Dera Ismail Khan, and receive a suitable jagir. The Maharaja agreed to these terms. The Nawab had studied well the Sikh character, and knew the Sikh ruler's ideas of good faith. He, therefore, wanted him to put the impression of his hand, with the fingers extended, on a blank piece of paper, with saffron, as a solemn pledge for the due execution of the agreement; and Ranjit Singh, anxious to give a new example in a country so ill-provided with the means of prosecuting it, went through the

formality. Rich dresses were sent to the nawab, who, his suspicions having been thus allayed, surrendered the fort, and came out with 300 followers, bringing with him all his property and arms. His camp was pitched within the lines of the Sikhs, and he had an interview with the Maharaja on the 20th (1822). The Maharaja half stood up to receive him, and was seated close to him on the same masned. The nawab implored his conqueror to save the city from plunder and to provide his troops, who had proved faithful to him, with suitable employment. Both these requests were granted by the Maharaja, who, as a further proof of his friendship for the nawab, discarded those who had joined him as deserters from their now-vanquished sovereign. The nawab made over twenty-two guns, with a large quantity of ammunition, to the Maharaja, and, with the whole of his harem, family and attendants, was sent to Dera Ismail Khan under a sufficient escort. The country of Nawab Hafiz Ahmad Khan, annexed by the Maharaja, was worth annually ten lakhs of rupees, and its acquisition was the source of intense pleasure to Ranjit Singh. . . . . Sardar Amir Singh Sindhianwalia was appointed governor of Mankera, while Bhakkar and Leia were farmed to Raj Kaur Khatri. The Biluch Mahomedan chiefs of Tank and Sagar having been then reduced to subjection, the Sikh army marched to Daera Din Panah. From this place the army was sent by land to Multan, the Maharaja himself embarking on the Indus for Dera Ghazi Khan. Here five lakhs of rupees were exacted from the Bahawalpur nawab, under pain of an invasion of his territory, and the rent of Dera Ghazi Khan and Mithankot, held in farm by him, was increased. Joining then his army at Multan, the Maharaja returned to his capital on the 27th of January, 1822."[1]

Sind (1836)

"The idea of supremacy in Sindh recurred to the mind of Ranjit Singh, on the discomfiture of the Amirs in that country by Shah Shuja, and that monarch's subsequent return to Ludhiana, after being beaten at Kandhar by the Barakzai brothers. A promise to surrender Shikarpur was made to him by Nur Muhammad Khan, of Hyderabad, on condition of a guarantee being given against the designs of the ex-king. But Ranjit Singh had little confidence in the promise of the Sindhians, and his active interference in the affairs beyond the Indus continued unabated. Sawan Mal, the Governor of Multan, sent . . . . . a force to punish the Mazaris

1. Ibid., pp. 425—26

of Rojhan, who had made raids on the Sikh posts, and, in an action fought between the Sikhs and the Mazari free-booters, a hundred of the latter were killed. Nahar Singh was subsequently sent in the direction of Rojhan, at the head of a detachment of troops and one gun, to restore order on the Sikh frontier. The Maharaja also maintained Ghulam Shah Kolhara, a chief who was expelled by the Talpurs, to whom a jagir had been assigned from Kabul. A suitable pension was assigned to this representative of the Kolhara family by the Maharaja at Rojhan, the seat of the Mazaris. Ranjit Singh again urged upon the British Government his superior claims to Shikarpur, contending that it was a dependency of the chiefs of Khorassan, and hinting, at the same time, that the river below Mithankot was not a tributary of the Indus, but of the Sutlej, "the river of the treaty",.........Ranjit Singh's ambitious views were displeasing to the British, but their object was to act with discretion and moderation, and to remain on friendly terms with States having conflicting interests."[1]

Dera Ismail Khan (1836)

"Nawab Shah Nawaz Khan was ousted from his possession of Dera Ismail Khan by Kanwar Nau Nehal Singh and Sardar Atar Singh, Sindhianwala, who, under orders from the darbar, put the Nawab under arrest. The fort of Tank was also taken from Sarfraz Khan, and a police post established there, 30 guns and other war material which were found in the fort, being confiscated to the State. The Kanwar, however, did not meet with success at Garhi Yunis Khan, where, in an encounter with the Afghans, 250 Sikh soldiers were killed and two sardars wounded."[2]

Jamrud (1837)

"In the winter of 1837, the Sikhs, under ......General Hari Singh Nalwa, occupied the fortress of Jamrud at the entrance of the defiles of the Khaibar. This was very unwelcome news for the Kabul Amir, Dost Muhammad Khan , who saw that the measures adopted by the Sikhs was a prelude to further aggressions, as from the Khaibar the roads lay open to Jallalabad. It was, therefore, thought necessary to make a display of force, if not to run the risk of actual collision; and while he

1. Ibid., p. 472—73.
2. Ibid., p. 473.

himself remained at Kabul, the Amir deputed his ...... minister, Mirza Sami Khan, to superintend the operations ...... He was ... instructed to secure the cooperation of the Maliks of the Khaibar by the payment to them of their annual allowances. The army collected on this occasion was headed by five sons of the Amir. . . . Mir Alam Khan of Bajaur and Sa'adat Khan of Momand, were sent with Haji Khan, and the levies from Bajaur and Momand, to invade the districts of Doaba and Hashtnagar, north of the Kabul river, where Sardar Lahna Singh Sindhianwala, had joined the Sikh forces from Shab Kadar. . . .

The temporary absence of Hari Singh from Jamrud tempted Mirza Sami Khan and the Amir's son to make an attempt to carry the castle by assault, and a cannonade was commenced upon the walls. The weak defences of the fort were destroyed in the course of two or three days, and, the Afghans becoming sanguine, were congratulating themselves on the success which had attended them at the outset, when Hari Singh suddenly appeared and made an attack on them, which resulted in their retreat. This occurred on 30th April, 1837. Hari Singh next fell upon the divisions of Nai Amir Akhundzada, Mullah Momand Khan naib, and Zerin Khan Arza Begi, which he threw into confusion, their leaders being severely wounded and fleeing from the scene of action in great dismay. The divisions led by the Amir's sons and Nawab Jabbar Khan, which had not hitherto been attacked, also dispersed and fled. The only detachment which stood firm in the field was that of Mahomed Afzal Khan, the Amir's eldest son, who, keeping together his body of two thousand men, showed a bold front. Hari Singh, finding him inflexible, unexpectedly wheeled round, and, observing the Amir's sons and the Nawab occupying small eminences in the defiles of the Khaibar, fell on their divisions. The assault was furious, and the Sikhs drove the Afghans from their positions with much slaughter, capturing fourteen guns. The Sikhs, thinking the victory gained, pursued the enemy, in order to drive them into the plains, when their progress was checked by a large body of horse, led by Shams-ud-din Khan, who was coming to join in the battle.

The prompt arrival of this reinforcement induced those of the Afghans who were retreating without having engaged in the contest to return, and these now, in their turn, made a desperate attack on the Sikh forces. Nawab Jabbar Khan and Shuja-ud-Din Khan. . . . also

returned, and a successful charge made by them led to the recovery of two of the captured guns. At this crisis......Hari Singh, while gallantly rallying the retiring Sikhs, received a mortal wound, ... This accident spread consternation among the Sikh troops, who retired under the walls of Jamrud, where they entrenched themselves. The Afghans recovered in all, eleven of the fourteen guns they had lost, and captured three more belonging to the Sikhs."[1] (Ranjit Singh, saddened by the death of his old friend, sent reinforcements, in order to strengthen the Sikhs' position at Jamrud. This caused the Afghans to retire to the Sofe'd Koh and finally to Kabul. Ed.)

1. Ibid., pp. 482—83.

باب سوئیم

سید احمد شہید کی تحریکِ جہاد[1]

ابتدائی حالات

سید احمد ۲۹ نومبر ۱۷۸۶ء کو رائے بریلی (صوبجات متحدہ ہند) میں پیدا ہوئے۔ مروجہ اسلامی دستور کے مطابق چار برس اور کچھ مہینے کی عمر ہوئی تو آپ کو مدرسے میں داخل کر دیا گیا، لیکن آپ کی طبیعت تعلیم کی طرف زیادہ مائل نہ ہوئی۔ صرف معمولی نوشت و خواند سیکھ سکے۔ آپ کو ابتدا ہی سے مردانہ کھیلوں کے ساتھ زیادہ دلچسپی تھی۔ عموماً ساتھ کھیلنے والے لڑکوں کو دو گروہوں میں بانٹ کر جنگ کی مشقیں کرتے تھے۔ شروع ہی سے دل میں جہاد کا جذبہ موجزن تھا۔ اس دور میں ورزشیں بھی بہت کیں۔ ذرا بڑے ہوئے تو خدمت خلق کو شعار خاص بنا لیا۔ محلے کے لوگوں خصوصاً بیوہ عورتوں کے تمام کام خود ہی کر دیا کرتے تھے۔ اٹھارہ برس کی عمر تھی جب آپ چند دوستوں اور رشتہ داروں کے ساتھ ملازمت کی غرض سے لکھنؤ گئے جو رائے بریلی سے انچاس میل تھا۔ آپ کے والد اور بعض اقرباء وہاں ملازم رہ چکے تھے۔ کئی امیر آپ کے خاندان سے بخوبی واقف تھے۔ کچھ مدت وہاں گزاری۔ ملازمتیں دلانے میں اپنے ساتھیوں کو پہلے رکھا۔ خود کوئی ملازمت قبول نہ کی۔ لکھنؤ سے تنہا پیدل دہلی روانہ ہو گئے تاکہ شاہ عبدالعزیز محدث دہلوی سے علمی اور روحانی فیض حاصل کریں۔ شاہ صاحب کو سید صاحب کے خاندان سے پوری شناسائی تھی، کیونکہ سید صاحب کے بعض قریبی رشتہ دار شاہ صاحب سے پڑھ چکے تھے۔ انہیں

۱۔ اپنی گونا گوں مصروفیات کے باوجود مولانا غلام رسول مہر صاحب نے کمال مہربانی کر کے یہ مضمون کتاب کے لیے تحریر فرمایا ہے۔ جس کے لیے میں ان کا نہایت ممنون ہوں — ایڈیٹر۔

شاہ صاحب نے اپنے بھائی شاہ عبدالقادر محدث کے سپرد کر دیا ، جن کا درس اکبر آبادی مسجد میں جاری تھا ۔ سید صاحب نے وہاں عربی کی ابتدائی کتابیں پڑھیں ۔ پھر شاہ عبدالعزیز سے بیعت کی ۔ قریباً ۱۸۰۷ء میں آپ وطن واپس چلے گئے اور آپ کی شادی ہو گئی ۔

نواب امیر خان کی بیعت ۔

دہلی ہی میں آپ نے لمبی عبادتیں اور مراقبے شروع کر دیے تھے ۔ ان کا سلسلہ وطن میں بھی برابر جاری رہا ۔ تئیس (۲۳) برس کے قریب عمر تھی جب آپ نے نواب امیر خان کے لشکر میں شامل ہونے کے لیے راجپوتانے کا قصد کر لیا ۔ آپ کے بڑے بھائی اس لشکر میں پیش امام تھے لیکن وہ سید احمد کے پہنچنے سے پیشتر وفات پا چکے تھے ۔ نواب امیر خان نے سید صاحب کا خیر مقدم کیا اور چند ہی روز میں انہیں اپنے خاص مشیروں میں شامل کر لیا ۔

سید صاحب کا مقصد یہ تھا کہ نواب کو جہاد کے اعلیٰ مقاصد پر آمادہ کریں اور اس سے آزادی وطن کا کام لیں ۔ نواب کے پاس خاصی بڑی جنگی قوت تھی اور اس وقت تک وہ آزاد تھا ۔ اگر اس قوت سے صحیح کام لیا جاتا تو امید تھی کہ اچھے نتائج برآمد ہوں گے ۔ اسی مقصد کے پیش نظر سید صاحب کم و بیش سات سال امیر خان کے ساتھ رہے ۔ جے پور کی جنگ اور مادھو راج پوری کے محاصرے میں بھی شریک تھے ۔ سید صاحب کی برکت سے امیر خان کے لشکر کی اخلاقی حالت بہت سدھر گئی ۔ ان کی ریاضتیں بھی غیر معمولی صورت اختیار کر چکی تھیں ۔ خود نواب کے دل میں سید صاحب کا احترام بہت بڑھ گیا ۔

۱۸۱۷ء میں نواب نے گرد و پیش کے حالات سے مجبور ہو کر انگریزوں سے معاہدہ کر لینے کی ٹھان لی اور ریاست لے کر بیٹھ جانے پر آمادہ ہو گیا ۔ سید صاحب نے نواب کو معاہدے سے روکنے کی بڑی کوششیں کیں ۔ یہ بھی کہا کہ انگریزوں سے مل کر ریاست لے لینے کے بعد آپ کچھ بھی نہیں کر سکیں گے ۔ جب دیکھا کہ نواب اپنی رائے پر قائم ہے تو سید صاحب اس کی رفاقت ترک کرکے دہلی چلے آئے ۔

غرض نواب سے علیحدگی کی اصل وجہ اس کے سوا کچھ نہ تھی کہ اس کے ذریعے سے پیش نظر کام میں امداد کی کوئی امید نہیں رہی تھی -

مستقل تحریک کی بنیاد

اب سید صاحب فیصلہ کر چکے تھے کہ خود تحریک جہاد کی بنیاد رکھیں اور مسلمانوں کی دینی اصلاح و تنظیم میں مصروف ہو جائیں - دہلی پہنچ کر شاہ عبدالعزیز محدث سے بھی مشورے کیے اور تحریک کی ابتدا مختلف مقامات کے دوروں سے ہوئی - سید صاحب جہاں جاتے وعظ و نصیحت کے ذریعے سے مسلمانوں کے عقائد کی اصلاح کرتے۔ انہیں عملاً سچے مسلمان بناتے ، ساتھ ساتھ جہاد کے لیے بھی دعوت دیتے ، لیکن ایسے انداز میں کہ ابتدائی دوروں میں کھلم کھلا اس کا ذکر نہ آتا - آپ نے میرٹھ ، سہارن پور اور مظفر نگر کے مختلف مقامات کا دورہ کیا - پھر دہلی واپس آ کر وطن کا قصد کر لیا جہاں سے نکلے ہوئے کم و بیش دس سال گزر چکے تھے - اپنی تحریک کے متعلق وطن تک کے سفر میں بھی وعظ و تبلیغ کا کام جاری رہا - وطن پہنچ کر بھی مختلف مقامات کے دورے کیے - لکھنؤ میں بھی کچھ مدت گزاری اس طرح ایک بڑی جماعت پیدا کر لی جو مقاصد جہاد میں ہر اعانت کے لیے دل و جان سے تیار تھی -

سفر حج

اس زمانے میں بعض علماء نے فریضہ حج ساقط ہو جانے کا فتویٰ دے دیا تھا ، کیونکہ پرتگیزوں کے جہاز حاجیوں کے جہازوں پر حملے کرتے رہتے تھے - ان علماء کی رائے یہ تھی کہ راستے کا امن باقی نہیں رہا ، لہذا مسلمانوں کو حج کے لیے نہ جانا چاہیے - سید صاحب نے ان فتووں کی مخالفت کی - پھر اس سلسلے میں ایک عملی قدم اٹھایا یعنی عام اعلان کر دیا کہ میں حج کے لیے جا رہا ہوں - جو مسلمان جانے کے لیے تیار ہو وہ میرے ساتھ ہو جائے - اگر کسی کے پاس خرچ نہ ہو تو اس کی ذمہ داری مجھ پر ہے - میں اپنے خرچ پر اسے

حج کرا کے واپس لاؤں گا ۔ اس طرح کم و بیش سات سو آدمیوں کو لے کر کلکتے سے گیارہ جہاز کرایے پر لیے ۔ ہر جہاز پر کھانے پینے کا ضروری سامان رکھوایا ۔ یوں پورے قافلے کو حج کے بعد بخیر و عافیت واپس لائے ۔ اس میں ہزاروں روپے صرف ہوئے ۔ سید صاحب کے عقیدت مندوں نے رائے بریلی سے کلکتے تک اتنے نذرانے پیش کر دیے تھے کہ حج کا خرچ پورا ہو گیا ۔ یوں فریضۂ حج کو ساقط قرار دینے والے فتووں کی عملی تردید کی اور مسلمانوں کے لیے اس اہم دینی فرض کی بجا آوری کا عمدہ نمونہ پیش کر دیا ۔

جہاد فی سبیل اللہ

حج سے واپسی کے بعد سید صاحب کاملاً تحریک جہاد کے لیے وقف ہو گئے ۔ شاہ عبدالعزیز کے خاندان میں سے شاہ اسماعیل محدث ، مولانا عبدالحی برہانوی ، مولانا محمد یوسف پھلتی[1] نیز ملک کے صدہا اکابر آپ کے ساتھ ہو گئے ۔

جہاد کا مقصد یہ تھا کہ ہندوستان کو انگریزوں اور سکھوں کے تسلط سے نجات دلائی جائے ۔ اس غرض سے مرکز جہاد ایسا تجویز کر لینا ضروری تھا ، جہاں اطمینان سے تحریک کی تنظیم ہو سکتی اور مختلف اسلامی حکومتوں کے لیے تحریک جہاد میں شریک ہو جانا آسان ہوتا ۔ غور و فکر کے بعد شمالی و مغربی سرحد کو موزوں ترین سمجھا گیا ، جہاں مسلمانوں کی بہت بڑی اکثریت تھی ۔ اس علاقے پر سکھوں کی ترکتازیں شروع ہو چکی تھیں ۔ اس کی آزادی محفوظ کر دینا ضروری تھا ۔ علاقہ سرحد سے شمالی اور مغربی جانب آزاد اسلامی حکومتیں موجود تھیں اور مسلمان ہونے کی حیثیت میں ان سے ہر قسم کی امداد کی امید تھی ۔ ہندوستانی مجاہدین کے علاوہ سرحد کی اسلامی آبادی کی تنظیم اور اسلامی حکومتوں کی امداد سے ایسی جنگی قوت مہیا ہو سکتی تھی، جو تحریک کو کامیاب بنا دیتی ۔

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۱ ۔ بڑھانہ اور پھلت مظفرنگر میں ہیں ۔

وطن سے ہجرت

سید صاحب پانچ چھ سو مجاہدین کے ساتھ جنوری ۱۸۲۶ء کو وطن سے روانہ ہوئے۔ مقصود یہ تھا کہ منزلِ مقصود پر پہنچ کر مجاہدین کی دوسری جماعتوں کو بلا لیں گے۔ آپ فتح پور، کالپی، گوالیار، ٹونک اور اجمیر ہوتے ہوئے مارواڑ کے راستے حیدر آباد سندھ پہنچے۔ وہاں سے پیر کوٹ گئے جو سکھر کے قریب ہے۔ پھر دریائے سندھ کو عبور کر کے شکارپور، درۂ بولان، کوئٹہ، قندھار، غزنی، کابل اور جلال آباد ہوتے ہوئے پشاور وارد ہوئے۔ اس طویل سفر کے مقصد دو تھے: اول یہ کہ مسلمان امراء اور روساء کو جہاد میں شرکت کی دعوت دیں، دوم اندازہ کر لیں کہ آیا جہاد کے لیے علاقہ سرحد سے موزوں تر بھی کوئی مقام ہو سکتا ہے۔ پشاور میں زیادہ قیام کی ضرورت بھی نہ تھی، ویسے بھی سکھوں کی فوج اٹک سے گزرتی ہوئی اکوڑہ خٹک[1] پہنچ گئی تھی اور اس کی روک تھام ضروری تھی۔ سید صاحب پشاور سے چارسدہ کے راستے نوشہرہ پہنچ گئے جو اکوڑہ خٹک سے قریب تھا۔ ۲۰ نومبر ۱۸۲۶ء کو تھوڑے سے مجاہدین بھیج کر سکھوں کے لشکر پر شب خون مارا جس میں کم و بیش سات سو سکھ مارے گئے۔ سید صاحب کے ساتھ مجاہدین بہت کم تھے اس لیے مزید انتظامات کیے بغیر مستقل جنگ شروع نہیں کی جا سکتی تھی۔

شب خون میں مجاہدین کی مردانگی کا اندازہ ہو گیا تو سرحد کے خوانین اور عوام گروہ در گروہ سید صاحب کے پاس جمع ہونے لگے۔ ۱۱ جنوری ۱۸۲۷ء کو ہنڈ میں سرحد کے علماء، خوانین اور عوام کا بھاری اجتماع ہوا، جس میں سید صاحب کے ہاتھ پر جہاد کے لیے بیعت امامت کی گئی اور تھوڑے ہی عرصے میں بہت بڑے قبائلی لشکر کے اجتماع کا انتظام ہو گیا تاکہ سکھوں پر کاری ضرب لگائی جا سکے۔ بیعت امامت سے مقصود یہ تھا کہ تمام امراء و خوانین اپنے اپنے علاقوں میں مختار رہیں، لیکن دشمنوں کے خلاف دفاعی اغراض کے لیے سید

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۱ - یہ مقام نوشہرہ سے آٹھ میل جنوب میں واقع ہے۔

صاحب پیشوا اور امام ہوں ۔ **شیدو۱** میں سکھوں سے مقابلہ ہوا ۔ پشاور کے درانی سرداروں نے رنجیت سنگھ کے ساتھ خفیہ ساز باز کر کے اول سید صاحب کو آغاز جنگ سے پہلے ہی زہر دلوایا ، پھر میدان جنگ میں پہنچتے ہی لڑے بھڑے بغیر بھاگ نکلے ۔ ساتھ ہی قبائلی لشکر بھی میدان چھوڑ گیا ۔ حقیقت یہ ہے کہ درانی سرداروں کو ایک طرف رنجیت سنگھ کی دھمکیوں نے پریشان کر رکھا تھا ۔ دوسرے انہیں یہ اندیشہ بھی پیدا ہو گیا تھا کہ سید صاحب کامیاب ہو گئے تو ان کی ریاستیں باقی نہ رہیں گی ۔

سید صاحب زہر کے اثر سے بے ہوش ہو چکے تھے انہیں بہ مشکل میدان جنگ سے باہر نکال کر محفوظ مقام پر پہنچایا گیا ۔ کئی روز کے بعد ہوش آیا اور سارے حالات کا علم ہوا تو قرار یہ پایا کہ سرحدی عوام میں تبلیغ جاری رکھی جائے تاہم مزید جنگی اقدامات کے لیے اپنے مجاہدین کے پہنچنے کا انتظار کیا جائے ، جن کی بے نفسی اور استقامت پر پورا اعتماد تھا ۔

سید صاحب نے بونیر اور سوات کا دورہ کیا ۔ جہاں جاتے لوگ جوش و خروش سے استقبال کرتے اور ساتھ دینے کے لیے تیار ہو جاتے ۔ پھر ہندوستان سے سید صاحب کے پاس مجاہدین کے قافلے پہنچنے لگے ۔ خد و خیل کے علاقے میں پنجتار کو مرکز جہاد بنا لیا گیا ، جو اس غرض کے لیے زیادہ موزوں مقام تھا ۔ مجاہدانہ اقدامات کا دائرہ رفتہ رفتہ پھیلنے لگا ۔ سکھوں کے خلاف بھی لڑائیاں ہوئیں ، لیکن درانی سرداروں کی دو رخی پالیسی کے باعث کوئی قطعی نتیجہ برآمد نہ ہوا ۔ بعض مقامی خوانین بھی ان سرداروں کے ساتھ ہو گئے ۔ ملا لوگ ہر مخالفت میں پیش پیش تھے کیونکہ سید صاحب جو شرعی نظام قائم کر رہے تھے ، اس سے ملاؤں کے وقار و وقعت سے زیادہ مالی مفاد پر ضرب لگتی تھی ۔ چنانچہ اٹک کے قلعے پر حملے کی ایک نہایت اچھی سکیم اس وجہ سے ناکام ہو گئی کہ ہنڈ کے خان نے اس کے متعلق قبل از وقت سکھوں کو آگاہ

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۱ ۔ یہ مقام اکوڑہ خٹک اور خیرآباد کے درمیان واقع ہے ۔

کر دیا - پھر درانی سردار کھلم کھلا مقابلے پر آ گئے - چنانچہ سردار یار محمد خان ایک لڑائی میں مارا گیا اور سید صاحب نے ہوتی اور مردان پر قبضہ کرتے ہوئے پشاور پر دہاوا بول دیا - یار محمد خان کا بھائی سلطان محمد خان پشاور چھوڑ کر پہاڑوں میں جا چھپا اس زمانے میں ۱۸۳۰ء سید صاحب کے زیر اثر علاقہ پشاور سے مشرق جانب دریائے سندھ تک پھیل گیا تھا - آخر سلطان محمد خان بعض مقامی خوانین کو بیچ میں ڈال کر اپنی غلطیوں پر پشیمان ہوا اور سید صاحب کا ساتھ دینے کے لیے حلف اٹھایا - سید صاحب نے پشاور اسی کے حوالے کر دیا -

یوں امید پیدا ہو گئی کہ سرحد کے تمام خوانین و عوام منظم ہو کر سکھوں کے خلاف اقدامات میں پوری مدد دیں گے اور اس طرح پنجاب کو سکھوں کے تسلط سے نجات دلا کر ہندوستان کی آزادی کے لیے جہاد کا آغاز ہو سکے گا ، لیکن سلطان محمد خان اور اس کے خویش و اقربا کی کوششوں سے بعض خوانین کو ملا کر ایک خفیہ سازش کی گئی - ایک مقررہ تاریخ پر سید صاحب کے مجاہدین کو جو مختلف دیہات میں بکھرے ہوئے تھے ، یکایک موت کے گھاٹ اتار دیا گیا - یہ اندازہ کرنا مشکل ہے کہ اس سازش میں کتنے سو مجاہدین اپنوں کے ہاتھوں خاک و خون میں تڑپے ، جو سرحد اور ہندوستان کی آزادی کے لیے گھر بار چھوڑ کر آئے تھے - یہ لوگ انسانیت کے ہیرے اور جواہر پارے تھے - سید صاحب کو اس غداری کا بے حد قلق ہوا - چنانچہ فیصلہ کر لیا گیا کہ پنجتار کے مرکز کو چھوڑ دیں ، جہاں ان کی زندگی کے تین چار سال بے نتیجہ صرف ہو چکے تھے -

سکھوں کی پیش کش

سید صاحب ہزارے کی طرف بھی سلسلہ جہاد شروع کر چکے تھے اور اس طرف کے خوانین و روساء میں سے اکثر ان کا ساتھ دینے کے لیے تیار ہو چکے تھے - سکھوں نے سرحد میں طوفانِ مخالفت اٹھتے دیکھا تو فیصلہ کر لیا کہ اٹک پار کا علاقہ سید صاحب کو دے کر انہیں اسی

حیثیت میں لے آئیں جو انگریزوں نے ہندوستان کی ریاستوں کو دے رکھی تھی ۔ ایک وفد یہ پیشکش لے کر سید صاحب کے پاس پہنچا ، مگر سید صاحب اسے قبول کرنے کے لیے کیوں کر تیار ہو سکتے تھے ؟ ان کا نصب العین تو یہ تھا کہ پنجاب سمیت ہندوستان کے ہر حصے کو غیروں کے تسلط سے نجات دلائیں اور اسلامی حکومت صحیح اصول پر قائم کریں ۔

پنجتار کو چھوڑ کر سید صاحب نے بالائی ہزارہ کا رخ کیا ۔ وہ چاہتے تھے کہ وہاں سے رفتہ رفتہ کشمیر پہنچیں جہاں کے مسلمان بارہا دعوتیں دے چکے تھے ۔ کشمیر کو سکھوں کے تسلط سے نجات دلا کر ایک منظم تحریک جہاد کا انتظام کیا جا سکتا تھا جس کی برکت سے قدم آگے بڑھایا جاتا ۔

۱۸۳۱ء کے اوائل میں سید صاحب دشوار گزار پہاڑوں سے گزرتے ہوئے راج دواری (بالائی ہزارہ) پہنچ گئے ۔ وہاں سے ان علاقوں کی طرف توجہ ہوئی ، جو ہزارے میں سکھوں کے زیر اثر تھے ۔ ادہر مظفر آباد کے مسلمان روسا کو سکھوں سے بچانا منظور تھا ۔ سید صاحب نے تمام انتظامات خوش اسلوبی سے کیے ۔ مظفر آباد کا راستہ صاف کرکے کشمیر پہنچنا بہت سہل تھا ۔ اس اثنا میں بالا کوٹ پر سکھوں کے حملے کا خطرہ پیدا ہو گیا تو سید صاحب وہاں چلے گئے ۔ ۵ مئی ۱۸۳۱ء کو دس ہزار سکھوں اور آٹھ نو سو مجاہدین کے درمیان جنگ ہوئی ۔ گھمسان کا رن قصبۂ بالا کوٹ کے جنوبی و مغربی میدان میں پڑا ۔ متفرق جھڑپیں قصبے کے شمال اور شمال و مشرق میں بھی ہوئیں ۔ اس جنگ میں سید صاحب ، شاہ اسماعیل ، اور بہت سے دوسرے ممتاز مجاہدین نے شہادت پائی ۔ باقی ماندہ مجاہدین جن کی تعداد تین سو کے قریب تھی راج دواری پہنچ گئے ۔ بعد ازاں اس تحریک کی تنظیم مختلف سالاروں کے ہاتھ میں رہی ۔ انہوں نے برابر جنگیں جاری رکھیں ۔ جماعت کا مرکز اب بھی موجود ہے ، اگرچہ قیام پاکستان کے بعد شمالی و مغربی حصے میں اصل کام ختم ہو چکا ہے ۔

تحریک کی خصوصیات

سید صاحب کی تحریک جہاد کی چند ممتاز خصوصیات بطور خاص پیش نظر رہنی چاہئیں ۔

۱۔ اس سے پیشتر غیر اسلامی تسلط خصوصاً انگریزوں کے خلاف جتنی کوششیں ہوئی تھیں ، وہ سلطانوں ، فرمانرواؤں یا رئیسوں کی طرف سے ہوئی تھیں ، جن کے پاس منظم فوجیں تھیں ، خزانے تھے اور ضروری سروسامان موجود تھا ۔ سید صاحب کی تحریک خالصۃً عوامی تحریک تھی اور انہوں نے مذہبی اصلاح و تربیت کے زیر اثر جن ہزاروں افراد کو اپنے ساتھ وابستہ کر لیا تھا وہ تمام خدمات رضاکارانہ طریق پر انجام دیتے رہے ۔ ان کی کوئی تنخواہ مقرر نہ تھی ۔ صرف کھانے پہننے کا معمولی انتظام سید صاحب ان رقموں سے کر دیتے تھے ، جو تحریک جہاد کے سلسلے میں ان کے پاس آتی تھیں ۔

۲ ۔ یہ تحریک اصولاً مذہب کی بنا پر منظم کی گئی تھی جس کا مقصد یہ تھا کہ ہر فرد، ہر خدمت مذہبی فرض سمجھ کر انجام دیتا رہے ، لیکن ملکی آزادی کی تحریک میں سید صاحب ہمیشہ غیر مسلموں کے تعاون کا خیر مقدم کرتے رہے ۔

۳ ۔ خود سید صاحب یا مجاہدین میں سے کسی کا بھی یہ مقصد نہ تھا کہ کوئی علاقہ لے لیں، ریاست بنا لیں یا اپنی حکومت قائم کر لیں ۔ ایسا کوئی مقصد ہوتا تو اسے پورا کر لینا بہت سہل تھا ۔ ان کا نصب العین صرف یہ تھا کہ ملکی آزادی کو پایہ تکمیل تک پہنچائیں ۔ شریعت کے مطابق حق و انصاف کے اصول پر نظام حکومت قائم کرائیں اور خود الگ ہو جائیں ۔ گویا وہ یہاں معنوی اعتبار سے اسلام کا ابتدائی دور پیدا کر دینے کے خواہاں تھے ۔

۴ - انہوں نے وقت کے تمام مسلمان فرمانرواؤں اور خوانین و امرا کو جہاد میں شرکت کی دعوت دی، جن تک ان کی رسائی کسی نہ کسی ذریعے سے ہو سکتی تھی اور جن کے لیے براہ راست شرکت جہاد میں کوئی رکاوٹ نہیں تھی۔ سیدصاحب کے جومکاتیب یا دعوت نامے یا اعلام نامے محفوظ رہ گئے، ان سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ انہوں نے تیرہ مستقل مسلمان فرمانرواؤں اور بتیس امرا و خوانین سے رابطہ پیدا کرنے کی کوشش کی اور ہر ایک کو اسلام کا یہ بھلایا ہوا سبق یاد دلانے کے لیے کوئی دقیقہ سعی اٹھا نہ رکھا ، لیکن بعض اصحاب نے زبانی تحسین ہی پر قناعت کرلی یا جزوی امداد دے دی باقی فرمانروا یا امرائ سید صاحب کی تحریک کی حقیقی بنیادوں کا بھی اندازہ نہ کر سکے اور بعض نے تو اجنبیوں کی غلط بیانیوں کے زیر اثر اس تحریک کو محض انگریزوں کا کھڑا کیا ہوا ایک شاخسانہ سمجھ لیا ۔

۵ - اسلام اور اسلامیت کے احیاء کے لیے ایسی کسی دوسری تحریک کی مثال نہیں ملتی ۔ افسوس ہے کہ اس کے ساتھ جو خوشگوار امیدیں اور آرزوئیں وابستہ کی جا سکتی تھیں اور کی گئی تھیں ، وہ پوری نہ ہوئیں ۔ اس کا ایک بڑا سبب یہ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ خود سرحدی امراء و خوانین نے محض حقیر اغراض کے لیے اس کے کامیاب اجراء میں رکاوٹیں پیدا کیں ۔ نتیجہ یہ نکلا کہ اصل تحریک بھی منزل مقصود پر نہ پہنچ سکی اور خود ان امراء و خوانین یا ان سے وابستہ لوگوں کے لیے ذاتی اغراض پورا کرنے کی بھی کوئی صورت نہ نکلی ۔ تاریخ کا دہارا ایسے رخ پر بہہ نکلا جس سے خاصی لمبی مدت کے لیے ملت اسلامیہ ہی نہیں اس وسیع ملک کی تقدیر بھی گونا گوں پریشانیوں کی جولانگاہ بنی رہی ۔ خود اہل سرحد نے بھی کئی سال تک سکھوں اور کم وبیش ایک صدی انگریزوں کی حکمرانی کے مصائب برداشت کیے ۔

سید صاحب کا نصب العین ۔

سید صاحب کے نصب العین کا اندازہ ان کی مختلف تحریرات سے

ہو سکتا ہے - مثلاً شاہ بخارا کے نام جو مکتوب بھیجا اس میں لکھتے ہیں :

ہر گاہ بلاد اسلام در دست کفار لئام افتد برجماہیر اہل اسلام عموماً و مشاہیر حکام خصوصاً واجب و موکّد می گردد کہ سعی و کوشش در مقابلہ و مقاتلہ آن ہا بجا آرند تاوقتیکہ بلاد مسلمین را از قبضہ ایشان بر آرند واللہ آثم و گنہگار می شوند و عاصی و گنہگار - از درگاہ قبول مرد و دمی گردند و از ساحت قرب مطرود -

جب غیر مسلم اسلامی بلاد پر مسلط ہو جائیں تو عام مسلمانوں کے لیے عموماً اور بڑے حکمرانوں کے لیے خصوصاً واجب و لازم ہو جاتا ہے کہ مسلط غیر مسلموں کے خلاف مقابلہ و مقاتلہ اس وقت تک جاری رکھیں جب تک اسلامی بلاد ان کے قبضے سے نکال نہ لیے جائیں ورنہ مسلمان عاصی و گنہگار ٹھہریں گے ان کے اعمال بارگاہ باری تعالیٰ میں مقبول نہ ہوں گے اور وہ خود قرب حق کی برکتوں سے محروم رہیں گے -

پھر لکھتے ہیں :

نصاریٰ نکوہیدہ خصال و مشرکین بد مآل بر اکثر بلاد ہندوستان از لب دریائے اباسین تا ساحل دریائے شور کہ تخمیناً شش ماہ راہ باشد ، تسلط یافتند و دام تشکیک و تزویر بنابر اخمال دین رب خبیر بر بافتند و تمامی آن اقطار بہ ظلمات ظلم و کفر مشحون گردانیدند

نصاریٰ اور مشرکین ہندوستان کے بلاد پر دریائے سندھ کے کنارے سے ساحل بحر تک قابض ہو گئے یہ اتنا بڑا ملک ہے کہ پیدل چلنے والا انسان ایک سرے سے دوسرے سرے پر پہنچنے میں چھ مہینے صرف کر دے۔ ان نصاریٰ اور مشرکین نے دین حق کو ختم کرنے کے لیے تشکیک اور فریب کا جال پھیلا دیا ہے اور ان تمام خطوں کو ظلم و کفر کی تیرگی سے بھر دیا ہے -

اسی خط میں مزید فرماتے ہیں :

کفار فرنگ کہ بر سر ہندوستان تسلط یافتہ اند نہایت تجربہ‌کار و ہوشیار و حیلہ باز و مکار اند ۔ اگر بر اہل خراسان بیانید بہ سہولت تمام جمیع بلاد آنہا را بہ دست آرند ۔ باز حکومت آن ہا بہ ولایت آنجناب متصل گرد و اطراف دارالحرب بہ اطراف دارالاسلام متحد شود

جو فرنگی ہندوستان پر قابض ہوئے ہیں وہ بڑے تجربہ‌کار ، ہوشیار ، حیلہ باز اور مکار ہیں اگر اہل خراسان (افغانستان) پر چڑھائی کر دیں تو سہولت سے ان کے ملک پر قابض ہو جائیں گے پھر ان کی حکومت کی حدیں آپ کی سلطنت (بخارا) کی حدوں سے جا ملیں گی یوں کہ دارالحرب اور دارالسلام کے اطراف سے مل جائیں ۔

مطلب یہ کہ دارالحرب کی حدیں دارالاسلام سے مل جائیں گی تو دارالاسلام کی حکومت پر جہاد فرض عین ہو جائیگا ۔

اصل مقصد

سید صاحب کے مکاتیب اور اعلام ناموں میں ایسی کئی تحریریں ہیں جن سے واضح ہوتا ہے کہ ان کے نزدیک اصل جنگ انگریزوں کے خلاف تھی اگرچہ وہ سکھوں کے تسلط کو بھی ختم کرنا چاہتے تھے ۔ اگر سکھ ان کے ساتھ ہو کر انگریزوں کے خلاف جنگ کے لیے تیار ہو جاتے تو سید صاحب کا جہاد رنجیت سنگھ کی سلطنت کی جنوبی و مشرقی سرحد سے شروع ہوتا ۔

محمود شاہ درانی والی ہرات کو لکھتے ہیں :

اقامت جہاد و ازالہ بغی و فساد در ہر زمان و ہر مکان از اہم احکام رب العباد است ، خصوصاً دریں جزو زمان کہ شورش اہل کفر و طغیان بہ حدے رسیدہ کہ تخریب شعائر

جہاد قائم کرنا اور بغاوت و فساد کو مٹانا ہر زمانے اور مقام میں خدا کا نہایت اہم حکم رہا ہے خصوصاً اس زمانے میں جب کافروں اور سرکشوں کی شورش ایسی

دین و افساد حکومت سلاطین از دست کفرہ متمرد دین و بغات بہ وقوع در آمدہ و این فتنہ و عظیم تمام بلاد ہندو سند و خراسان را فرا گرفتہ

صورت اختیار کر چکی ہے کہ ان کے ہاتھوں شعائر دین بگاڑے جا رہے ہیں اور شاہان اسلام کی حکومتوں میں ابتری پیدا کی جا رہی ہے۔ یہ بہت بڑا فتنہ ہند، سندھ

. . . . بناً علیہ این بندہ درگاہ حضرت اللہ از وطن مالوفہ خود برخاستہ در دیار ہند و سند و خراسان دور و سیر نمودہ مومنین آن اقطار و مسلمین آن دیار را بہ این معنی ترغیب کرد ۔

اور افغانستان کے خطوں پر چھا گیا ہے . . . اس بنا پر خدا کی درگاہ کے اس بندے نے وطن سے نکل کر ہند ، سندھ اور خراسان کا دورہ کیا اور وہاں کے مسلمانوں اور مومنوں کو جہاد کی ترغیب دی ۔

وطن کی آزادی کے سلسلے میں سید صاحب ہر غیر مسلم کی اعانت قبول کرنے کے لیے تیار تھے جیسا کہ ہندو راؤ کے نام ایک مکتوب سے واضح ہے ۔ ہندو راؤ دولت راؤ سندھیا والی گوالیار کی مہارانی بیجا بائی کا بھائی تھا۔ اور سید صاحب کے زمانے میں اسے ریاست گوالیار میں نہایت اہم حیثیت حاصل تھی فرماتے ہیں :

بیگانگاں بعید الوطن ملوک زمین و زمن گردیدہ اند و تاجران متاع فروش بہ پایہ سلطنت رسیدہ امارت امرائے نامدار و ریاست روسائے عالی مقدار برباد کردہ . . . . چون اہل ریاست و سیاست در زاویہ خمول نشستہ اند لاچار چندے از اہل فقرو مسکنت کمر ہمت بستہ ۔ این جاعہ ضعفا محض بنا بر خدمت

وہ اجنبی جن کا وطن ہندوستان سے بہت دور ہے بادشاہ بن گئے اور تجارت پیشہ لوگوں نے سلطنت قائم کر لی ۔ بڑے بڑے امیروں کی امارتیں اور ریاستیں خاک میں مل گئیں جو لوگ سیاست اور ریاست کے مالک تھے وہ گوشہ گمنامی میں جا بیٹھے ۔ آخر فقیروں اور مسکینوں میں سے چھوٹی سی جاعت نے کمر ہمت باندہی ۔ ضعیفوں کا

دین رب العالمین برخاستہ اند ہرگز از دنیا داران جاہ طلب نیستند

یہ گروہ صرف خدا کے دین کی خدمت کے لیے اٹھا ہے یہ لوگ نہ دنیا دار ہیں ، نہ جاہ طلب ہیں -

دور سے آئے ہوئے اجنبی اور مال بیچنے والے تاجر انگریزوں کے سوا کون ہوسکتے تھے ؟ یہ بھی ظاہر ہے کہ سید صاحب کا مسلک آزادی ہند کے سلسلے میں یہ تھا کہ اچھے مقاصد کے لیے سب کا تعاون قبول کیا جائے -

شہزادہ کامران درانی بن محمود شاہ والی ہرات کو لکھتے ہیں کہ جب یہ علاقے مشرکوں اور منافقوں سے پاک ہو جائیں گے تو انہیں مستحقوں کے حوالے کر دوں گا کہ انعام الہی کا شکر ادا کریں ، جہاد قائم رکھیں ، مقدمات کے تصفیے میں شرع شریف سے سرمو تجاوز نہ ہونے دیں اور ظلم و فساد روک دیں -

باز خود این جانب مع مجاہدین صادقین بہ سمت بلاد ہندوستان بنا بر ازالۂ اہل کفر و طغیان متوجہ خواہد گشت کہ مقصد اصلی خود اقامت جہاد بر ہندوستان است نہ توطن در دیار خراسان -

پھر میں مجاہدین صادقین کے ساتھ ہندوستان کی طرف متوجہ ہو جاؤنگا تاکہ وہاں سے اہل کفر و طغیان کا تسلط ختم کیا جا سکے اور میرا اصل مقصد ہندوستان کی آزادی کے لیے جہاد ہے ، یہ نہیں کہ خراسان کو فتح کرکے یہاں توطن اختیار کرلوں -

سید صاحب کا مقصد اس سے زیادہ واضح الفاظ میں کیا پیش ہو سکتا تھا ؟ اپنی بے نفسی کے سلسلے میں مزید فرماتے ہیں :

سلطنت ہفت کشور را بہ خیال ہم نمی آرم وقتے کہ نصرت دین و استیصال کفرہ متمر دین متحقق گردید ، تیر سعی من بہ ہدف مراد رسید -

میں ہفت اقلیم کی سلطانی کو پرکاہ کے برابر بھی وقعت نہیں دیتا جب دین کی نصرت شروع ہو جائے گی اور کافر سرکشوں کے اقتدار کی جڑ کٹ جائے گی تو میری سعی کا تیر خود بخود نشانۂ مراد پر جا بیٹھے گا -

بعض لوگوں نے ذاتی مصلحتوں یا انگریزں کی خوشنودی کے لیے سید صاحب کے خطوط اور اعلام نامجات کی عبارتیں بدل ڈالیں۔

سید صاحب کی شخصیت۔

سید صاحب کی شخصیت بھی خاص توجہ کی مستحق ہے کیونکہ اس انداز اور اس شان کے مجاہد ہماری تاریخ میں بہت کم ملتے ہیں۔ ان کے صرف چند کار ناموں پر ایک سر سری نظر ڈال لینا کافی ہوگا۔

۱۔ سید صاحب نے اسلامی جہاد کا احیاء نہایت اعلیٰ پیمانے پر کیا۔ سید سلیمان ندوی مرحوم لکھتے ہیں:

"عام طور سے اسلام کے سلسلہ عبادات میں جہاد کا نام فقہا کی تحریروں میں نہیں آتا، مگر قرآن پاک اور احادیث نبوی میں اس کی فرضیت اور اہمیت بہت سے دوسرے فقہی احکام اور عبادات سے بدرجہا زیادہ ہے"

(سیرت النبی جلد پنجم ص ۳۹۶)

جہاد کے معنی عموماً قتال اور لڑائی کے سمجھے جاتے ہیں، لیکن یہ جہاد کی صرف ایک شاخ ہے۔ اس کا اصل مفہوم یہ ہے کہ حق کی سر بلندی اور اس کی اشاعت و حفاظت کے لیے ہر قسم کی جدوجہد، قربانی اور ایثار گوارا کرنا، اللہ تعالیٰ کی طرف سے بندوں کو جتنی جسمانی، مالی اور دماغی قوتیں عطا ہوئیں ہیں، وہ سب اس راہ میں صرف کر دینا، یہاں تک کہ اس کے لیے اپنی، اعزہ و اقرباء کی، اہل و عیال کی، خاندان و قوم کی، جان تک قربان کر دینا۔ حق کے مخالفوں اور دشمنوں کی کوششوں کو توڑنا، حملوں کو روکنا اس کے لیے میدان جنگ میں اترنے پر بھی آمادہ رہنا، یہ جہاد ہے جو اسلام کا ایک رکن اور بہت بڑی عبادت ہے۔

سید صاحب نے اس جہاد کو قوم کے ہر اس طبقے کا شیوہ بنانے کی کوشش کی جس تک ان کے لیے رسائی ممکن تھی۔ وہ خود مئی ۱۸۳۱ء

میں شہید ہو گئے تاہم ان کی صحبت میں جو لوگ اس خدمت کے لیے تیار ہو گئے تھے - انھوں نے یہ سلسلہ کم و بیش ڈیڑھ سو سال تک جاری رکھا -

۲ لوگ ایسے کاموں کے لیے گراں قدر وسائل کی باتیں کرتے ہیں ، لیکن سید صاحب درویش اور بے وسیلہ آدمی تھے - خدمت کا جذبہ لے کر اٹھے اور صرف چھ سات سال کی مدت میں مجاہدین کی اتنی بڑی جماعت پیدا کر لی جس کا تصور بھی اس دور میں نہیں کیا جا سکتا تھا - ان میں سے اکثر لوگ ایسے تھے جو عیش و آرام کی زندگیاں بسر کر رہے تھے - ایسے بھی تھے جن کے اہل و عیال کا گزارا صرف انہی کی کمائی پر موقوف تھا ، لیکن سید صاحب کی دعوت و تبلیغ اور تربیت سے ان میں ایسا جذبہ پیدا ہو گیا کہ ہر رشتے سے بے پروا ہو کر سینکڑوں میل کا فیصلہ طے کر کے دکھوں ، مصیبتوں اور پریشانیوں کی زندگی اختیار کر لی - مرکز جہاد میں انھیں اکثر فاقہ کشی کرنی پڑتی بعض اوقات درختوں کے پتے یا پہاڑی روئیدگی کی جڑیں کھا کھا کر گزارا کرتے رہے ، لیکن خدمت حق میں کوتاہی کے روا دار نہ ہوئے - بڑے بڑے امیر انھیں گرانقدر تنخواہیں دے دے کر اپنے پاس ملازم رکھنے کے خواہاں تھے ، مگر انھوں نے اللہ کی راہ میں جہاد سے منہ نہ موڑا - دنیا کی کوئی چیز انھیں اپنی طرف مائل نہ کر سکی -

۳ - ان مجاہدین کی سب سے بڑی آرزو یہ تھی کہ خدا کی راہ میں شہادت پائیں - چنانچہ جب کوئی شہید ہوتا تو جماعت کے دوسرے لوگ کہتے کہ وہ جو مراد لے کر آیا تھا ، پوری ہو گئی ، خدا ہماری مراد بھی پوری کرے - ایسی مثالیں بھی ملتی ہیں کہ حقیقی بھائی کی شہادت پر دوسرے بھائی کی زبان سے ایسے ہی کلمے نکلے -

۴ - سید صاحب نے جہاد کے احیاء کے علاوہ مسلمانوں میں دین کے احیاء کا کام بھی اعلیٰ پیمانے پر انجام دیا - وہ جہاں جہاں گئے مسلمانوں کے عقائد و اعمال کو اسلام کے خالص سانچے میں ڈھالتے

گئے - آج بھی ان تمام مقامات میں دینداری کی وہی شان باقی ہے، جو سید صاحب کی تبلیغ اور تربیت سے پیدا ہوئی تھی - مشرق پاکستان کے بڑے حصے کی اسلامیت سید صاحب کے مقرر کیے ہوئے داعیوں کی سر گرم کوششوں کا نتیجہ ہے اور اس سلسلے میں سب سے بڑھ کر قابل ذکر مولانا عنایت علی صادق پوری ہیں -

۵ - سید صاحب کے پاس کوئی خزانہ نہ تھا - انہوں نے جا بجا خاص آدمی مقرر کر دیے تھے جو مختلف دیہات میں گھروں سے مٹھی مٹھی آٹا جمع کرتے پھر اسے فروخت کرکے جو رقمیں حاصل ہوتیں، انہیں تھوڑے تھوڑے عرصے کے بعد بڑے مرکزوں میں پہنچا دیتے - اس طرح یہ رقمیں سینکڑوں میل کے فاصلے پر سید صاحب کے پاس پہنچ جاتیں - آپ کی شہادت کے بعد بھی رقوم کی فراہمی کا یہ سلسلہ بدستور قائم رہا - رقمیں پہنچانے والے لوگ سفر کا خرچ خود برداشت کرتے - ۱۸۶۴ء میں انگریزی حکومت نے جاسوسوں کے ذریعے سے اس نظام کا سراغ لگا لیا تھا، جس میں صادق پور (پٹنہ) کے اکابر، مولوی محمد جعفر تھانیسری اور بہت سے دوسرے افراد گرفتار ہوئے اور انہیں کالے پانی کی سزائیں دی گئیں - انگریزوں نے گرفتاریوں اور سزاؤں کا یہ سلسلہ خاصی مدت تک جاری رکھا - حیرت انگیز امر یہ ہے کہ ان گرفتاریوں کے باوجود سید صاحب کے قائم کیے ہوئے نظام میں کوئی خلل نہ آیا - ہمارے زمانے تک رقوم کی فراہمی اسی طرح جاری تھی اور کبھی ایک دمڑی کی بھی خیانت نہ ہوئی - اور نہ کبھی ایک حبہ بھی ضائع ہونے پایا کسی جماعتی نظام میں مالیات کے متعلق دیانت و امانت کا ایسا نقشہ پیش کرنا مشکل ہے -

۶ - سید صاحب نے وقت کے امراء اور رؤسا سے بھی مالی امداد کے سلسلے میں رابطے قائم کیے - بعض ریاستوں کے والی ہر ممکن امداد دیتے رہے ان میں سے خدا کی راہ میں سبقت کا شرف ریاست ٹونک کے تین رئیسوں کو حاصل ہوا - اول امیرالدولہ نواب امیر خان

دوم ان کے فرزند وزیر الدولہ نواب محمد وزیر خان، سوم وزیرالدولہ کے فرزند نواب محمد علی خان ۔ آخرالزکر نواب پابندیوں کے باجود کسی نہ کسی طرح رقمیں بھیجتا رہا ۔ آخر حکومت انگلشیہ نے اس کا بھی سراغ لگا لیا ۔ نواب محمد علی خان کو ایک بے سروپا الزام کی بناء پر معزول کرکے بنارس بھیج دیا گیا اور ان کے بیٹے کو مسند پر بٹھا دیا گیا ۔ یہ ۱۸۶۸ء کا واقعہ ہے ۔ نواب محمد علی خان نے زندگی کے باقی اٹھائیس سال جلا وطنی میں گزارے ۔ بنارس ہی میں ان کا انتقال ہوا ۔

۷ ۔ جن شخصیتوں نے سید صاحب کا شروع کیا ہوا کام اعلٰی پیمانے پر جاری رکھا ان میں علمائے صادق پور (پٹنہ) بطور خاص قابل ذکر ہیں ، جن میں سے مولانا ولایت علی ، مولانا عنایت علی ، مولانا عبداللہ اور مولانا عبدالکریم کے نام ہمیشہ روشن رہیں گے ۔ یہ بزرگ وسیع جائدادوں کے مالک ہونے کے باعث وقت کے امراء میں شمار ہوتے تھے ۔ ان کی جائدادیں ضبط ہوئیں ۔ بعض نے جزیرہ انڈیمان میں وفات پائی ۔ جو افراد سرحد میں کارفرما تھے ، انھوں نے انتہائی تکلیفیں اٹھا کر اپنی جانیں راہ خدا میں دیں لیکن جیتے جی سید صاحب کے قائم کردہ نظام کو گزند نہ پہنچنے دیا ۔

ان چند پہلوؤں کو سامنے رکھ کر اندازہ ہو سکتا ہے کہ ایک بے نوا سید نے محض دینی جذبے کی بنا پر اتنی بڑی تحریک اٹھائی اور اس میں ایسے آدمی جمع کر دیے جن کے اسلامی کردار کی مثالیں ہر جگہ نہیں مل سکتیں ۔

سید صاحب کا ایک کمال یہ ہے کہ انہیں بےشمار آدمی ملے جس آدمی میں جیسی بھی صلاحیت دیکھی ، اس سے دین اور ملت کا کوئی نہ کوئی کام لے لیا مثلاً بوڑھے لوگ آئے جو لڑ نہیں سکتے تھے ، انہیں بچوں اور عورتوں کو قرآن مجید پڑھانے پر لگا دیا ۔ کسی سے کہا کہ وضو ، نماز یا دوسرے اسلامی ارکان کے متعلق کوئی چھوٹا سا رسالہ لکھ دیجیے ، جس

سے عام مسلمان فائدہ اٹھا سکیں ۔ اپنے کسی ارادت مند سے فرمایا چھاپہ خانہ قائم کر لو اور اس میں ایسی کتابیں چھاپو جو مسلمانوں میں دین کا ذوق تازہ کر دیں ۔ چنانچہ ان کے ایک مرید مولوی عبداللہ نے سرام پور میں ایک عمدہ چھاپہ خانہ قائم کیا ، جس میں شاہ عبدالقادر مرحوم کا اردو ترجمۂ قرآن پہلی مرتبہ بڑے اہتمام سے چھاپا گیا ۔ یہ ترجمہ ۱۸۰۳ء میں ہو چکا تھا ۔ سید احمد شہید نے پانسو روپے میں اس کا ایک نسخہ خریدا اور ۱۸۲۹ء میں یہ مولوی عبداللہ کے چھاپے خانے میں طبع ہوا ۔

سید صاحب کی توجہ سے اردو کی کتابیں ، چھوٹے چھوٹے دینی رسالے اور پمفلٹ اتنی تعداد میں چھاپے گئے کہ سر چارلس لائل نے ''ہندوستانی لٹریچر،، کے ذکر میں اسے اردو زبان کی بہت بڑی خدمت قرار دیا ہے ۔ (انسائیکلوپیڈیا برٹانیکا جلد ۱۱ صفحہ ۵۷۵) ۔

CHAPTER IV

Administration, Character and Religious Policy*

Administration

"During the early part of his (Ranjit Singh's) reign, he and the other Sikh chiefs had no system of official records; business was conducted by verbal orders, and continued so with Ranjit Singh until Diwan Bhowani Das, a clever native of Peshawar, was employed. When he came into his service, he divided the transaction of the affairs of state into different offices or departments keeping the accounts, farming of districts and preserving every record of importance, commenced only from that period. At present there are twelve Daftars or offices where the civil and military business of the government is arranged. Diwan Dinanath is at the head of them. Formerly, neither were there any forms for the Deodhee;[1] they were introduced about the same time. Bhae Ram Singh, and Bhae Govind Ram Singh, and Faqir Aziz-ud-din, assist his Highness in civil affairs; the Faqir also acts the part of chief secretary for foreign affairs.

The affairs of the country are conducted by means of Governors or Kardars, who are appointed to each district. They manage the whole business connected with the administration of the territory entrusted to them and seldom report any case to the court unless it be of high importance, when his Highness's orders are communicated by issuing Parwanas.[2] The settlement of the revenue, the audit of accounts, and

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*Material for this chapter has geen taken from :

Ali, Shahamat : The Sikhs and the Afghans, London, 1847.
Griffin, L. : Ranjit Singh (Rulers of India) Oxford, 1898.
Prinsep, H.T. : The Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab, Calcutta, 1834.
Latif, S.M. : History of the Punjab, 1891.
Chopra, G.S. : The Punjab as a Sovereign State, Lahore, 1928.
Lal, Kenhya : Tarikh-i-Lahore, 1884.

1. Corresponding with the Lord Chamberlain's office, literally the entrance to the court.
2. Official orders.

their adjustment, both in the military and civil department, are done entirely by the Maharaja; but in the last two or three years, owing to his bad state of health, he has sometimes delegated that duty to Raja Dhian Singh. He has news-writers in every quarter of his dominions, and the news of foreign courts is always read to his Highness in the morning."[1]

"Land Revenue and Tributes, annually levied from the whole of these possessions, is	Rs. 1,24,03,900
Besides which, the customs of the Punjab yield to Ranjit Singh	Rs. 19,00,600
An item, called Mohurana, being a fee on every paper submitted for the seal of Ranjit Singh ...	Rs. 5,77,000
Making a total Khalsa Revenue of ...	Rs. 1,48,81,500
The same officer estimates that there remains still appropriated in Jageers, or held by old Sikh families and establishments, without paying any thing to the Khalsa territory yielding	Rs. 1,09,28,000
Thus making the entire resources of the country under the dominion of Ranjit Singh	Rs. 2,58,09,500

This total is not very wide of the revenue set down in the books of the Moghul Government, as the produce of the Lahore Sooba; and considering that Kashmir, and some territory south of the Sutlej is included, the correspondence of amount is in favour of the correctness of the estimates, for the province cannot be so productive under the Sikhs, as it was in the peaceable times of the Moghul dominion."[2]

"The Civil Administration under Maharaja Ranjit Singh......(was) the simple process of squeezing out of the unhappy peasant every rupee that he could be made to disgorge; the limit of oppression being only marked by the fear of his revolt or the abandonment of his land through discouragement and despair. The Sikh farmer of revenue did not wish to kill the goose that laid the golden eggs, but he plucked its

1. Ali, Shahamat : Op. cit., pp. 15-17.
2. Princep, H. T.: , pp. 184-185.

feathers as closely as he dared. A few paragraphs from Land Revenue Settlement Reports will show how the Sikh procedure appears in the eyes of the officers of the British Government ......In the Administration Report of the Punjab for 1872-73, I wrote as follows :

'The Sikhs often actually took as much as one-half the gross produce of an estate, besides a multitude of cesses; our demand never exceeds one-sixth, is frequently not more than an eighth, a tenth, or a twelfth, and in some cases not more than a fifteenth of the average gross produce valued at average prices for a period of twenty to thirty years'. .... Duties were levied, under forty-eight heads, on almost every article of common use, without any attempt to discriminate between luxuries and necessaries, or to assess lightly the articles used by the poor, such as fuel, grain, or vegetables. The mode of collection was extremely vexatious, the country being covered with custom houses, at which merchants were treated with the utmost insolence and oppression. . . .

Capt. James (in Settlement Report) writes as follows:—

"From 1800 to 1820, Peshawar remained in a constant state of excitement and confusion, passing from one ruler to another, none of whom could exercise any real control over its wild occupants, and the hill tribes transferring their allegiance to the highest bidders...... The periodical visits of the Sikhs were calamitous for the people; their approach was the signal for the removal of property and valuables, and even of the window and door-frames from the houses. Crowds of women and children fled frightened from their houses, and the country presented the appearance of an emigrating colony. As the hated host advanced they overran the neighbourhood, pillaging and destroying whatever came within their reach and laying waste the fields. There is scarcely a village from the head of the valley to the Indus which has not been burnt and plundered by the Sikh commander. His visitations were held in such awe that his name was used by mothers as a term of affright, to hush their unruly children,". . . . (According to the Settlement Reports of Colonel Cracroft and E.L. Brandreth, of Rawalpindi and Jhelum districts). 'Their rule was a military despotism, and their aim to exterminate all classes and families with any pretention to ruling power, and their strongest measures were accordingly levelled against the Ghakkars and all the gentry who shared with them in the management of the country. Accordingly, we find them mere exiles or reduced to

abject poverty, in so much that they are now often compelled to become tenants under their former ploughmen. The high roads were universally unsafe. Passing through the limits of different tribes, travellers and caravans had to submit to be plundered, outraged, and ill-treated, happy sometimes to escape with life'.

Regarding the Sikh rule in the central districts, Mr. Ibbetson writes :—

'In the centre and south-west of the province the Sikh rule was stronger and more equitable. In the earlier days, indeed, previous to and during the growth of the misls, it was nothing better than an organized system of massacre and pillage. But as the Sikhs grew into a people, and a national spirit developed, self-interest, if nothing higher, prompted a more moderate government. Still, as Sir Robert Egerton recorded, the Sikh population were soldiers almost to a man, and their one object was to wring from the Hindu and Muhammadan cultivators an utmost farthing that could be extorted without compelling them to abandon their fields. The Rajput especially, who had refused to join the ranks of an organization in which his high caste was disregarded, was the peculiar object of their hatred and oppression. Not to be for them was to be against them, and all who had any pretensions to wealth or influence were mercilessly crushed. They prompted and extended cultivation as far as was possible under a system which held forth the minimum of inducement to the cultivator, but they respected no rights and they recognized no property where such respect or such recognition conflicted with their pecuniary interests, and he who was not a Sikh and therefore a soldier, was only valuable in so far as he could be utilised as a payer of revenue. Their rule was just and even in that they meted out oppression to all with an equal hand ...'

Mr. Barnes, in his Settlement Report of the Kangra district, writes:

"...The burden of the people was as heavy as they could bear; the utmost limits of toleration had been attained. A native collector is too discreet to ruin his tenants, but he will proceed to any lengths short of actual destruction. His policy is to leave nothing but a bare subsistence to the cultivator of the soil. But the assessment was generally equal, and the burden, heavy indeed according to just and liberal principles, was still impartially distributed"... Diwan Sawan Mall, Governor of Multan, Leiah, Dera Ghazi Khan, Khangarh and Jhang, was the best

of all the Maharaja's administrators. Yet this is how Mr. O'brien, who made the land settlement of Muzaffargarh, one of his districts, writes of him :—

'Diwan Sawan Mall's government was better than anything that had preceded it. Its sole object was the accumulation of wealth for the Diwan. The execution of public works, the administration of justice and security of life and property were a secondary consideration, and were insisted on only because, without them, agriculture would not prosper and the revenue would not be paid. When one examines his numerous cases and sees how he levied dues to pay the people's alms and perform their religious duties, and then paid the poor and the Brahman what he thought a fair amount and pocketed the rest; how he levied a cess in return for keeping his word; and how he encouraged his officials to take bribes and then made them duly credit the amount in the public accounts, one's admiration for the great Diwan is less than it would be if based on written history."[1]

Army

"Maharaja Ranjit Singh, very early in his career, recognised, ... that the Sikh system was unsuited to the genius of the people, and that until it was modified he could not hope to win solid victories over regular troops like the English, whose drill and tactics he studied with infinite patience, or ev n over the Afghans who, in the time of Ahmad Shah were fairly disciplined, and formidable opponents even in the open country, while in the hills they were almost invincible. When he had thoroughly mastered the secret of the superiority of the British organization ... he resolved to create an army on similar lines ... With these ideas, the Maharaja changed the entire organisation of the Khalsa army. The cavalry ceased to be the most important arm, and the infantry became the favourite service. The change was facilitated by the employment of European officers, French and Italian, whom the Maharaja engaged when he failed to obtain the loan of officers of the East India Company's service. These foreign generals introduced the system which had become general in Europe, where the value of infantry as against cavalry was universally acknowledged. Some of them were men of considerable ability and quite competent to perform all they promised in increasing the efficiency of

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1. Griffin , Lepel, Ranjit Singh (Rulers of India) Oxford, 1898, pp. 144-150.

the Lahore army. The infantry under their instruction became a most formidable body of troops, well disciplined and steady, though slow in manoeuvring. Their endurance was very great, and a whole regiment would march 30 miles a day for many days together .... In the Maharaja's army the infantry were the pick of the youth of the country; only the handsomest and strongest men were selected, while the cavalry were irregular troops, the contingents of his different Sirdars, and not appointed for any considerations of bravery or strength .... The Maharaja was afraid to interfere too closely with these Akalis men; for though little better than drunken savages, they were supposed by the Sikhs to possess a semi-sacred character, and were, moreover, useful when desperate deeds were to be done which the rank and file of the army might have declined. They nearly embroiled the Maharaja with the English by their fanatical attack upon Mr. Metcalfe's Mussalman escort in 1809[1] .... Of the foreign officers who entered the Maharaja's service General Ventura was the most important. He was an Italian of honour and reputation, who had served under Napoleon in the armies of Spain and Italy, and who, after the peace, finding his occupation gone, became a soldier of fortune ready for adventure in any part of the world. Of similar character and standing was General Allard, another of Napoleon's officers, who had won distinction by his ability and gallantry in many campaigns .... Both served Ranjit Singh long and faithfully, Allard was allowed to raise a corps of dragoons, and Ventura was placed in command of the Fauj Khas or special brigade, the first in rank, discipline and equipment in the Sikh army. Its normal strength was four infantry battalions and two regiments of cavalry .... The foreign officers entertained by the Maharaja, especially General Ventura ... and Court in charge of what was known as the French Legion, very much improved the discipline and tactical power of Ranjit Singh's army. They were not, however, entrusted with the supreme command in expeditions which was nominally given to one of the princes, Kharak Singh, or Sher Singh, or to one of the principal Sirdars. Of all the generals of the Maharaja, the best was probably Diwan Mohkam Chand, a Khatri by birth, who from 1806 to 1814, when he died, was the virtual commander-in-chief of the Sikh army, and was associated with all his conquests. His grandson, Ram Dayal, killed in Hazara in 1820,

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1. The steadiness with which the Envoy's disciplined escort repulsed the raging mob of Akalis made a great impression on Ranjit Singh, and not only disposed him to peace, but determined him to train and discipline his own troops in like fashion.

was also a skilful commander, who would have risen to distinction if he had lived. Misr Diwan Chand, another Hindu of the trading class, and as such disliked by the Sikh Sirdars, was the conqueror of Multan in1818, and the leader of the successful expedition against Kashmir in the following year. Among the Sikh chiefs who were most distinguished were Sirdar Fateh Singh Kalianwala; Sardar Nihal Singh Atariwala, who took a distinguished part in almost all the Maharaja's campaigns from the year 1801 to 1817; Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, the ancestor of the Kapurthala Rajas; Sirdar Badu Singh Sindhianwala, and his brother, Attar Singh, who after the death of Sirdar Hari Singh Nalwa at Jamrud in 1836, was considered the champion of the Khalsa."[1]

Character

"The government of Lahore is a pure despotism, and the entire direction of its affairs, foreign or domestic, is . . . on the tongue of his Highness. Although some of the courtiers are men of wisdom and intelligence, and the Maharaja has a share of that consideration and respect . . . yet, possessed of a vigorous mind himself, and having a great reliance on his own penetration and judgment, he is generally guided by his own opinions, though he may ask that of his courtiers.

In affairs of importance he consults the Grunth, the religious book of the Sikhs, and often acts as he is guided by that oracle. His correspondence with foreign states, as well as with his own functionaries, is solely dictated by himself; and, though illiterate, he exercises a minute criticism n correcting the diction of his secretaries. An habitual reserve in matters of business forms a striking feature of his character. It is an invariable rule with him never to mention his object to anyone until the time for execution has arrived . . . . His highness disposes of his time in the following manner :—

In the morning and evening he always goes out either on horseback or in a litter to take to air; when in ill-health he seldom denies himself that exercise, or even in rainy or stormy weather. After his ride in the morning he takes a hasty breakfast, and then holds his Darbar,[2] and sometimes on the plain under the shade of a tree or a camp, which continues till twelve o'clock. The whole business of the day is transacted by him

1. Griffin, L. Op. cit., pp. 133-40.
2. Court of audience.

with rapidity and despatch during that time. When the Darbar is over, the Maharaja takes a short repose of half an hour only, when he resumes his seat, and hears the Grunth for about one hour and a half. After that ceremony he again takes the air. In these exercises he generally employs himself in inspecting his troops, or other military exercises, or receiving the petitions of his people...."[1] "...He has great power of dissimulation, and under the greatest frankness of manner, and even familiarity in his intercourse, can veil subtle designs, and even treachery. In action he has always shown himself personally brave, and collected, but his plans betray no boldness or adventurous hazard. Address, and cunning, nay, even corruption, have always been preferred by him, as instruments of success, to any dash of enterprise, calculated to excite admiration or inspire awe. His fertility in expedients is wonderful, and he is never at a loss for a resource in the greatest difficulties but many of his actions envince caprice, and even instability of purpose, for the motive of them cannot be traced or imagined. His uniform conduct and career through life, prove him to be selfish, sexsual, and licentious in the extreme; disregardful of all ties of affection, blood, or friendship in the pursuit of ambition, or pleasure; and profligately greedy, plundering and reducing to misery without the slightest feeling, or remorse, widows, orphans and families possessing claims to consideration and respect, that one wonders should not have been recognized, even if it were only from policy. . . . He is himself plain and simple in dress, and quite unreserved in all his habits; and his diet consists of high stimulants of which he partakes sparingly. He has great delight, however, in Military Parade and display, and spends nearly the half of every day in seeing reviews, or examining equipments, or in some way studying to promote the efficiency of some branch of his army . . . . Although no bigot, and active in restraining the zeal and fanaticism of the Akalis, and others, Ranjit Singh is yet scruplous in the performance of all the prescribed observances of the Sikh faith . . . . With respect to the policy and internal government of Ranjit Singh, the most remarkable feature is the absence of any thing like system, or principle in his management. His career throughout has been that of an encroaching usurper, and seizure of all within his reach, but what he has so possessed himself of, he subjects to no systematic administration.... It cannot be said, that Ranjeet Singh has yet given to the Punjab any constitution or fixed form of government. There is no law, written

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1. Ali, Shahamat, Op. cit., pp. 14-18.

or oral, and no courts of justice have been anywhere established. The Gooroo-Mata, or old council of the Sikhs, has, with every other institution adapted to the state of things which existed before the establishment of the supremacy of the present ruler, been entirely discontinued .... At present the government appears to be a pure despotism, the standing army, ever ready for active service, and eager to be employed where plunder and exaction are the objects, forms the whole machinery of administration. By it only, the treasury is filled, and control exercised over the state officers, powerful subjects, and indeed over every class of the population. The personal influence and verbal orders of the head of the state, form again the exclusive hold upon the discipline and affections of the troops."[1]

(Ranjit Singh had an immense lust for money. He felt no scruples, while exacting money even from his faithful Sirdars. Latif mentions of one of such incidents, which occurred after the capture of Multan. Ranjit Singh had expected a large booty from the treasury of the city. When he failed to obtain it, he ordered his army (except for a small detachment left in possession of Multan) to march to Lahore.) "On the return of the army, he issued a proclamation calling on all sardars, jagirdars, officers and soldiers, to surrender to the state all they had obtained at Multan by plunder, and stating that if any one was found in possession of any article of spoil, or any money obtained from the sack after a certain date, his punishment would be death. This order brought into the treasury shawls, utensils, rich apparel, books, carpets, &c. worth five lakhs of rupees, though the Multan plunder was estimated at two millions sterling. Of the gold and silver in coin and jewellery, and the precious stones plundered by the soldiers, little was returned. The whole of the property surrendered by the troops was sent to the toshakhana or jewel office, and appropriated to the State."[2]

"As the reader is aware, Ranjit Singh had received no education and could neither read nor write in any language; nevertheless he entertained great respect for learning and men. His secretaries were in perpetual attendance on him, and he had the papers read out to him in Persian, Punjabi or Hindi, and saw that his orders were drawn up in due form and that the drafts met his views. He conversed in Punjabi

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1. Prinsep. H.T., Op. cit., pp. 179-83.
2. Latif, S.M. Op. cit., p. 413.

with his own people, but spoke in Hindostani to his European visitors. He was small in stature and little indebted to nature for beauty of features, which was disfigured with smallpox and deprived of the left-eye from the same cause; yet his appearance was pre-possessing, his manner and address were delightful, and his features were full of animation and expression. His remaining eye was large, quick and searching, and its fire and brilliancy, displayed at once the great acuteness and the energy of mind of its owner. He possessed a long flowing white beard, which gave additional grace to his countenance ....

He possessed a lively imagination, and his habits were genial and quite unreserved. In dress he was exceedingly plain, yet he was fond of show and pageantry, paid the most rigid attention to the elegance of his court and took delight in seeing his grandees and sardars superbly dressed and decorated with jewels. He was not a bigot, but he performed his religious observances regularly, read the Granth every day at the appointed time and munificently rewarded the Gurus, Bhais and Bawas who helped him in the performance of religious ceremonies. He had great power of dissimulation, and his caprice ... had no bounds. In his pursuit of ambition or pleasure he was indifferent alike to the pledges of friendship and to the ties of blood or affection. In his youth he was remarkably active and vigorous, and an excellent horseman and sportsman, well skilled in military feats. He was fond of show and lavish in his gifts to his courtiers; but his avarice grew with his age, and a desire for hoarding treasure became his ruling passion ....

Ranjit Singh remoulded the political condition of the Sikhs, and consolidated numerous dismembered petty states into a kingdom. His relations with the paramount power of India (East India Company) were of a most cordial nature, and although he had some misapprehensions in regard to them at first, yet, having once recognized his situation, he faithfully observed his treaty with the government and kept his word with that power until his death."[1]

Religious Policy

"There is a sharp difference of judgment between the Indian and European writers concerning the religious opinions of the Sikh ruler.

1. Latif, S.M., Op. cit., pp. 495-96.

The former regard him as one who was imbued with a genuine respect for the Sikh scriptures. There is, indeed, much to be found in the avowed professions and performances of the Maharaja which spports this view. He was very particular about the daily recites of the Granth in his presence, and attended the Darbar Sahib (Golden Temple) at Amristar twice a year. He bestowed special favours on the Sikh priesthood and spent considerable sums of money on the maintenance of religious institutions. While writing or talking of his government, he invariably used the term Khalsa, and posed as an humble servant of that mystic and militant Church. As a devoted follower of Sikhism, he caused to be engraved, on his Seal the prefix Akal Sahae (under the Grace of God) ....

The second group, however, doubt the sincerity of his convictions, and regard his religious enthusiasm as a clever trick intended to serve political designs. Such doubts were chiefly based on the glaring incongruity between Ranjit's moral and political actions on the one hand and the teaching of the Sikh faith on the other ....

The truth of the matter is that Ranjit inherited the religious beliefs of his forefathers. He himself was not enlightened enough to comprehend or criticise the secrets of the Sikh creed. Hence he readily accepted its more obvious feature with implicit faith and superstitious reverence....He was, in fact, looked upon by them (Sikhs) as the staunch champion and defender of their faith, and his rigid and ostentatious observance of the outward forms of worship would account for much of his popularity. Moreover, he thereby maintained the material ur of his people, which he skilfully employed to further his political interests.[1]

Ranjit was, however, neither a bigot nor a vain religious dreamer. Although he utilised to the fullest extent the fervour of the Khalsa against Moslems in general and the Afghans in particular, he was opposed to a policy of ruthless persecution ... he also tried to keep in

1. Before undertaking a military expedition, the Maharaja sometimes cast lots. The method usually followed was this; two slips of paper, one marked 'for' and the other 'against' the proposal, were rolled up and thrown upon an open copy of the Adi-Granth, and one was picked out either by himself or by a person appointed for the task. It was then unfolded. If the slip turned out to be the one favouring the expedition, it was undertaken; otherwise it was postponed. (See Tarikh-i-Ranjit Singh, p. 571, and 'Ibrat Nama', pp. 191-92.)

check the fanatical tendencies of the Akalis, and entrusted some of the most responsible positions in his government to Mohammedans.[1] In 1830, he even showed an eagerness to receive a Christian Missionary that he might learn the doct rines of that faith, and to be provided with a copy of the Bible.[2]"[3].

1. The Moslem inhabitants of the Punjab, doubtless suffered under one great restriction regarding their liberty of worship; i.e. in the days of the Sikh ruler, the call to prayer was prohibited. Yet this prohibition did not begin with Ranjit's reign, but had continued from the days of the Misls. See Amir-ul-Imla (pp. 70-71), and the information gathered by Colonel Lawrence from his counsellors, according to which the Moslems had been deprived of this right for more than eighty years; Punjab Government Records 1847-48, p. 372. Ranjit Singh indeed kept it in force, but it was more to maintain his popularity among the Sikhs, and his prestige among the Mohammedans, than from any special love of the measure.

2. *Vide* "Up the Country" by Miss Eden, pp. 23 and 26. This is, however, a solitary instance of his interest in the Christian religion.

3. Chopra, Gulshan Lal : Op. cit., pp. 203-06.

لاهور میں مسلمانوں کی عمارتوں کی تباهی

۱- بادشاهی مسجد

"چاروں میناروں کی سنگ مرمر کی بالائی بُرجیاں نہایت خوبصورت بنی ہوئی تھیں - تین سکھی حاکموں کے وقت اس میں سے ایک بُرجی بھونچال کے صدمے سے گر گئی تھی اور تین مرمت طلب و خراب ہو گئی تھیں - مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ نے ان تینوں کو ہی مسمار کرادیا اور چاروں مینار بے گنبدی رہ گئے - بادشاہی عہد میں اس مسجد کی آرائش کا سامان فرش جھاڑ فانوس وغیرہ لاکھوں روپے کا تھا . . . جب سکھی سلطنت ہوئی تو مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ کے وقت کبھی اس میں توپخانہ کبھی پلٹن اور سواری کی فوج رہا کرتی تھی - حجروں میں میکھ زین بھرا رھتا تھا - سکھ لوگ پتھروں کی سلیں اکھاڑ کرلے گئے - چھوٹی بر جیاں سب گر گئیں - فرش مسجد کا ٹوٹ گیا - بڑا صدمہ اس مسجد پر اس وقت آیا جب رانی چند کور کے عہد میں مہاراجہ شیر سنگھ نے بٹالہ سے آ کر لاہور پر حملہ کیا اس وقت رانی چند . . . قلعہ میں محصور تھی اور مہاراجہ شیر سنگھ مسجد میں تھا - مسجد کے میناروں پر زنبوری یعنی شتری توپیں شیر سنگھ کے حکم سے چڑھائی گئیں جن کا گولا قلعہ کے صحن کے اندر پڑتا تھا اور قلعہ کی جنوبی دیوار سے جو گولا آتا تھا مسجد کے اندر پڑتا تھا - تین دن تک یہی حال رہا - دوسری مرتبہ جب سرداران سندھانوالیہ قلعہ میں محصور ہوئے اور راجہ ہیرا سنگھ نے قلعہ کا محاصرہ کیا تو اس نے توپیں میناروں پر چڑھوادیں اور دونوں طرف سے گولہ باری ہوتی رہی - صاحبان انگریزی کی ابتدائی عملداری میں اس مسجد میں گوروں کی فوج نے قیام کیا اور انگریزوں کے لیے حجروں میں دریچے نکلوائے گئے اور برانڈے

نئے تعمیر کیے گئے آخر جب مہاراجہ دلیپ سنگھ جلاوطن ہوئے اور کامل انگریزی حکومت پنجاب میں ہو گئی تو فوج مسجد سے نکال لی گئی''[1]

۲- مسجد مستی دروازہ

''جب مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ کی سلطنت ہوئی تو اس مسجد پر سرکاری تسلط ہو گیا اور باروت بھری گئی - سالہاسال اس میں بنتی رہی یہاں تک کہ باروت خانے والی مسجد مشہور ہو گئی''[۲]

۳- سنہری مسجد

''مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ کے عہد میں ہی پہلے کوئی معترض اس مسجد کا نا ہوا آخر جب باولی کا مکان مسجد کے متصل بن گیا اور اس میں گرنتھ صاحب رکھا گیا تو باولی کے بھائی سکھ اور اکالی اس مسجد کے درپے ہو گئے اور مہاراجہ کی خدمت میں عرض کی کہ اس مسجد کا ملا باآواز بلند آذان دیتا ہے تو ھمارے کان میں پڑتی ہے - یہ مسجد بھی باولی کے ساتھ شامل ھمارے قبضہ میں رہنی چاہیے یا گرا دی جائے کہ مسلمانوں کی ہمسائیگی گورو کے سکھوں کے ساتھ نہ چاہیے - مہاراجہ نے فی الفور حکم دے دیا کہ مسجد سے ملا کو نکال دیا جائے اور گرنتھ رکھا جائے - اس حکم کے صادر ہوتے ہی ملا بچارہ نکال کر باہر کر دیا گیا اور مسجد میں اکالیوں نے قبضہ کر لیا اور تمام مسجد میں گوبر کا لیپن دے کر گرنتھ رکھ دیا گیا - دوکانوں کی آمدنی ضبط ہو کر باولی کے محال کے ساتھ شامل کردی گئی - وقوع اس حال سے شہر کے مسلمان نہایت غمگین ہوئے اور سب نے مجمع فقیر عزیزالدین و نورالدین کے مکان پر کیا اور چاہا کہ ان کے ذریعہ سے مہاراجہ کے حضور میں مسجد کی وا گذاری کے لئے عرض کیا جائے - چونکہ اس زمانے میں مہاراجہ کے دربار میں سب سے بڑھ کر توقیر گھلو ماشکی کی تھی اور مہاراجہ کسی بات میں اس کے کہنے سے باہر نہ تھا - فقیر صاحبان نے مسجد

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۱ - کنہیا لال - تاریخ صفحہ نمبر لاہور ۱۴۳—۱۴۴

۲ - ایضاً صفحہ نمبر ۱۴۶

کے معاملہ میں اس کو اپنے ساتھ ملایا اور اس کے ذریعہ مہاراجہ کی خدمت میں عرض کی اور بیان کیا کہ تمام پنجاب کے ملا کہیں بانگ بلند آواز سے نہیں کہتے چہ جائیکہ باولی صاحب کے پاس جہاں گرنتھ صاحب رکھا ہو مسجد کا ملا اذان دیوے یہ بات بالکل برخلاف ہے۔ ہم آئیندہ ملا سے مچلکا لے لیتے ہیں کہ کبھی بانگ نہ دیوے۔ اس بات پر مہاراجہ راضی ہوا کہ مسجد بدستور ملا کے حوالے کردی جائے اور اس سے مچلکا لے لیا جاوے کہ بانگ نہ دیوے مسجد کی دوکانوں کا کرایہ بھی ضبط رہے مسلمانوں نے اتنی بات کو ہی غنیمت جانا اور مسجد پر دوبارہ قبضہ پایا "[1]

۴۔ مقبرہ جہانگیر

"مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ کا زمانہ آیا تو مہاراجہ اس کی عمارت کی طرف بھی متوجہ ہوا اور حکم دیا کہ مقبرے کی منڈیروں پر جو ستون شمع جلانے کے اور جالیاں سنگ مرمر کی ہیں وہ اکھاڑ کر امرتسر لے جائیں اور سری دربار صاحب کے پل وغیرہ پر لگائی جائیں۔ چنانچہ فی الفور حکم کی تعمیل ہوئی اور بے شمار پتھر اس مقبرے سے اکھڑوا کر امرتسر پہنچایا گیا اور اس کی جگہ چونا کی عمارت کر دی گئی۔ اس بعد ارجن سنگھ پسر سردار ہری سنگھ نلوا اس مقبرے میں فروکش ہوا اس نے بھی پتھروں کے اکھڑوانے میں بہت توجہ کی اور میناروں کے دہنوں کی بہت سی جالیاں سنگ مرمر کی وغیرہ مقامات سے اس نے پتھر اکھڑوائے . . . .

. . . . بعض کا قول ہے کہ جب مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ نے اس مقبرے سے پتھر اتروا لیا تو اسی وقت یہ چھت بھی اتروا لی گئی تھی اور جس طرح کہ منڈیر چونے کی جالیاں اتروا کر بنادی گئی تھی۔ یہ چھت چوبی بنائی گئی . . . .

. . . . میناروں کے ہر ایک دہن میں سب کٹہرے جالی دار

۱۔ ایضاً صفحہ نمبر ۱۵۰-۱۵۱

پنجروں کے لگے ہوئے تھے وہ مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ اکھڑوا کر لے گیا۔"[1]

۵- مقبرہ آصف جاہ

"یہ عالیشان مقبرہ سرائے شاہ جہانی کی دیوار بدیوار غرب کی سمت کو واقع ہے یعنی تین مکان عالیشان پاس پاس ہیں ایک مقبرہ جہانگیر بادشاہ، دوئم سرائے شاہ جہانی، سوم یہ مقبرہ آصف جاہ۔ تینوں مکان ایسی عمارت کے تھے جن کا ثانی سوائے مقبرہ تاج بی بی کے دوسرا ہندوستان میں نہ تھا مگر سکھوں کی بے رحمی اور مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ کی دست اندازی سے ان مکانات کو سخت صدمہ پہنچا۔ مقبرہ جہانگیر کا تو بالائی پتھر اتارا گیا خاص قبر اور قبر کا کمرہ و مینار وغیرہ محفوظ رہے جالیاں اور ستون جس قدر تھے لے لیے گئے۔ مگر اس عالیشان مقبرے کی تو بیخ و بنیاد کھودی گئی اور ایسی صورت بگاڑی کہ کھنڈر بنادیا ... جب مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ کو امرتسر بھیجنے کے واسطے پتھر کی ضرورت ہوئی اور نیز حضوری باغ میں بارہ دری سنگین بنانے کی تجویز ہوئی تو لاہور کے بہت سے مقبروں سے پتھر اتارا گیا جن میں سے اب بھی اکثر موجود ہیں اور اکثر بیخ و بنیاد سے کھو گئے۔ چونکہ یہ بہت بڑا مقبرہ تھا اور لاکھوں روپے کا پتھر اس پر نصب تھا۔ مہاراجہ کے حکم سے اس کا پتھر بھی اترنا شروع ہو گیا اور ایسی بے احتیاطی سے پتھر اتارا گیا کہ مقبرہ ایک کھنڈر ہو گیا۔"[2]

۶- مقبرہ نورجہاں

"جب اس کے بھائی آصف جاہ کے مقبرے کا پتھر اترا تو وہی آفت اس کے مقبرے پر آئی۔ سب پتھر مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ کے حکم سے اتار لیا گیا تہہ خانے کا دروازہ کھول کر دیکھا تو معلوم ہوا کہ دونوں نعشوں کے آبنوسی صندوق دو سنگیں مہدوں میں رکھے ہیں چنانچہ مہدے

۱- ایضاً صفحہ نمبر ۳۲۲، ۳۲۴-۳۲۵

۲- ایضاً صفحہ نمبر ۳۲۷-۳۲۹

لیے گئے اور نعشیں زمین میں دفنائی گئیں اور مقبرے کی مرمت اینٹ اور چونا سے کرائی گئی۔"[1]

۷۔ مقبرہ شاہزادہ پرویز

"چاروں طرف اس کے عالیشان دروازے تھے اور اندر قبر شاہزادہ پرویز پسرشاہ جہانگیر کی جو بوقت تخت نشینی شاہ جہاں کے سفر کشمیر سے آتا ہوا لاہور میں آصف جاہ وزیر نے قتل کیا تھا بنی ہوئی تھی۔ اب کچھ بھی نہیں۔ یہ مقبرہ کسی زمانہ میں اندر باہر سے سنگ مرمر کا تھا۔ اندر مقبرے کے بھی فرش سنگ مرمر کا تھا جو مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ کے حکم سے اتارا گیا۔"[2]

۸۔ مسجد وزیر خاں اور مزار سید اسحاق

"فی الحقیقت اس بزرگ کے تقدس سے سکھی عہد میں یہ مسجد سکھوں کی دستبرد سے محفوظ رہی۔ کیونکہ ایک وقت میں مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ موراں طوائف کو ساتھ لے کر اس مسجد کے مینار پر آیا اور دن بھر اوپر رہ کر عیش و نشاط میں سر گرم رہا۔ اتفاقاً اسی شب کو بیمار ہو گیا۔ لوگوں نے کہا کہ یہ آثار غضب اس بزرگ کے ہیں جسکی مسجد وزیر خاں میں قبر ہے۔ دوسرے روز مہاراجہ مزار پر آیا اور پانچسو روپیہ نذر چڑہا کر جبیں سائی کی اور توبہ کی کہ پھر ایسی حرکت وقوع میں نہ آئے گی۔"[3]

۹۔ شاہ بدر کا محلہ

"یہ محلہ سادات گیلانی کا شاہ درگاہی کے محلے سے بسمت دکن آباد تھا۔ شاہ بدرالدین گیلانی نے جو ایک عابد و زاہد و صاحب کرامت تھا اس کو آباد کیا اور اپنے ہم قوم شریف سید لوگ اس میں آباد کیے

۱۔ ایضاً صفحہ نمبر ۳۳۱

۲۔ ایضاً صفحہ نمبر ۲۷۳

۳۔ ایضاً صفحہ نمبر ۱۶۴

اکبری عہد سے اخیر چغتائی سلطنت تک آباد رہا۔ سکھاں مثل قوم کنہیا دوبار اس کو لوٹنے کے لیے آئے مگر سادات نے بمقابلہ پیش آ کر ان کو پسپا کیا۔ تیسری بار بڑے اہتمام کے ساتھ سکھ اس محلے پر آئے اور فتح پا کر بہت سے سادات کو قتل کیا۔ محلہ لوٹ لیا مکانات کو آگ لگا دی۔ باقی ماندہ سید لوگ بھاگ گئے اور بہت سی سیدانیاں خود کشی کر کے مر گئیں۔ مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ کے زمانے میں اس محلے کی عمارات میں سے ایک پختہ وسیع مسجد شاہ بدر کی باقی رہ گئی تھی۔ اس میں گولا باروت بھری رہتی تھی اور ایک کمپنی سپاہیوں کی ۱۰ور رہتی تھی۔"۱

۱۰۔ سید شاہ شرف کا محلہ

"یہ محلہ بھاٹی دروازے کے باہر آباد تھا۔ بھاٹی دروازے سے لے کر ضلع لاہور کی کچہری و برف خانہ تک اس کی آبادی تھی۔ شاہ شرف جو کہ ایک عالم فاضل شخص تھا اور ہزاروں لوگ اس کے مرید تھے اس محلہ کا بانی تھا اس کی زندگی میں اس محلہ کی آبادی نہایت اوج پر رہی۔ ایک عالیشان مسجد اس نے بنوائی اور مقبرہ پختہ ہی اپنی زندگی میں بنوایا۔ آخر غارت گروں کی بار بار غارت گری سے یہ محلہ اجڑ گیا مگر مقبرہ و مسجد کی عمارت بدستور قائم رہی۔ جب مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ کی سلطنت کا وقت آیا اور شہر کے گردا گرد پختہ خندق بننے لگی اور دوہرے دروازے بنائے گئے تو ضرورت ہوئی کہ بھاٹی دروازے کے باہر دروازے کے آگے کھلا ہوا میدان ہو اس لیے وہ سنگین مسجد اور مقبرہ دونوں گرا دیے گئے۔ بڑی مشکل سے یہ عمارت گری اور شاہ شرف کی لاش کا صندوق نکلوا کر فقیر عزیزالدین کی معرفت احاطہ مزار حاجی محمد سعید میں بمقام دولاواڑی دفنایا گیا اور مہاراجہ کے حکم سے چھوٹا سا چبوترہ پختہ اس پر بنا دیا گیا جو اب تک موجود ہے۔ اس مسجد و مقبرہ کی پختہ بنیادیں اب بھی بھاٹی دروازے

۱۔ ایضاً صفحہ نمبر ۸۵-۸۶

کے باہر میدان میں نظر آتی ہیں۔"[1]

۱۱۔ قبور تکیہ انبلی والا

"یہ ایک بڑا احاطہ بیرون دروازہ لوہاری کے ہے۔ بادشاہان اسلام کے وقت ان مزارات پر سنگ مرمر نصب تھا اور نہایت زیب و زینت کا مکان بنا ہوا تھا۔ مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ نے مزارات سے پتھر اتروا لیے جس سے مزارات گر گئے اور مکانات بالکل مسمار و برباد ہو گئے۔"[1]

۱۲۔ مرزا خواجہ محمد سعید لاہوری

"مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ نے جب لاہور شہر کے دوہرے دروازے اور خندق تمام شہر کے گرداگرد بنوائی تو یہ عمارت دروازے کے بالکل قریب آگئی اور راستہ تنگ رہ گیا اس سبب سے حکم ہوا کہ اس مقبرے اور مسجد کو گرا دیا جائے۔ چنانچہ مسجد مقبرہ دونوں گرا دیے گئے۔ جس قدر پتھر سنگ مرمر، سنگ سرخ اوترا وہ امرتسر بھیجا گیا۔ اس وقت شاہ شرف کی لاش کا صندوق جو صحیح سلامت نکلا تھا اس چار دیواری کے اندر دوبارہ دفنا دیا گیا اور فقیر نورالدین کی معرفت یہ نہایت مختصر چبوترہ چاردیواری بنا دی گئی۔"[3]

۱۳۔ مقبرہ شیخ عبدالرزاق

"مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ کے حکم سے مقبرے میں باروت بھری گئی۔ مسجد میں گولے گولیاں بھری گئیں اور ایک علیحدہ مکان لوہاروں کے واسطے بنایا گیا جس میں وہ بندوقیں بنایا کرتے تھے۔"[4]

۱۴۔ روضہ خواجہ خاوند

"مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ کے وقت میں اس روضہ کے نزدیک سردار گلاب سنگھ

۱۔ ایضاً صفحہ نمبر ۸۳-۸۴

۲۔ ایضاً صفحہ نمبر ۳۱۱

۳۔ ایضاً صفحہ نمبر ۲۹۰-۲۹۱

۴۔ ایضاً صفحہ نمبر ۲۸۹

پھوونڈلیہ نے چھاؤنی بنائی جس سے یہ عالی جاہ مکان برباد ہو گیا چار دیواری گرائی گئی۔ باغ اجڑ گیا مسجد کے صحن کی اینٹیں اور قبروں کی اینٹیں خشت فروشوں نے نکال لیں ۔ روضہ میں جرنیل گلاب سنگھ نے باروت بھردی مزار کا سنگ مرمر اتار لیا گیا ۔،،[1]

۱۵- مدرسہ شیخ اسماعیل

''مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ کے وقت اس مدرسہ کی رونق زیادہ ہو گئی کیونکہ امرائے سلطنت اور سرداران ریاست سب اس متبرک مکان کا ادب دل و جان سے کرتے تھے اور حتی الوسع لذرانہ دیتے تھے علاوہ برآں میاں شریف الدین مجاور و سجادہ نشیں خانقاہ نہایت متدین اور منتظم آدمی تھا ۔ اندھے، لنگڑے ، اپاھج درویش ، فقیر ، طالب عالم سینکڑوں اس مدرسہ سے روٹی کپڑا پاتے رہتے تھے ۔ بڑا صدمہ اس مدرسہ پر مہاراجہ دلیپ سنگھ کی سلطنت اور راجہ ہیرا سنگھ کی وزارت کے وقت آیا کہ راجہ سو چیت سنگھ جموں سے آکر اس میں فروکش ہوا اور سکھی فوج نے راجہ ہیرا سنگھ کے حکم کے بموجب اس پر حملہ کیا اور وہ مارا گیا ۔ مکان کی دیواریں توپوں کے گولوں سے مسمار ہو گئیں ۔ خانقاہ کے درویش بہت مارے گئے ۔'' [2]

۱۶ - محلہ لنگر خان

''واضح ہو کہ بیرونی آبادی لاہور کی شاہ ہمایوں کے عہد سے شروع ہوئی اور رفتہ رفتہ بسمت جنوب و جنوب مشرق و مشرق شہر آباد ہوتا چلا گیا یہاں تک کہ اصل شہر سے دو چند شہر آباد ہو گیا ۔ سب سے پہلے لنگر خاں بلوچ لنگاہی ملتانی سلطنت کا مدارالمہام جس کی خیر خواہی و دولت سگالی سے ہمایوں نے ملتان پر قبضہ پایا تھا لاہور میں آیا بادشاہ نے اس کو جاگیردی اور لاہور رہنے کی اجازت بخشی ۔ اس کی خدمات شہزادہ کامران اپنے بھائی کے

۱- ایضاً صفحہ نمبر ۲۴۴

۲- ایضاً صفحہ نمبر ۲۴۲

جس کی جاگیر میں پنجاب کا علاقہ تھا متعلق کر دی۔ اس نے باجازت شاہی لاہور کے باہر بسمت جنوب اپنا الگ محلہ آباد کر لیا اور اپنی سکونت اسی جگہ پر اختیار کی۔ یہ محلہ حال کی آبادی موضع مزنگ سے بگوشہ شمال مغرب آباد تھا۔ گزر لنگر خان اس کا نام تھا۔ اس محلہ میں بڑی حویلیاں اور مکانات پختہ لنگر خاں اور اس کی اولاد نے بنوائے تھے اور صدہا سال اس پر قابض و متصرف رہے۔ اخیر سلطنت چغتائی تک یہ محلہ آباد رہا۔ جب سلطنت چغتائی جاتی رہی تو سکھی اور درانیوں کی غارت سے یہ محلہ اجڑ گیا۔ اس کی آبادیوں میں سے اب کسی کا نام و نشان نہیں ہے۔ مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ کے وقت کشمیریاں خشت فروش نے ان دیوروں کو بیخ و بنیاد سے نکال لیا۔"[1]

۱۔ ایضاً صفحہ نمبر ۷۹

[illegible]

[illegible] روٹی کھلایا جاتا رہتا تھا۔ [illegible]

کی سلطنت اور راجہ ہیرا سنگھ کی وزارت کے وقت [illegible]

سنگھ جموں سے آ کر اس میں فروکش ہوا [illegible]

سنگھ کے حکم کے بموجب اس پر [illegible]

دیواریں توپوں کے گولوں سے مسمار ہو گئیں۔ [illegible]

مارے گئے۔[1]

۲۶۔ محلہ لنگر خانہ

"واضح ہو کہ بیرونی آبادی لاہور کی [illegible]

[illegible] اور [illegible] جنوب و [illegible] مشرق [illegible]

[illegible] کا یہاں تک کہ اصل شہر سے [illegible]

سے پہلے لنگر خانہ [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] لاہور میں [illegible]

[illegible] کی اجازت [illegible]

۱۔ ایضاً صفحہ [illegible]

[illegible]

۲۔ [illegible]

CHAPTER V

Muslim Chiefs and Families of Note*

The Faqir Brothers

"Ghulam Mohiuddin was born at Rohila on the River Beas. When he was three months old, his father Ghulam Shah died, and his widowed mother, left in great poverty, came to Lahore to seek help from her husband's friends. Abdullah Ansari, a well-known physician of Lahore... took pity upon her and supported both her and her son ... Ghulam Mohiuddin became a physician and a bookseller .... He became a disciple of Fakir Imanat Shah Kadri, and himself assumed the title of Fakir.

Ghulam Mohiuddin left three sons, Azizuddin, Imamuddin and Nuruddin. Of these Azizuddin the eldest was a pupil of Lala Hakim Rai, the Chief physician of Lahore, who placed him in attendance on Ranjit Singh, when that chief, soon after his capture of Lahore in 1799, was suffering from a severe affection of eyes. The skill and attention of the young doctor won the chief's regard, and Azizuddin received a grant of the villages of Baddu and Sharakpur, and a cash assignment on Diwan Hukman Singh Pathban.... Ranjit Singh made him his own physician, and as he extended his territories, the jagirs of Azizuddin were also increased.

In the year 1808, when Mr. Metcalfe was sent to Lahore to draw up an agreement.... and in 1809, when the British troops were moved up to the Sutlej, the Sikh chief, supported by his Sirdars, had almost determined on war with the English; but Azizuddin strongly dissuaded him from such a course . . . . Ranjit Singh, appreciating the far-sightedness and wisdom of Azizuddin, consulted him on all occasions, and from this time to the end of his reign never undertook any important operation against his advice. In all matters connected with Europeans and

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* Material on this chapter has been taken from:

Griffin, L.H. : The Punjab Chiefs, Lahore, 1865.

Chopra, G.H. : The Punjab as a Sovereign State, Lahore, 1908.

the English Government, Azizuddin was specially employed .... Trusting implicity to his good faith he would set out with his whole army on distant expeditions, leaving only the Fakir with a few orderlies for the protection of Lahore.

Azizuddin was employed on several occasions on military service. In 1810 he was sent to annex the Gujrat country of Sahib Singh Bhangi, and, in 1813, when Jahan Dad Khan had given up Attock to the Maharaja he was sent with Diwan Din Das Sukhdyal and Sirdar Mohta Singh to reinforce the garrison and to settle the district. In 1819, he was sent as envoy to the Bahawalpur court .... He accompanied the expedition against Kangra; and, in 1826, when Diwan Kirpa Ram fell into disgrace, Fakir Azizuddin was sent to receive from him, the fort of Philor. .... Shortly before this, he had assumed charge of Kapurthala, Jandialla, Hoshiarpur, and the Trans-Sutlej estates of Fatah Singh Ahluwalia... In April, 1831, Azizuddin, in company with Sirdar Hari Singh Nalwa, and Diwan Moti Ram, was sent to Simla, on a complimentary visit to Lord William Bentinck. The envoys were received with great honour and arrangements were made for a meeting between the Maharaja and the Governor-General, which took place at Rupar, in October (1831) ...

In May, 1835, he was present in the Peshawar valley, when Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, with a large army arrived from Kabul with the intention of recovering Peshawar from the Sikhs. Azizuddin was sent as the principal envoy to the Afghan camp, and contrived to delude the Amir so completely that the Afghan army was almost surrounded by the Sikhs, during the progress of the negotiations, and had to retire to Kabul, with all speed. The Maharaja was so pleased ... that on his return to camp, a general salute was ordered in his honour.

In November, 1838, when the British forces were being assembled for the Kabul campaign, the Maharaja visited Lord Auckland, the Governor-General at Firozpur .... Shortly afterwards, Lord Auckland paid the Maharaja a return visit at Lahore and Amritsar, and on both these occasions, the Fakir had been foremost in his attention ....

On the 27th June, 1839, Ranjit Singh died. To the last, Azizuddin ... had remained by him ; administering the medicine with his own hand, and telling him news from various quarters, which the Maharaja was anxious to hear. On the accession of Maharaja Kharrak

Singh, Azizuddin and Sirdar Lehna Singh Majithia were sent to Simla to renew the engagements which had been entered into by Ranjit Singh with the British Government. While at Simla, news arrived of the murder of Sirdar Chet Singh .... This news caused some hesitation at Simla, but the treaty was eventually renewed and the envoys returned to Lahore.

The influence of the Fakir at court did not perceptibly decline during the reign of Kharrak Singh. In May, 1840, he was deputed by the Darbar to visit Mr. Clerk at Firozpur, and he made the arrangements for the visit which that officer paid the Maharaja at Lahore in the same month. In September of the same year in company with Rai Govind Jas, he was again sent on a confidential mission to Mr. Clerk, to discuss .... interpretation of the first article of the Tripartite Treaty of 1838, which had been somewhat infringed by the action taken by the Sikhs in Yusafzai and Swat.

In the intrigues which succeeded the deaths of Kharrak Singh and Nao Nihal Singh, the Fakir did not take an active part. Raja Dhyan Singh indeed always used to consult him, and they both were parties to the arrangement by which Mai Chand Kour was appointed Regent.... Azizuddin was well aware that this arrangement could not be a successful one, and his sympathies were all with Prince Sher Singh ....

When Sher Singh obtained the throne he treated Azizuddin with the greatest kindness, and in March, 1841, sent him to Ludhiana, to sound Mr. Clerk the agent of the Governor-General as to the willingness of the British Government to aid him in reducing his troops to obedience. Mr. Clerk was not averse to the idea .... The terms on which such assistance would be rendered were the cession to the British Government, of the Lahore Territory south of the Sutlej, and the payment of forty lakhs of rupees, for the expenses of the expedition. The Fakir .... asked permission .... to go to Lahore to consult the Maharaja; promising to return in eight days. He never returned .... The Maharaja was more afraid of the British Army .... and wrote to the Agent to say that he had suppressed all mutiny, and that the Sikh army, obedient and loyal, was ready to march against the enemies of the English.

About this time, an accident befel Azizuddin, which it was feared would end fatally. He was seated in Darbar, at Shah Bilawal, next to

Diwan Bishan Singh whose sword, as he rose from his seat, wounded the Fakir, severely in the leg .... Gradually, however, he recovered, and this accident afforded him an excuse to attend the Darbar less frequently ....

In February, 1842, Azizuddin was sent by the Maharaja to Mukhu, on the south side of the Sutlej, to meet Mr. Clerk who was proceeding to Lahore on a mission of congratulation on Maharaja's accession, and condolence on the death of Kharrak Singh.

In December, 1842, Sirdar Lehna Singh Majithia, was deputed by the Lahore Coutt to wait on Lord Ellenborough, who was present with the British Army at Firozpur. Through some misunderstanding, the Sirdar ... remained in his tent, and the interview failed altogether to come off. Lord Ellenborough, thinking the slight intentional, demanded explanations. Fakir Azizuddin, accordingly ... proceeded to Firozpur, where a grand darbar and review of both the Sikh and British armies were held. Azizuddin ... so pleased the Governor-General that he called him, in full darbar, "the protector of the friendship of both states," and taking from his pocket a gold watch, presented it to him ....

During the last year of Sher Singh's reign, Fakir Azizuddin fell out of favour. He was suspected of attachment to the Jammu Rajas, whom Sher Singh hated .... After the death of Maharaja Sher Singh, the Fakir took little part in politics .... His last act was to urge the recall of the invading army which had marched to the Sutlej against the British, and he died on the 3rd December, 1845, before ruin had fallen on the state ....

Fakir Azizuddin was one of the ablest and certainly the most honest of all Ranjit Singh's advisers ... througout his long reign his confidence in and affection for Azizuddin never lessened, as they were never betrayed or abused. There were few questions, either in home or foreign politics, on which the Maharaja did not ask his advice ....

Fakir Azizuddin was of so engaging a disposition, and so perfect a courtier in his manners, that he made few declared enemies, though many were doubtless jealous of his influence. One reason of his popularity .... was the liberality of his belief .... On one occasion Ranjit Singh asked him whether he preferred the Hindu or the Muhammadan religion. "I am", he replied, "a man floating in the midst of a mighty

river. I turn my eyes towards the land, but can distinguish no difference in either bank."[1]

Fakir Nuruddin

"Nuruddin, the brother of Azizuddin, entered the Maharaja's service in 1810, and was employed in the civil administration of Gujrat, Jalandhar, Sialkot, Daska, and Wazirabad, in succession. From 1818 onwards, he remained at the capital where his duties were of a miscellaneous, though responsible character. He was incharge of the arsenal of the Lahore Fort and of the garrison stationed there. One key of the treasury was kept in his charge, two others being entrusted to Misar Beli Ram and Sirdar Hukma Singh respectively. At one time, he was appointed as a distributor of Ranjit's charitable funds to the poor. For several years he controlled the Gulabkhana (laboratories) at Lahore.[2] Lastly, he worked as supervisor of the magazine and public buildings.

In most points of character he was an exact counterpart of his elder brother. In adaptability, persuasive eloquence, polished conversation, refinement of manners, and finally in understanding political affairs, there was a close resemblance between the two. Nur-ud-din was employed on diplomatic service which he discharged with equal integrity.

Faqir Imamuddin

"Another brother of Azizuddin was Imamuddin. For many years he remained in charge of the fort of Gobindgarh which contained the greater part of the treasures of Lahore. This responsible post kept him away from the capital; nor was he much employed on active service. Like his brothers, he also acted sometimes as a channel of communication between the British visitors and Ranjit Singh, and in 1827 was deputed on a complimentary mission to Simla."[3]

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1. Griffin, L.H. : Op. Cit., pp. 237-243.
2. Sir Henry Lawrence calls him "Apothecary-General" and again as "Commissary-General and Head Store-Keeper". See Adventures of an Officer in the Punjab, vol. II, p. 234.
3. Chopra, Gulshan Lall : op.cit., pp. 178-79.

The Nawabs of Mamdot

"The ancient city of Kassur, ... was, in 1570, by permission of the Emperor Akbar, settled by a colony of Pathans, numbering 3,500 souls. Among these came from Kandhar, the ancestors of the Mamdot Chiefs of Hassanzye tribe and till the fall of the Mogal empire, they lived at Kassur .... When Sikhs rose to power, they experienced great opposition from the Pathan colony, but in the end, the Bhangi confederacy .... subdued the whole of the Kassur territory under Sirdar Gulab Singh; and the two brothers, Nizamuddin Khan and Kutbuddin Khan entered the service of the Conqueror. These young men ... in 1794, with the aid of their Afghan countrymen, expelled the Sikhs entirely from Kasur, and established a chiefship of their own. They were not left unmolested. Sirdar Gulab Singh made frequent attempts to recover his lost territory, and later the young Ranjit Singh attacked the brothers several times without success ...

Till 1807 Kutbuddin held his own, when the Maharaja again appeared with a strong army and after a month's fighting, Kutbuddin gave in and agreed to retire to his territory of Mamdot on the other side of the Sutlej .... Kutbuddin and his brother had conquered Mamdot from the Rai of Raikot in the year 1800 .... Ranjit Singh gave to Fateh Din Khan a jagir at Marup .... but Fateh Din Khan was not satisfied and was always appealing to the Maharaja for the grant of Mamdot, which he considered his right.

At last, with the connivance of the Maharaja, in 1831, he crossed the river, when his uncle's contingent was absent on service, and attacked him. The Dogars, ready for any change, joined him, and Kutbuddin was defeated, severely wounded and driven out of the country, and soon after he died at Amritsar. Ranjit Singh now thought fit to interfere on the other side. He recalled Fateh Din, and confirmed Jamaluddin Khan in his father's possessions. Once again Fateh Din tried his fortune, but the British Agent interfered and the Maharaja ordered him back to Lahore.

The Mamdot Chiefs were, at no time, invested with sovereign power, but were merely Jagirdars; feudatories of the Lahore Government. Lahore was the high court of appeal, and there are many instances on record of fines imposed by the Lahore Government upon these Chiefs ....

In 1845, before the Sutlej campaign, Jamaluddin Khan was told that if he stood on our side, his possessions would be confirmed to him; yet at Mudki and Firushahr he fought against us, and in the latter battle his nephew, Fateh Din Khan, was killed. Only towards the end of the campaign .... did he turn round and render some trifling assistance to Sir John Littler, ... which induced the Government to grant him sovereign powers and confirm him in his possessions. In 1848, his contingent, under his brother Jalaluddin, behaved well at Multan, and Jamaluddin was granted the title of Nawab, and the contingent of 100 horsemen ....

... Jamaluddin Khan was an example of the danger of entrusting irresponsible power to a wicked and sensual man. During the Sikh times his tyranny had been notorious, but, under the British Rule, his power was increased and his tyranny grew in the same proportion.... His revenue system was but robbery, extortion and violence. The Dogars were the especial objects of his hatred, ... but all classes, Hindus and Muhammadans, felt his heavy hand .... At length all men of consideration or wealth left Mamdot. It had once been fertile and populous, with many wells and irrigation canals, but these were all falling to ruin, the towns were deserted, and the corn-fields were again becoming jungle."[1]

Sheikh Ghulam Mohiuddin and Nawab Imamuddin Khan

"Shaikh Ujala of the Kalal tribe, was a Munshi in the service of Sirdar Bhup Singh, of Hoshiarpur. His son Ghulam Mohiuddin, when very young, attracted the attention of Diwan Moti Ram, son of... General Mohkam Chand, who placed him in attendance on his second son, Shivdyal. Here he soon became a man of importance, and managed all the affairs of Shivdyal ....

In 1823, when Muhammad Azim Khan of Kabul had marched to Peshawar to attack the Sikhs, Ranjit Singh wished ... to induce the Afghans to retire without fighting. Kirpa Ram put Ghulam Mohiuddin forward as well suited to carry on the negotiation, and he accordingly bought over the 'pir', or spiritual adviser of Muhammad Azim Khan, who persuaded the Sirdar to retire ... the result was that the Afghan army was hastily broken up, and retired in confusion upon Minchini and

1. Griffin, L.H. : op. cit., pp. 53-56.

Jalalabad. Maharaja Ranjit Singh took possession of Peshawar, and ... after dividing the territory between Muhammad Yar Khan and Dost Mohammad Khan, he returned to Lahore. Before he left, Ghulam Mohiuddin was sent on a mission to Muhammad Azim Khan, on the part of the Maharaja. He told the Sirdar of the capture of Peshawar, and its delivery to the brothers ... and the news so affected the Chief with mortification and anger, that he fell ill and died twenty-two days later.

In 1827, Shaikh Ghulam Mohiuddin accompanied ... Kirpa Ram to Kashmir, where the latter had been appointed Governor. The Shaikh became sole agent for Kirpa Ram ./. .. In 1831, when, through the enmity of Raja Dhyan Singh, Kirpa Ram was recalled, Ghulam Mohiuddin was also summoned to Lahore, fined and imprisoned. But, later in the same year, he again proceeded to Kashmir as agent and lieutenant of Prince Sher Singh, who had been nominated to succeed Kirpa Ram. The Prince knew little of business, and the Shaikh acquired more power than ever .... The people cried ... against his oppression; and to add to their distress, Kashmir was, in 1832, visited by famine. The Shaikh was again recalled to Lahore and fined ... Ghulam Mohiuddin remained for some time out of employment, till Bhai Ram Singh, wishing to have a friend about the person of Nao Nihal Singh, with ability sufficient to counteract the influence of his enemy, Diwan Hakim Rai, placed him in the service of the Prince. Here he rapidly became a great favourite, and he accompanied the Prince to Peshawar and became his chief fiscal Minister. In 1839, he was made Governor of the Jullandhar Doab, and in the hot season of the next year was sent with General Ventura to subdue the Rajputs of Mandi ....

When Nao Nihal Singh was killed ... the Shaikh was still in the hills, but he quickly returned to Lahore, and espoused the cause of Mai Chand Kaur .... When Sher Singh ascended the throne, the Shaikh excused his opposition to him on the ground of fidelity to his late master ... on the arrival of the news of the murder of General Mian Singh, Governor of Kashmir ... on the 17th April, 1841, the Shaikh was appointed to succeed him. He immediately left for Kashmir, and his son Imamuddin Khan was summoned from Mandi to take charge of the Jullandhar Doab.

Raja Gulab Singh was sent with Ghulam Mohiuddin to restore order in Kashmir ....

The leading man in the hill country was Sultan Zabardast Khan, Raja of Muzaffarabad.... He was a man well disposed to the Lahore Government, in favour with Sher Singh, and had done good service in putting down the mutiny in Kashmir.

The chief, about two months after Sher Singh's death, was . . . seized while at prayers in a mosque, by Ghulam Mohiuddin, imprisoned and his jagirs confiscated.

At the same time disputes arose between Gulab Singh and his nephew Hira Singh, and the former used every means to attach the people of Kashmir and the hills to himself. In this, he partially succeeded . . . in August, 1844, Habibullah Khan of Pakhli attacked the Sikh garrison of Khori, but Ghulam Mohiuddin sent 500 men to its relief, who defeated the insurgents, and slew their leader. Soon after this, Raja Sultan Khan of Khori, joined by a son of Habibullah Khan, and other hill chiefs, attacked and reduced Khori, and, in October, marched to Muzaffarabad and attacked the forts. Ghulam Mohiuddin sent nearly all his Sikh troops to the relief on the garrison, but they were attacked and defeated by the insurgents .... The son of Raja Zabardast Khan and the Rajas of Dobheta and Ori now joined the insurgents, who became so strong that, in November, they seized Baramulla, and occupied the Pargannah of Shoupur, within a short march of the capital.

Ghulam Mohiuddin now first informed the court of Lahore, of the insurrection. General Gulab Singh Povindia, then on his way to Peshawar, was ordered to advance into Kashmir, with his troops. Reinforcements were also sent by way of Punch and Jammu, but those sent by Raja Gulab Singh soon halted, the depth of the snow being the excuse; but the real reason was that the Raja did not wish to co-operate heartily till he had secured some advantages for himself ....

The troops that marched by way of Punch were commanded by Imamuddin Khan, son of Ghulam Mohiuddin .... He joined the Kashmir expedition with the greatest reluctance, and only consented to go, on the understanding that no Sikh troops were to accompany him ....

In the meantime Kashmir had been entirely over-run by the insurgents, and Ghulam Mohiuddin was shut up in the fort of Hari Parbat. The Muhammadan troops had revolted, the hill Rajas were all up in arms, and the Sikhs found they had their most difficult conquest to make over again.

The force of Gulab Singh Povindia and Diwan Mulraj*, at length advanced to Muzaffarabad and relieved the garrison. It then marched into the valley, and after some severe fighting, the insurgents were defeated. Raja Zabardast Khan was reinstated at Muzaffarabad and the neighbouring Rajas were made subordinate to him. In February, 1845, Shaikh Ghulam Mohiuddin tried to open negotiations with the English Government, to which he tendered his allegiance, and that of Raja Rahimullah Khan of Rajaori. His proposals were rejected and soon afterwards he died....and his son Imamuddin Khan, who was in Kashmir at the time, succeeded him as Governor.

The Shaikhs (as the father and son were called) had neither family nor influence, and were useful to the Lahore State chiefly as being...collectors of revenue....

Imamuddin Khan was Governor of Kashmir when that province was made over to Maharaja Gulab Singh, by the treaty of the 16th March, 1846. This transfer was not popular at Lahore, and to Raja Lal Singh the minister... He, accordingly, sent instructions to Imamuddin Khan to oppose the Maharaja, and directed the troops to obey the Shaikh implicitly. Imamuddin Khan was willing enough to comply....

It is possible that Imamuddin Khan, misapprehending the motives of the British Government, imagined that by the payment of a large sum of ready money, he might be allowed to retain Kashmir, as Viceroy, and with this object was ready to carry out the instructions of Raja Lal Singh. ....he, therefore, disregarded the peremptory orders of the Darbar to evacuate the province; he induced, by bribes, many of the Maharaja's troops to join his standard, and with the assistance of Fakirullah Khan, son of Raja Rahimullah Khan of Rajaori, and other hill chiefs, he retained possession of the greater part of the country until a large force was sent from Lahore against him.

It was not until the army had reached the border of the Kashmir valley, that the Shaikh, seeing further opposition to be useless, came into Colonel Lawrence's camp at Thannah and surrendered himself. He then gave up two letters and an address to the troops serving under him, which ..contained the instructions of Raja Lal Singh, and in obedience to which

* Diwan Mulraj was Governor of Hazara, and must not be confounded with Diwan Mulraj, Governor of Multan.

he had acted.... The authoriy of both the letters and the address to the troops was fully proved and Lal Singh.... was deposed from the 'Wizarat' and banished to Agra. Shaikh Imamuddin Khan.... was pardoned, and his Lahore estates, which, with his other property...: had been confiscated, were restored to him.

The generous treatment he received, seems to have made a favourable impression upon Imamuddin, and, in 1848,....he remained faithful, though great efforts were made by the leaders of the rebellion to gain him to their side. In June, 1848, with 2,000 newly-raised troops, he marched to Multan, to cooperate with the force of Lieutenant Edwardes. Both he and his men behaved well, and distinguished themselves in several actions with the rebels.

When peace was restored, he received, as a reward for his services, the title of Nawab, and a life cash pension of 11,600 rupees, and his jagir of 8,400 rupees was confirmed to him."[1]

Malik Khairuddin Khan Kassuria

"The ancestors of Malik Khairuddin Khan were Bhatti Rajputs, resident in the Sirsa District. About the year 1520, Gaggu and Nolu, two members of the family, obtained from Ibrahim, the last of the Lodi dynasty, a grant of thirty thousand acres of waste land in Kasur district. Thither the brothers proceeded with their families, and founded several villages, Hariki, Heytu and the two Nowls. About this time also...they became converts to Muhammadanism. When the Sikhs became powerful, about the middle of the 18th century, Kasur, with its large Muhammadan population, consisting partly of Pathan colonists and partly of Hindu converts, fell into the hands of the Bhangi chiefs, who held it till 1794, when Nizamuddin Khan, the Pathan leader, drove out the Sikhs, and contrived for some year to hold his own against all opposition. Nizamuddin Khan was assassinated by some of his relations, in 1802, and his brother Kutbuddin Khan became chief of Kasur. He married a daughter of Khewa Khan, and bestowed upon his father-in-law an estate worth Rs. 10,000 in addition to his ancestral villages. In 1807 Kasur was conquered by Ranjit Singh, and Kutbuddin Khan was permitted to retain Mamdot, to the south of the Sutlej, whither he retired,

1. Ibid, pp. 157-164.

accompanied by Khewa Khan, who received a jagir, in Mamdot, of the same value as he had lost in Kasur, subject to the service of a contingent of horse. For many years, under Kutbuddin Khan and his successor Jamaluddin Khan, Malik Khewa performed military service, and when he grew old his son Khairuddin, headed the contingent, on active service. Khairuddin Khan during the first Afghan war was stationed at Peshawar with the 100 horsemen of the Mamdot contingent, and after its disastrous termination he accompanied the second army under General Pollock to Kabul, with the Mamdot horse and 100 men from the Mokal and Attariwala contingents. His services, at a time when the Sikh Brigade was notoriously hostile and refused to advance, were very valuable, and on his return to the Punjab, both General Pollock and Major Mackeson recommended him to the kindness of Maharaja Sher Singh who promised to increase his jagir but was assassinated before he was able to carry out his intention. At this time Jamaluddin Khan, chief of Mamdot, confiscated the jagir of Khewa Khan, who retired to the village of Beytu, an ancestral possession, where he died, at a very advanced age, in 1856. Maharaja Dalip Singh, in compensation for this loss of the Mamdot jagir, gave to Khairuddin Khan, in 1844, six villages near Kasur, worth Rs. 6,000. During the latter part of the Sutlej war, he fought on the side of the British, crossing the river wih his whole family and joining the camp, soon after the battle of Firushahr. During the retrenchments that followed the deposition of Raja Lal Singh, his jagir was reduced to Rs. 4,000 and shortly afterwards two more villages were taken away, the Kardars affirming that the revenue of the two remaining ones, Beytu and Matran, was fully Rs. 4,000. At the time of the Multan outbreak Khairuddin was at Dera Ismail Khan, under the orders of Captain Taylor. He was sent to Bannu to relieve Fateh Khan Tiwana, who was besieged in Dalipgarh; but Fateh Khan was slain and the fort reduced before he reached it. He was afterwards sent from Isakhel with 200 horses and 500 foot into the Pindi Gheb country to harrass Gohar Singh, the rebel Kardar of Sirdar Chattar Singh, and to encourage the Attock garrison. He performed the duty most satisfactorily. Gohar Singh was routed in two or three encounters, and was forced to fly the country, and while the Sikh army remained on the left bank of the Jhelum, Khairuddin held his ground to the north of the Salt range...."[1]

1. Griffin, L.H.: op. cit., pp. 258-260.

Sultan Mahmud Khan and Sultan Ahmad Ali Khan

"Nothing certain is known about the origin of the family, however, before the time of Ghosi Khan who was an artillery officer under Mahan Singh Sukarchakia, and after his death, under his son Ranjit Singh. He knew something of casting guns, and was skilful in his profession, and was rewarded by jagirs worth Rs. 5,000 at Wan and Bherowali....

On his death, his son Sultan Mahmud Khan... accompanied Maharaja Ranjit Singh in his expeditions against Multan and Kashmir. In the Tirah campaign in Kangra he so much distinguished himself that the Maharaja made him a general and placed him in command of 25 guns... he was a useful officer and while Ranjit Singh lived, was generally treated with favour. When Nao Nihal Singh obtained power, Sultan Mahmud lost his command... but on the death of the prince and the accession of Maharaja Sher Singh he was reinstated, and his son Sultan Ahmad Khan was made a colonel. In 1843, both father and son were engaged in the assault on the fort of Lahore, which had been taken possession of, by the Sindhianwalas after the murder of Sher Singh, and for their services on this occasion they received additional jagirs.... Sultan Mahmud was then sent in command of the artillery to Hazara, where he remained till, shortly before the outbreak of 1848....

Sultan Ahmad Khan was in Bannu at the time of the outbreak, and assisted Ram Singh Chhapawala to reduce the fort of Dalipgarh... he then marched with the Sikh rebel force to Ram Nagar where he was joined by his father, and both fought against the English throughout the campaign. The service jagirs of Sultan Mahmud, which at the time of the rebellion amounted to Rs. 6, 000 were resumed, but he received a life pension of Rs. 600 which he held till his death in 1859."[1]

Imam Shah and Muhammad Shah

The family of Muhammad Shah is of Persian descent. Kamruddin was an officer in the army of Nadir Shah, and accompanied that chief to India remaining behind as a settler... he died in 1764. Amiruddin then left for Lucknow, where Shujauddowlah was Nawab, and entered his service first as Thanadar and afterwards as a revenue collector. Failing to pay the Government demand he was thrown out of his job into prison,

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1. Ibid, pp. 468-469.

and though released. . . did not obtain fresh employment till the accession of Asafuddowlah. . . . He was murdered at Publi by some Gujars in 1798, and his son Imam Shah. . . left for Lukhnow where he lived for some time with an old retired officer of artillery. . . Buhadar Khan, who taught him all that he knew. As he could get no employment at the court of Oude, Imam Shah determined to seek his fortune elsewhere. . . . at Wazirabad in the Punjab, he met Sirdar Jodh Singh who easily induced him to enter his services as Jamadar of Artillery. The next year. . . Imam Shah. . . entered the army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and fought in many battles, as Colonel of Artillery. He served throughout the reign of Ranjit Singh and his successors, and was killed at Sobraon in 1846.

Muhammad Shah, his second son, was made a commandant of Artillery when eighteen years of age. He fought in the Sutlej campaign, and under the Darbar was successively posted at Pind Dadan Khan, Hassan Abdal and Hazara. In 1849, when the 5th Punjab Cavalry was first raised, Muhammad Shah was appointed to it, and served in this regiment till 1859."[1]

The Nawabs of Multan

"Shah Hussain Khan, one of the ancestors of the Multan Nawabs and all his family came to India along with Aurangzeb after the later's failure to recapture Kandhar in 1649 for they could no longer remain in Afganistan with safety.

Shah Hussain first obtained the Pargannah of Sialkot in jagir, and soon afterwards, in exchange for it, Rangpur, on the right bank of the Chenab. . . . In 1771, (while Shuja Khan, who had been the sixth Nawab after the death of Shah Hussain Khan, was governing Multan), the Sikhs, who were becoming very powerful and who had in 1766 overran the Multan country under Jhanda Singh, attacked Multan, and for a month and a half besieged the fort; but Jahan Khan marched to its relief, and compelled them to retire. After this, Haji Sharif Khan Saddozai was nominated governor by Timur Shah, and Shuja Khan again retired to his fort of Shujaabad, but when called upon to give up to government all the proceeds of his zamindari estates, he refused and came to an open rupture with the Governor. On this, another Haji Sharif Khan Taklu,

1. Ibid, pp. 470-471.

otherwise known as Mirza Sharif Beg, was appointed, in conjunction with a merchant named Dharam Das, and contrived to keep on good terms with Shuja Khan. But Abdul Karim Khan Bamazai invaded Multan, and the Mirza called in the Sikhs to his assistance. Timur Shah, hearing that the Mirza had chosen allies from among his bitter enemies, superseded him, and sent Maddat Khan to fill the post. Sharif Beg resisted the new governor, but Shuja Khan supported him; and they together besieged Sharif Beg in the citadel. They could not take it, however, and Maddat Khan was recalled to Kandhar. Timur Shah now directed the Bahawalpur chief to reduce the rebellious governor to obedience. He accordingly marched to Multan with his Daudputras, accompanied by Muzaffar Khan son of Shuja Khan. The fort was besieged and taken in eighteen days; but the triumph was a short one. Sharif Beg had called to his assistance Sirdars Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh, the Bhangi Chiefs, and they now appeared with a large force. They defeated the Bahawalpur troops and stormed the fort which they kept for themselves. The Mirza on this fled to Talamba and from thence to Kharipur Tanwein, where he died not long afterwards.

The Sikhs then attacked and captured Shujaabad, whither Shuja Khan had fled, and he only escaped with difficulty, and took refuge at Bahawalpur. Sirdar Jhanda Singh then left Multan in charge of Diwan Singh Chhachowalia, one of his misldars, and returned to Amritsar. This was in 1772. Some time after this, Shuja Khan died, and in 1777 his son Muzaffar Khan persuaded Bahawal Khan, chief of Bahawalpur, to make another effort to recover the city. He accordingly attacked the fort and was at first successful, but after a siege of twenty-three days was repulsed with loss, and Muzaffar Khan applied for aid to Kabul. Sirdar Maddat Khan was again despatched with a considerable force, but he did not reach Multan till early in the following year. Kabul politics had then changed, and his services were required at home, and he was recalled without having effected anything. Muzaffar Khan then retired to Uchh, where he lived under the protection of the famous Makhdum Sahib Hamed till 1779, when Timur Shah, king of Kabul, marched to Multan with a large army, and recovered it from the Sikhs after a siege of forty days. The Sikhs were allowed to retire unmolested, and Muzaffar Khan was appointed governor with the title of Nawab 'Rukn-ud-Doulah' (pillar of the State).

The new governor was an energetic and able man, and very much improved the province during his long rule. He had not, however, much time to bestow on works of peace for, from 1779 till his death in 1818, he was engaged in constant war. . . (His wars with Ranjit Singh are described in the chapter entitled "Ranjit Singh's wars against Muslim Principalities").

. . . (After the death of Muzaffar Khan) Sarfaraz Khan his eldest son had been for some years Nawab, his father having procured the confirmation of his succession from the Kabul court. He was carried prisoner to Lahore by Diwan Chand, and was well received by the Maharaja who gave him a jagir at Sharakpur and Naolakha, afterwards commuted to a cash pension. Zulfikar Khan also received a pension. Sarfaraz Khan was at first rigorously guarded in Lahore, but when the Maharaja's power was secure in Multan, he was allowed perfect freedom and was always treated with respect and friendship by Ranjit Singh.

In 1848 his influence was useful to the British Government in inducing the Multani Pathans to abandon the cause of Mulraj. . . . At annexation, the Nawab had a jagir of Rs. 1,100, the village of Chamusa and a cash pension of Rs. 14,720. The pension was maintained for his life, and the jagir was to descend to his son Firozdin. . . "[1]

Sial Chiefs

"The Sials of Jhang are a Muhammadan tribe of great antiquity, and until the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh possessed great power in the country bordering on the Chenab. . . . Their ancestor Rai Shamkar was a resident of Dhara Nagar. . . . He emigrated, about the year 1230, to Jaunpur, and on his death, great disensions arose between the different branches of the family and his son Sial, in 1243 during the reign of Sultan Allauddin, left Jaunpur for the Punjab . . . Sial in search of a good place for settlement visited Pak Pattan, then called Ajodhan, and the residence of the famous Muhammadan saint Baba Farid-ud-Din Shakarganj. He, with all his family, converted by the eloquence of the Saint, turned Musalman. . . . Mahpal sixth in descent from Sial, about the year 1380, founded the town of Mankera, afterwards so celebrated, and his great grandson Mal Khan founded Jhang Sial, on the Chenab, in 1462. He was four years afterwards summoned to Lahore, and granted the

1. Ibid, pp. 477, 481-82, 488.

territory of Jhang in hereditary possession, paying revenue to the Mogal emperors....

Inayat Khan (the fourteenth Chief of Jhang) died in 1787... the rule of his son Sultan Mahmud... did not last long, for his half-brother Sahib Khan... rose in arms, and imprisoned him in the fort of Choutra, where he was put to death. Sahib Khan was himself assassinated soon after.... The next Rais of Jhang, Kabir Khan son of Ismail Khan... was of a mild and peaceful disposition, and was much loved by his tribe. After a rule of eleven years, he abdicated in favour of his son Ahmad Khan... the last of the Sial Chiefs. The Sikhs had by this time become very powerful.... Ranjit Singh marched against Chuniot which was held by Jassa Singh, son of Karram Singh and captured it. He then turned towards Jhang, but Ahmad Khan agreed to pay Rs. 60, 000 yearly, and the Sikh chief accordingly returned to Lahore.... Three years later (1806).... the Maharaja again invaded Jhang, with a large army, and after some hard fighting took the fort; Ahmad Khan escaping to Multan. The district of Jhang was then farmed to Sirdar Fateh Singh Kalianwala.... Not long after, Ahmad Khan, returned with a Pathan force, given him by Muzaffar Khan Nawab of Multan, and recovered a great part of his old territories....

After the Maharaja had unsuccessfully attacked Multan in 1810, he visited his chagrin on Ahmad Khan, whom he suspected of favouring Muzaffar Khan, and having captured him at Serai Sidhu, took him to Lahore, while his son Inayat Khan fled to Haiderabad in Sind. Ranjit Singh... promised Ahmad Khan his release from prison, if he would recall his son and leave him at Lahore as security for his good behaviour. This was done, and Ahmad Khan received a jagir of Rs. 12,000 at Mirowal in the Amritsar district... in 1818, he granted Inayat Khan a jagir of Rs. 3,000 and on the death of Ahmad Khan in 1820, the son succeeded to the jagir. This was in 1823 exchanged for one of the same value at Serai Sidhu, in the Multan district, and in 1830, this was again exchanged for a jagir at Mustanwali, in Liea. In 1838, Inayat Khan was killed near Rassalpur....His brother Ismail Khan went to Lahore to endeavour to obtain the confirmation of the jagir in his favour, but the Maharaja was paralytic... and he only obtained a pension of Rs. 100 a month. He remained at Lahore for four years, till his pension was discontinued, and he then returned to Jhang, where

he lived upon an allowance of Rs. 41 a month granted to the family by Sawan Mal. This was raised in 1848, to Rs. 60.

In October, 1848, Major H. Edwardes wrote to Ismail Khan, directing him to raise troops in behalf of government, and to collect the revenue of the district. The poor chief... raised a force, and, descending the river, attacked and defeated a rebel chief, Atta Muhammad at Nikoka-rah... Thus Ismail Khan, the representative of a long and illustrious line of chiefs, stood out bravely on the side of the Government. His influnece, which was great in the district, was all used against the rebels"[1].

The Kharrals

"The Kharrals have their chief settlements in the swampy jungles of the Gogaira district.... Through all historic times, the Kharrals have been turbulent, savage and thievish tribe.

... More fanatic than other Muhammad tribes they submitted with the greatest reluctance to Hindus rule... for whenever an organized force was sent against them, they retired into the marshes and thick jungle where it was almost impossible to follow them....

Kamal Khan is the first of the tribes whose identity is very clear. He founded Kot Kamalia, in the 16th century, some forty miles to the south of Jhang, where lived the Sials, whom the Kharrals claimed as kinsmen but with whom they were always fighting... Walidad Khan the thirteenth chief of Jhang was in favour in court. He took possession of Kamalia, assigned the chief a service jagir, and held his conquest during his whole rule. His successor Inayat Khan, was either more generous or more foolish, for he restored Kamalia to Muhammad Yar Khan and Ahmad Yar Khan, the sons of Saadat Khan. But in the next generation it was again lost. Sirdar Kamal Singh Nakkai conquered it, and on his death, it fell into the hands of Sirdar Ram Singh, head of the rival Nakkai house.

Ghulam Muhammad Khan can scarcely be said to have had any power whatever; and his son Saadat Yar Khan the Second was not much more fortunate... when in 1798, Shah Zaman invaded the Punjab, and the Sikhs took to flight in all directions, Muzaffar Khan governor of

1. Ibid, pp. 502-506.

Multan. . . marched to Kamalia, and drove out the Sikhs after a severe fight. Saadat Yar Khan was reinstated, but he did not hold his own very long for in 1803 he was compelled. . . to submit to Ranjit Singh who annexed Kamalia to Lahore. Saadat Yar Khan fled to the protection of Nawab Muzaffar Khan of Multan. Ranjit Singh, however, recalled him, and gave him proprietary rights over forty villages, in which he was succeeded by his son Muzaffar Khan. In 1810, the Maharaja gave him the village of Muhammad Shah. . . .

Muzaffar Khan was succeeded by his brother Muhammad Sarfraz Khan, who was an able man and a brave soldier. He held the family jagirs throughout the reign of Ranjit Singh, but Raja Hira Singh reduced them to Rs. 300. This chief rendered excellent service at various times to the British Government. . . . In the second Sikh war of 1848-49, he remained faithful to Government. Acting on the orders of the Resident, he raised his clan and attacked the Sikhs. . . . He captured from the rebels the fort of Talamba, and garrisoned it with his own men, and at the close of the war he was rewarded with a life pension of Rs. 500 a year. An assignment of Rs. 275 a year from the town dues of Kamalia was also allowed him. . . ."[1]

The Tiwana Maliks

"From a common ancestor have descended three remarkable tribes, the Sials of Jhang, the Ghebas of Pindi Gheb and the Tiwanas of Mitha Tiwana in Shahpur. . .

"Mir Ahmad Khan (whose father Mir Ali Khan had founded the village of Oukhli Moula in the Shahpur District) about the year 1680, built Mitha Tiwana, seven miles east of Oukhli, where he had found sweet water from which the town was named. This chief was engaged in constant hostilities with the Awans his neighbours to the north, and at Hadali, five miles from Mitha Tiwana, defeated them with great slaughter. Dadu Khan and Sher Khan, the third and fourth Maliks, improved and enlarged Mitha Tiwana, which soon became a flourishing town, and many settlers from other parts of the country took up their residence in it. . . . About the year 1745, Sher Khan founded Nurpur Tiwana, which soon became a large and thriving village. . . . Sher Khan died in 1767, leaving two sons Khan Muhammad Khan, and Khan Beg Khan. . . .

1. Ibid, pp. 509-512.

With Lal Khan, the chief of Khushab. . . . Khan Muhammad had always been friends, till Jaffir Khan, the son and heir of Lal Khan, suspecting the Tiwana Chief's intentions were not quite honest, plotted against him while visiting Khushab. Khan Muhammad escaped to his own town and prepared for fight. Lal Khan, with his younger son Hakim Khan and his wife Nurbhari, came to assure Khan Muhammad of their innocense but he arrested them and, marching to Khushab, opened fire upon the town. . . . Jaffir Khan called Mahan Singh Sukarchakia, an old friend of Khan Muhammad, to his aid. The Sikhs came with a considerable force and compelled the Tiwana chief to retire. . . . Towards the end of his rule, his brother Khan Beg Khan again took up arms against him. . . . For some time Khan Muhammad defended himself, but his enemies were too powerful and in 1803 he applied to Ranjit Singh for succour. That Sirdar was by no means secure himself, but on the promise of a subsidy of one lakh of rupees, he consented to trap Khan Beg Khan. It was arranged ... that when Ranjit Singh marched into the country, Khan Mohammad should take to flight, seeing which, Khan Beg Khan would probably come to pay his respects, believing the Lahore chief his friend. All happened auspiciously: Khan Beg was caught by Ranjit Singh, and made over to his brother by whom he was put to death. Ranjit Singh took his blood money, and with some small tribute from the Muhammadan Maliks of the neighbourhood returned to Lahore in 1804. Khan Muhammad Khan had outwitted his brother, but his second son Ahmad Yar Khan now rebelled against him, and having won over most of the tribe to his side, induced his father to. . . yield the chiefship to him. He had no easy life and was always fighting with the chiefs of Mankera, Khushab, and Sahiwal, with varying success.

In 1817, Maharaja Ranjit Singh sent a force. . . against the Tiwana chief at Nurpur. After a short resistence, the fort was taken, and Ahmad Yar Khan fled to Jhandawala or Jandiala in the Mankera territory. When the Sikh army had retired. . . Ahmad Yar Khan returned and regained possession of the country; but he was a second time compelled to fly to Jandiala, from which he was driven by the Mankera Nawab. . . . He now submitted to the Maharaja, who granted him the Ilaka of Jhawarian, worth Rs. 10,000 in jagir, subject to the service of 60 horsemen. In 1821, Ranjit Singh marched against Hafiz Ahmad Khan, Nawab of Mankera, and the Tiwana Malik gladly joined the expedition as he had an old score to wipe out with the Nawab. Muhammad Khan,

the predecessor of Hafiz Ahmad, had surrounded Mankera with a cordon of twelve forts, Haidarabad, Moajghar, Fatahpur, Pipal, Darya Khan, Khanpur, Jhandawala, Kalor, Dulehwala, Bhakkar, Dinganah and Choubara; while to make the central fortress inaccessible he had permitted no wells to be sunk within the cordon. But for all this, the besieging army. . . moved on, digging wells as it advacced, invested the fort and after a siege of 25 days, the Nawab capitulated, being allowed to retain the government of Derah Ismail Khan. The assistane rendered by the Tiwanas during this campaign was very great, and the Maharaja was so much struck with ... their bold riding and their gallant fighting, that he insisted upon a troop of Tiwana horse returning with him to Lahore. Of this troops of 50 horsemen, Kadir Bakhsh was the commander. . . . Khuda Yar Khan found himself a person of very small importance at Lahore. . . . He was appointed on Rs. 1,000 a year, 'chabuk sawar' or rough rider to the Maharaja, whose hunting expeditions he superintended until his death in 1837. Fateh Khan, son of Khuda Yar Khan, had been, during these years in the service of Sirdar Hari Singh Nalwa to whom the Mitha Tiwana country was given in jagir, in 1819. . .'. Till the death of Hari Singh in 1837, Fateh Khan held a command under him in his native country ... In 1837 he came to Lahore, where Raja Dhyan Singh. . . in 1838, procured for him the appointment of manager of the Mitha Tiwana country, with control of such of the salt mines, like Wurcha and Choha, as lay to the south of the range and close to the plain country. . . in 1840 Fateh Khan was Rs. 20,000 in arrears, and Prince Nao Nihal Singh, glad of an opportunity to humble an adherent of Raja Dhyan Singh, placed him in arrest. . . until the arrears were paid off. On the death of Nao Nihal Singh the Raja regained his power and Fateh Khan's fortunes rose with those of his patron. He was sent as Manager of the Kachhi country and Sahib Khan, Alam Khan and other of his relations were made Kardars of Mianwali, Shaikhowal and Nurpur Tiwana. Soon after the accession of Sher Singh, Fateh Khan was sent on duty across the Indus. The country of Tank had been ousted by the Sikhs... Allahdad Khan. . . ravaged the country, cut off Sikh convoys and foraging parties and the revenue had fallen to next to nothing. In this state of things. . . Fateh Khan was accordingly sent with a strong force and full powers. His mission was entirely successful.... Then Fateh Khan proceeded to Marwat, the country to the North of Tank, to collect the government revenue. . . . The first thing that he did was to build a fort at Lakki. . . in the heart of the Marwat country.

This was not opposed by the chiefs. .. no sooner was the fort completed than Fateh Khan begged for loans, in addition to the revenue charge.... This accomplished, Fateh Khan returned in triumph to Lahore, taking with him Shah Niwaz Khan the young son of Allahdad Khan Kattekhel, who was well received at court. The fortunes of the Malik now seemed made, when, in one day, his friend and patron Raja Dhyan Singh and Maharaja Sher Singh fell by the hands of the Sindhianwalas He escaped in disguise from Lahore and fled to his native Tiwana, whither he was followed by a force sent to arrest him. But the Malik fled across the Indus to Bannu and took refuge with Sawan Khan.... Kadir Bakhsh. .. took refuge with his old master Sawan Mal at Multan. When the Lahore troops had retired, Fateh Khan re-crossed the Indus and called the Muhammadan tribes to arms. He was now well-known along the Indus, and he soon had a large following at his back. He ravaged the country with fire and sword and defeated several bodies of irregular troops sent against him. When, however, a regular force under Sirdar Mangal Singh Siranwali marched against him, he again escaped across the Indus, while Mitha Tiwana was sacked by the Sikhs. When at length, Raja Hira Singh and Pandit Jalla fell from power Fateh Khan hurried to Lahore where he knew that he would be well received by Sirdar Jowahir Singh the new minister.... He was not disappointed. Jowahir Singh. .. made him governor of the Mitha Tiwana country, of portions of Jhelum and Rawalpindi and of the whole province of Derah Ismail Khan and Bannu.... But Jowahir Singh had not given Fateh Khan this power and position for nothing. The minister had a dangerous rival in the person of Prince Peshora Singh. .. to whom the Sikhs now generally looked as the best man to sit on the throne. The Prince had, with the help of the Muhammadan tribes in the neighbourhood, gained possession of the fort of Attock, and Fateh Khan Tiwana and Sardar Chattar Singh Attariwala, men upon whom the minister knew he could rely, were directed to proceed against him. With some 8000 men they invested the fort, but the feeling in favour of the Prince was strong. On solemn promises of safety the Prince surrendered the fort to Fateh Khan and Chattar Singh. Having secured their victim the two chiefs began their march to Lahore, and. .. reached Hassan Abdal.... At this place a letter from Lahore was received in which was written that it was unsafe in the present temper of the Sikhs to bring Peshora Singh to the capital.... That very night Fateh Khan and his confederate. .. seized him. .. and marched back to Attock.... The unfortunate Prince was hurried into the fort and

placed in the lower chamber of a tower..... When night came, he was strangled and his body thrown into the river. .. the murder did not go unavenged. The weakminded, slavish Chattar Singh died in exile.... Jowahir Singh the instigator of the deed was killed by the enraged solidiery shortly afterwards, while upon Malik Fateh Khan came the troubles related here. After the murder, he crossed the Indus at Kalabagh and took possession of his new province of Derah Ismail Khan. The governor Doulat Rai retired, not prepared to resist at this time, and the Malik then determined to get rid of some of his Tank enemies.... The three chief jagirdars in Tank were the famous Payinda Khan, Ashik Muhammad Khan and Hayat Ullah Khan. These three chiefs were enticed to Derah Ismail Khan, and Payinda Khan visited the Darbar of the Malik to talk over his affairs.... The conversation grew somewhat excited, and at length Fateh Khan insulted the Afghan to his face. Payinda Khan's. .. young son, Sikandar Khan. .. drew his sword and cut down the Malik's Jamadar Partaja. .. Fateh Khan was ready for this.... Payinda Khan, his son and most of his retainers were cut to pieces. Then the Malik attacked the house of Hayat Ullah Khan where Ashik Muhammad Khan and Nasirullah Khan had taken refuge; stormed it and put the inmates to death. Hayat Ullah Khan himself escaped to the house of Nawab Sher Muhammad.... The indignation at this atrocity was great on the frontier and even the authorities at Lahore were compelled to appear shocked.... Diwan Doulat Rai was again nominated governor of Derah Ismail Khan. The Malik determined on resistance, and when Doulat Rai arrived at Bhakkar, opposite Derah Ismail Khan on the left bank of the Indus, he crossed the river to attack him. .. Fateh Khan was however compelled to retire to Derah. Doulat Rai followed and marched upon the town, outside which the Malik met him with some 3,000 men. But these troops were undisciplined. .. and they dispersed without fighting. Fateh Khan, deserted by his adherents, was compelled to retreat to the fort of Akalgar.... There he murdered all his prisoners, and the same night crossing the Indus retired to Mitha Tiwana to wait for better days. The country was at this time in confusion after the Sutlej campaign, and the English.... were at Lahore. Raja Lal Singh was no friend of Fateh Khan and would have confiscated all his jagirs but for the intercession of Sirdar Sultan Muhammad Khan. In the hot weather of 1846, the Malik was sent to Kashmir, as he was an intimate friend of Shaikh Imamuddin Khan the rebel governor, and it was thought that he might influence

him favourably....

On his return... to Lahore he was called upon to explain the accounts of his late Government as Diwan Dinanath had brought him in a defaulter to the amount of seven lakhs of rupees.... After a long dispute... the demand... was reduced to four lakhs of rupees. Fateh Khan complained... of the harshness of this demand, but in reality the Malik was treated with exceptional leniency.... Fateh Khan could have paid the four lakhs without the slightest inconvenience.... but he pretended that he could not pay and he was placed in restraint in the house of Khan Singh Man... For three and a half months, he was thus kept under arrest; and then, as he absolutely asserted his inability to pay, he was removed to the fort of Govindghar... after the outbreak of the Multan rebellion.... Lieutenant Edwardes thinking the Malik would be of use on the frontier, obtained his release, and in June 1848, when the state of the country made it advisable to recall Lieutenant Taylor from Bannu, Fateh Khan was sent as governor of that province with Marwat, Isakhel, Kachhi and Mianwali... The Sikh force of Bannu was thoroughly disaffected and the appointment of Fateh Khan increased its dissatisfaction. Early in August, the troops broke into open mutiny, but the vigour of Fateh Khan suppressed it for the time.... When the news of Raja Sher Singh's rebellion at Multan reached Bannu, about the 25th September, the Sikhs rose in mutiny. They murdered Colonel Holmes, seized four light guns... and besieged Fateh Khan in the inner fort of Dalipghar.... The Malik might have held the fort for ever against the besiegers, had there been a supply of water... and the defenders were soon reduced to the last extremity.... Fateh Khan ..... was shot down at the gateway of the fort, and Muhamad Alim Khan and Sher Khan Isakhel and Lal Baz Khan of Bazar were carried away as prisoners ....

The more the character of Malik Fateh Khan is regarded, the less will he appear worthy of our admiration.... Proud, treacherous and cruel, insolent to equals, tyrannical to inferiors, and a ready tool for the commission of any crime which a superior might assign to him, there is no virtue which can be claimed for him save a spurious liberality, which was generally indulged not at his own expense, but at that of the state....

On the annexation of the Punjab it was not easy to discover the real position of the family with regard to estates and allowances. At the

death of Khudayar Khan in 1837, the estate was divided between his son Fateh Khan and his nephew Kadir Bakhsh. The former commanded 22 sowars and the latter, 33; the allowance of Fateh Khan was Rs. 1,000, the same as his father had held as 'chabuk sowar,' that of Kadir Baksh. . . was Rs. 720. Besides this there was Rs. 10,440 for the pay of the troopers.... When Kadir Baksh died the jagir was continued to his son Sher Muhammad Khan. . . . On the annexation of the Punjab the Tiwanas were not forgotten. Their services during the war had been valuable in the extreme. Sher Muhammad Khan expelled the rebel garrison from Khushab, and then took possession of Shahpur. The Mitha Tiwana fort, which had been seized by a body of the enemy, he besieged and reduced, as also Sahiwal and Ahmadabad. Sahib Khan, brother of Kadir Baksh, had his share of the fighting and he, with Langar Khan Sahiwal and some other chiefs, attacked and defeated the force of the rebel Bhai Maharaj Singh. Fateh Sher Khan, son of Fatah Khan, served as one of Major Edwardes' chief officers and fought with the greatest gallantry throughout the war of 1848-49. At the close of the war, the Government was anxious to reward adequately the services of the Tiwana chiefs, and allowed them the fourth of the revenue of the country from which they had been driven by Ranjit Singh."[1]

The Ghebas

"The Ghebas came to the Punjab some time after both Sials and Tiwanas had settled in the wild hilly country between the Indus and the Sohan rivers, now known as the pargannas of Fatehjang and Pindi Gheb. . . . Chattar Singh, after he had seized Pind Dadan Khan, overran the southern part of Rawalpindi and made Rai Jalal tributary, leaving him one-fourth of the revenue called the 'Chaharam', in consideration of his proprietary right in the land. But neither Chattar Singh nor his son Mahan Singh were able to get much out of the sturdy Ghebas, and their supremacy was little more than nominal. . . .

. . . In 1800 Ranjit Singh sent Sirdar Fateh Singh Kalianwala as the governor of the Rawalpindi district, and he continued the farm of the Kot and Khunda Ilakas to Rai Muhammad Khan the nephew of Rai Jalal. The village of Sher Buhadar, worth Rs. 500, was conferred on Rai Muhammad, with a 'maafi' or revenue free grant worth Rs. 1,075

1. Ibid, pp. 519—533.

a year. The great rivals of the Rais of Kot were the Maliks of Pindi Gheb, who farmed the Sil Ilaka from the Sikhs. Their jealously at length ended in bloodshed, for during a year of scarcity, when both had failed to pay the revenue, they were summoned to the Darbar at Amritsar. There they quarrelled and Rai Muhammad cut down Malik Ghulam Muhammad almost in the presence of the Maharaja himself.... It was not thought politic to punish him at that time, as his services were urgently needed on the side of Government in a wild country where the Sikh Kardars never gained full power. In 1836, Rai Muhammad served against Syad Ahmad... and distinguished himself in the battle of Balakot and for his services received the village of Giro, with Rs. 200. Jodh Singh, Dhanna Singh Malwai, Attar Singh Kalianwala and prince Nao Nihal Singh successively governed the Gheba country and all found Rai Muhammad Khan difficult to control and ever ready to rebel. Sirdar Attar Singh during his second tenure of office determined for the sake of peace to get rid of him. He invited the Rai to his fort of Pagh... Muhammad Khan did not suspect treachery,... No sooner had he entered the fort than the little party was attacked by Budha Khan Malal, an old enemy of his family, and the retainers of Attar Singh.... Fateh Khan succeeded his father and avenged his death upon Budha Khan whose family he almost extirpated. In 1845-46, Fateh Khan, taking advantage of the weakness of the Lahore Government, rose in revolt, but in August of the latter year, he surrendered to Sirdar Chattar Singh Attariwala... two months later Misr Amir Chand, through folly or treachery, released him, and he again took up arms against the Government. Through the influence of Colonel Lawrence, he was again induced to yield, and he soon had an opportunity of fighting against the Sikhs without being guilty of treason. During the war of 1848-49, he was of the greatest service to Captains Nicholson and Abbot. He kept open the communications, and raised as large a body of horse and foot as he was able, and on several occasions engaged parties of rebels with success..."[1]

Malik Oulia Khan, Ghulam Muhammad Khan and Allah Yar Khan of Pindi Gheb.

"The first Malik who became of any importance was Oulia Khan, who early in the eighteenth century overran the Ilakas of Nalab, Sohan,

1. Ibid, pp. 535-537.

Sil and Tallagang in the Jhelum district, and held them throughout his life. His son Amanat was equally powerful. Nominally subject to the Sukarchakia chiefs, he paid but a small tribute, and with his own troops held the country his father had ruled. Not so fortunate was Nawab his son. This chief held in farm with Ranjit Singh the Ilakas of Sil and Bala Gheb. In 1813 he rebelled, but was not able to hold his own against the Sikhs, and fled to Kohat .... His brother Ghulam Muhammad Khan succeeded him, being allowed one-fourth of the revenue of Sil. In the battle of Akora near Attock in 1827, Ghulam Muhammad fought under Attar Singh and Budh Singh Sindhianwala against Syad Ahmad, and no long time afterwards he was assassinated by. .. Rai Muhammad Khan Gheba, at Amritsar. .. Allah Yar Khan succeeded to the estate.... He did good service in 1848-49, and. .. assisted in keeping open the communication between Captain Nicholson and Lieutenants Edwardes and Taylor. At annexation he was only in possession of Dholian worth Rs. 750 and a well at Pindi Gheb worth Rs. 30 "[1]

Fateh Khan and Langar Khan of Sahiwal

"The Biloch family of Sahiwal came to India in 1527. Malik Bajjar Khan was a petty chief of Kach Mekran.... He fled with his family and retainers to Delhi. He was well received by the monarch (Babar); his younger brother Amir obtained the jagir of Farakabad .... and Bajjar Khan received the chiefship of the Thal country, about Shahpur in the Punjab.... In 1530, at age of twenty, he died, and was succeeded by his son Gul Bhalak Khan, who founded several new villages in the Shahpur district.... He obtained from the Emperor the tract of country around Sahiwal, which he peopled and brought into cultivation.... Sahib Khan the sixth chief of Sahiwal, was a man of so cruel and oppressive a disposition that the people rebelled against his authority, and having deposed him, made his nephew Langar Khan, chief in his stead. Langar Khan was of an easy disposition and much improved his territory, paying great attention to agriculture.... On the death of Langar Khan in 1735, his sons began to quarrel fiercely among themselves. Lal Khan, the eldest held his own, and having put to death his brother Bahram Khan and Lashkar Khan, and his nephew Khanun Khan, felt himself secure.... Fateh Khan was but twelve years old when he succeeded his father.... Fateh Khan's reign was a short one. He

1. Ibid, pp. 539,

was taken prisoner in an Afghan invasion, carried to Derah Ismail Khan and there put to death. He left no son, and his two brothers were so young that their mother Bhandi took the direction of affairs. She possessed courage and ability and was obeyed by the clan, and her only fault was that she was a woman. In 1750, Raja Kura Mal, the Lieutenant of Ahmad Shah, arrived at Sahiwal and summoned the infant chiefs to his presence. Bhandi suspected treachery, and, refusing compliance, called the troops to arms and attacked the Raja, but was totally defeated. The children were taken prisoners, and it is believed,put to death. Mubarak now thought his turn was come, and, returning from Bahawalpur, assumed the chiefship without much opposition and held it till his death, in 1770. His son Muhammad Khan found it difficult to make head against the Sikhs who were at this time over-running the country.... Fateh Khan the fourteenth chief was minor at the time of his brother's death, and for some time, his mother Allah Jowahi acted as regent, in conjunction with Diwan Dya Ram. When the boy grew up, he determined to seize the power.

When Mahan Singh rose to power, Fateh Khan thought it politic to pay him a small tribute; and in 1804 he agreed to give Ranjit Singh yearly, 25 horses and 25 camels. This.... was, in 1809, commuted to Rs. 12,000 per annum.

.... In the spring of 1810... Ranjit Singh marched to Sahiwal and summoned Fateh Khan, to his presence. The Biloch chief... hesitated to comply; but Ranjit Singh expressed such devoted friendship for him, that at length he sent his son Langar Khan... with rich presents. The Maharaja received the boy with great cordiality, and having again expressed his friendship for Fateh Khan, marched against Zaffar Khan chief of Khushab, which place he reduced after several days' siege. Fateh Khan now thought himself secure, but Ranjit Singh returned at night to Sahiwal, took the fort by surprise and carried the chief as prisoner to Lahore. After a year, he was released, and a jagir of Rs. 14,000 was given to him at Jhang.... In 1812 he returned to Lahore, and for three years remained about court, but this life was not to his taste.... at last he.... fled to Mankera, to the protection of Muhammad Khan, the great and wise Biloch Governor. He remained here for nine months,.... and.... then left for Multan, where he lived for two more years, supported by Muzaffar Khan...., In 1818.... he retired to

Bahawalpur, where, in the town of Ahmadpur, he died, in 1820.

Langar Khan, his eldest son, was .... 14 years' old, and Sadik Khan, the chief of Bahawalpur, took him and his horsemen into his own service. After three years, Ranjit Singh, ... invited Langar Khan to Lahore and gave him a jagir of Rs. 1,200 in Jhang and Sahiwal, with allowances for 50 horsemen, and stationed him at Multan. .. Shortly before the Maharaja's death, he granted a new jagir to Langar Khan at Moglanwala, Nun and Jhok Manjur.... Maharaja Sher Singh ordered him with 200 horsemen to accompany the camp of General M'Caskill through the Punjab during the Afghan war, and in July 1841, commanding the same force, he went with Major H. Lawrence as far as Charbagh in Lughman. After the assassination of Sher Singh, Langar Khan was sent by Raja Hira Singh against Fateh Khan Tiwana. .. but the expedition had not much success. .. In June, 1848, he did good service against the insurgent Bhai Maharaj Singh..... Two months afterwards Langar Khan joined General Whish's camp at Sirdarpur, and served during the whole siege of Multan with great credit. On annexation, his personal jagirs, worth Rs. 3,000 were released in perpetuity, and a pension of Rs. 1,200 granted him which was resumed at his death on the 17th March, 1853...."[1]

Mirza Ghulam Murtaza

"In 1530, ... Hadi Beg, a Mughal of Samarkandi, emigrated to the Punjab and settled in the Gurdaspur district. He was a man of some learning, and was appointed Kazi or Magistrate over seventy villages in the neighbourhood of Kadian, which town he is said to have founded, naming it Islampur Kazi, from which Kadian has by a natural change arisen. For several generations the family held offices of respectability.

Gul Muhammad and his son Ata Muhammad were engaged in perpetual quarrels with the Ramgharia and Kanheya misls who held the country in the neighbourhood of Kadian and, at last, having lost all his estates, Ata Muhammad retired to Begowal.... On his death, Ranjit Singh.... invited Ghulam Murtaza to return to Kadian and restored to him a large portion of his ancestral estates. He then, with his brothers, entered the army of the Maharaja and performed efficient

1. Ibid, pp. 545-550.

service on the Kashmir frontier and at other places.

During the time of Nao Nihal Singh, Sher Singh and the Darbar, Ghulam Murtaza was continually employed on active service. In 1841, he was sent with General Ventura to Mandi and Kulu, and in 1843, to Peshawar, in command of an infantry regiment. He distinguished himself in Hazara at the time of the insurrection there, and when the rebellion of 1848 broke out, he remained faithful....His brother, Ghulam Mohiuddin, also did good service at this time. "[1]

1. Ibid, pp. 380-81.

CHAPTER VI

Anarchy, Anglo-Sikh Wars and Annexation*

(1839—1849)

"Kharak Singh was the only legitimate son of Ranjit Singh, although the Maharaja had a number of reputed sons namely Sher Singh, Tara Singh, Multana Singh, Kashmira Singh, Peshawara Singh, Fateh Singh, and Dalip Singh.[1] Kharak Singh was unfortunately an opium eater and even when he had succeeded to the throne in June, 1839, nobody could believe that he would survive for long. The continuation of the dynasty of the legitimate successors of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, therefore, depended on the life of the more promising Kanwar Naunihal Singh ... Maharaja Kharak Singh died on 4th November, 1840 and the very next day, Naunihal Singh met a fatal accident while returning to the palace after cremating the body of his father.[2] It was undoutedly a grave tragedy, but the most unfortunate part of the situation was that the ministers of the Court, upon whom the responsibility for selecting the new ruler devolved, themselves became divided into two rival parties....

The leader of one party was the Dogra chief, Raja Dhyan Singh of Jammu who was one of the most outstanding administrator of the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and who had been continuously hold-

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*Material for this chapter has been taken from :

Ahluwalia, M.L : "Mai Chand Kaur's role in the Punjab—an estimate", Proc. Indian Historical Records Commission, vol. xxxi, Part II, January, 1955.

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Bal, Sarjit Singh : "Sir John Hobhouse and the Annexation of the Punjab" Punjab History Conference, First Session, Patiala.

1. The birth of Fateh Singh and Dalip Singh was made known only after the death of Kanwar Naunihal Singh. Secret Consultations, dated 23rd November, 1840, No. 79. Sher Singh was adopted by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1820. Cunningham p. 175

2. Secret Consultations, 23rd November, 1840, No. 79.

ing the office of "Deodi" since 1820.[1] Against the Jammu brothers Rajas Gulab Singh, Dhyan Singh and Suchet Singh, were arrayed the most powerful nobles of the Punjab, namely, the Sindhianwala brothers, Attar Singh, Lehna Singh and Ajit Singh and Bhais Ram Singh and Govind Ram. The Bhais had become the arch enemies of the Raja during the one year weak rule of Maharaja Kharak Singh.[2]

Fortunately for Raja Dhyan Singh, his opponents were not very strong at the Court when the tragedy of the death of Kanwar Naunihal Singh had occurred. Sardar Attar Singh having failed in his efforts to replace Dhyan Singh in the "Deodi" had already left the Punjab and was staying at Hardwar[3], while, Ajit Singh was away in the Kulu Hills conducting military operations against the Raja of Mandi State.[4] Even Mai Chand Kaur who had to play the main role in the hands of the opponents of the Raja was away at her estate of Fatehgarh.[5] Raja Dhyan Singh seized the opportunity and in consultation with the two veteran ministers Fakir Azizuddin and Jamadar Khushhal Singh and, of course, with the consent of Bhai Ram Singh, decided to offer the throne to Kanwar Sher Singh who was at that time at his estate of Batala. Further, in order to have a peaceful transfer, the Raja kept the death of Naunihal Singh a public secret and sent a message to Kanwar Sher Singh to reach Lahore by dak.[6] It must, however, be pointed out that the choice of Sher Singh as the new ruler was in no way bad, because out of all the reputed sons of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Sher Singh was the ablest and most popular with the Army.

...As a first step in this direction the Bhais seemed to have put forward the claim of Mai Chand Kaur to the throne even before the Mai had reached Lahore. The Raja who was naturally alarmed at this move, tried to brush aside her claim by assuring the sardars that in the new arrangements, the Mai would continue to hold a respectable place in the government. At the same time he made an effort to get the tacit support of the British Government for the cause of Kanwar Sher Singh.

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1. Cunningham, p. 178. The office of Deodi was the highest office in the government equivalent to that of Lord Chamberlain.
2. S.C. 23 November, 1840, No. 75.
3. S.C. 7 December, 1840 No. 114.
4. Ibid.
5. S.C. 7 December, 1840, Nos. 114 & 116.
6. Ibid.

At 8 a.m. on 7 November while Sher Singh had not yet reached Lahore, the Raja summoned Maulvi Rajab Ali to the Court and made the following statement before him .... "The turn of fate has now hurled on us the heart-rending calamity of Kanwar Naunihal Singh's death, but having with a view to our future welfare and security acknowledged the right of Kanwar Sher Singh to succeed to Guddee, we have made him Maharaja and seated him on the Guddee in a manner that we may remain in obedience and subjection to Rani Chand Kaur, the mother of the lamented Kanwar Naunihal Singh and may show her all due respect and honour and that he may perform the duties of the State in concert and consultation with its ministers".... Maulvi Rajab Ali informed Mr. Clerk that while the Raja thus spoke to him, Bhais Ram Singh and Govind Ram, Sardar Lehna Singh, Raja Hira Singh, General Teja Singh, Sardar Fateh Singh Mann, Bhai Gurmukh Singh, Fakirs Azizuddin and Nooruddin who were present there cried out at once that the Khalsa on this subject were unanimous heart and soul.[1] On the same day at about 11 a.m., Sher Singh also reached Lahore and the news about the death of Naunihal Singh was made public.[2] Every thing seemed to be going according to the plan of Dhyan Singh. Arrangements were immediately made for the cremation of the body of Naunihal Singh. At the time of the cremation, the two widows of Naunihal Singh, the Rani of Bhadour and the Rani of Katoch ... offered to become "Satis" with their husband .... Arrangements were also ready to formally instal Sher Singh as the new Maharaja on the same evening.[3]

... The Raja had suggested that Mai Chand Kaur should marry Sher Singh according to the local custom of "Chaddar Andazi". The Mai rejected this proposal and suggested that she was ready to adopt Raja Hira Singh, the son of Raja Dhyan Singh, in case the Raja would agree to make her the sovereign. The Raja .. suggested that the Mai should better adopt Kanwar Partap Singh the son of Sher Singh and thus unite the two families, whereas his opponents even went to the extent of suggesting that the throne should be given to the Sindhianwalas who belonged to the collateral branch of Ranjit Singh, instead of making any one of

1. S.C. 23 November, 1840, No. 79, Maulvi Rajab Ali was the munshi of Mr. G. Clerk at the Darbar.
2. S.C. 23 November, 1840, No. 69 and S.C. 7 December, 1840, No. 116.
3. *Ibid.*

his illegitimate sons as the ruler. . . . The Mai set afloat the rumour that one of the widows of Naunihal Singh, the daughter of Sardar Gurdit Singh of Gill was pregnant and, therefore, in expectation of an issue being born to Naunihal Singh, she (Mai) should be made the Regent.[1] The above move put the Raja in a very delicate situation. . . . The Raja, therefore, suggested to Sher Singh, that he should better accept to function as the "Afsar Kalan" or the Superintendent of the Council of Regency and to agree to recognise Mai Chand Kaur as the Regent. . . . The agreed formula was also conveyed to Mr. Clerk at Ludhiana. . . . But when the agreement was placed before Mai Chand Kaur, she tore it to pieces.[2] Raja Dhyan Singh again made an effort to reach a compromise with the Mai by suggesting that in that case a Co-Regency of Mai Chand Kaur and Kanwar Sher Singh should be established . . . . The Mai, however, ... told him that she and the two widows of Naunihal Singh would rather swallow diamonds and die than accept the above arrangements . . . . She had already sent for Raja Gulab Singh from Jammu in order to use his influence against his younger brother Dhyan Singh and on the other side she invited Sardar Attar Singh and Ajit Singh Sindhianwalas the enemies of the Raja.[3] The Mai was successful in her designs. Sardar Attar Singh reached Lahore on 13 November while on 16 November Raja Gulab Singh came from Jammu.[4] ... Raja Gulab Singh tried to reconcile the Mai with Raja Dhyan Singh, but he could not succeed in this endeavour[5]... On 18 November 1840, the following arrangement was agreed to. The Mai was to become the Sovereign head with the title of "Malika Mukadus", while the government of the Kingdom was to be controlled by a Council of Regency with Kanwar Sher Singh as the President and ten ministers namely, Raja Dhyan Singh, Bhai Ram Singh, Jamadar Khushhal Singh, Sardars Lehna Singh Majithia, Attar Singh Sindhianwala, Fateh

1. S.C., 23 November, 1840, Nos. 79 & 81 and S.C. 7 December, 1840, No. 114. It was first given out that the daughter of Sardar Sham Singh of Attari, another widow of Naunihal Singh, was pregnant. "Chaddar Andazi" is a marriage performed without usual religious rituals and signifies the consent of the society to the couple to marry. "Gill" is a village in the district of Amritsar.

2. S.C. 23 November, 1840, No. 81 and S.C. 7 December, 1840, Nos. 114 and 116.
3. S.C. 7 December 1840, No. 116.
4. S.C. 14 December, 1840, No. 82 and S.C. 7 December, 1840 No. 114.
5. S.C. 14 December, 1840, No. 86.

Singh Mann, Sham Singh Attariwala, Mangal Singh, Dewan Dina Nath and Fakir Azizuddin. It was further agreed that Raja Dhyan Singh would continue to act as the "Vazir" and the seal of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was to be used on all public documents till the birth of the expected issues.[1]

... As both the parties so much suspected each other ... the above arrangement did not work smoothly even for a single day.... Mai Chand Kaur had taken possession of the inner portions of the palace fort and held her Durbar behind the purdah in the "saman burj" while Kanwar Sher Singh used to hold a separate Durbar in the "Hazoori Garden" outside the fort.[2] She even offered the Chief Ministership to Raja Gulab Singh and when he refused to accept the offer, he was ordered to take up his residence in the "Kala Burj" inside the palace.[3] Further, the Mai placed Bhai Amir Bux in her "Deodi" and acted according to the advice of Bhai Ram Singh and the Sindhianwala sardars. None but Sardar Ajit Singh had access to her presence.[4]

... On 28 November Fakir Azizuddin, Jamadar Khushhal Singh and Sheikh Ghulam Mohiuddin, who did not belong to any particular group, waited upon the Mai and tried to impress upon her the necessity to reinstate Kanwar Sher Singh to the position of the President of the Council. The Mai upon this told the ministers that if they so desired, she would at once invite the Governor-General's Agent to Lahore and would give him the management of the country on his own terms.[5] The new threat of the Mai created the desired effect. As an alternative course Sher Singh was bribed as well as coerced to resign his claim to the government of the Punjab by accepting an additional Jahgir of rupees one lac per annum and an equal amount as the annual grant in cash.[6] He was even forced by Bhai Ram Singh and the Sindhianwalas to abandon his hold on the palace by shifting his headquarters to Shah

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1. S.C. 14 December, 1840, No. 82.
2. S.C. 18 January 1841, No. 63, Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Kharak Singh mostly held their Durbars in the Hazoori Garden.
3. S.C. 14 December, 1840, No. 87.
4. Ibid.
5. S.C. 21 December, 1840, No. 107.
6. S.C. 28th December, 1840, No. 103.

Ballawal a place outside the city.[1] On 30 November, the Mai was formally recognised as the sovereign head and all the sardars including Kanwar Sher Singh offered her "Nazars".

...The first concern of the Mai was to secure the country against the designs of Kanwar Sher Singh. Even the day when the Kanwar had left Lahore for Batala, some of the soldiers of the Khalsa army had followed him to Batala.[2] It was also rumoured that the Kanwar would incite the hill Jagirdars of the Durbar against the Mai and that he would plunder Fatehgarh.[3] The danger from the side of the Kanwar was really potential particularly when most of the soldiers, and the European commanders of the Khalsa army openly supported him, and above all when Raja Dhyan Singh at the court was doing everything within his powers to bring back the Kanwar to power. To meet all these dangers, the Mai undoubtedly took a few courageous steps. On 3 December immediately after the departure of the Kanwar, she sent the Akal regiment to protect Fatehgarh.[4] At the same time she appointed General Teja Singh a Sardar of her own party as the Commander-in-Chief of the Khalsa forces.[5] On 6 December she assembled all the military officers in the palace and ordered them to take an oath of allegiance to her....

In spite of all these precautions, the hopes of the Mai were belied as the forces working at the Court and in the country were too strong to be controlled by a petticoat government. The worst part of the whole problem was that the Mai did not like to give any power to Raja Dhyan Singh although he was nominally allowed to keep the office of the "Deodi". On the advice of Bhai Ram Singh and Lala Tek Chand, she even ordered the Raja not to countersign the orders of the Durbar....[6] The dissociation of Raja Ram from the administration simply quickened the pace of disintegration as none of the Sardars at the Court

1. S.C. 21st December, 1840, No. 107.
2. S.C., 28th December, 1840, No. 103.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.

could rival him in experience and farsighted.... Cases of robberies, lawlessness and insubordination began to multiply every day[1]....

On the side of civil administration, the situation was still worse. Most of the provincial governors had ceased to remit their annual revenues to the court. An amount of five lakh rupees was due to Rajas Gulab Singh and Suchet Singh and an equal amount was due to the Governors of Multan and Kashmir and Jamadar Khushhal Singh. while arrears of pay due to the army also stood at five lakh rupees.[2] While the crisis was thus developing unchecked, the Raja on 24 December 1840 begged leave from the Mai to depart for his home at Jammu.... Both the Mai and her close adviser Bahi Ram Singh prevented the Raja from leaving the Court and realising that she could not run the administration without his cooperation, the Mai immediately vested Raja Dhyan Singh with his former powers. Even the Bhai had to tell the Sardars of his party that but for the interest and vigilance shown by Dhyan Singh the administration would have fallen to pieces. The Sindhianwalas and their party were, however, too strong for the Mai and they did not allow her to reinstate the Raja to his former position.

While the Government of Mai Chand Kaur was thus facing the dillema of continuous disruption, Kanwar Sher Singh was busy at Batala making preparations for the final assault and most probably in concert with Raja Dhyan Singh. The Kanwar had already called back his agents... from the Durbar,[3] while his confidential agent ...had gone to see Mr. Clerk at Ludhiana.[4] At Lahore also, the chances were very bright for the Kanwar as the rank and file of the army were impatiently waiting for his arrival.[5]

...Intelligence was received in the Durbar that Sher Singh had reached the Kanchani bridge half way between Lahore and Amritsar.[6] There was then all confusion at the capital. The Sindhianwala Sardars who were so much responsible for the ruin of the Mai, did not even

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1. S.C., 25 January, 1841, No. 91.
2. S.C., 18 January, 1841, No. 63.
3. S.C., 25 January 1841, No. 91.
4. Ib d.
5. Ibid.
6. S.C., 18th February, 1841, No. 63, Kanchani bridge is at present known as "Kanjri ka pul." It is a village near the Wagah Railway Station.

stay at Lahore to defend her .... For three days from 15—17 January 1841, the city of Lahore passed through the blood bath of a civil war and on 17 January when Dhyan Singh returned to Lahore, the whole Kingdom lay prostrate before the victorious Sher Singh.

The study of the history of Mai Chand Kaur's rule, brings to light a number of interesting facts. Firstly, it was during this period that the army for the first time began to oppose the civil authority in the kingdom which created serious problems for Maharajas Sher Singh and Dalip Singh .... and which was ultimately so much responsible for the final disintegration of the kingdom.

Secondly, Mai Chand Kaur's administration proved beyond doubt that none of the successors of Maharaja Ranjit Singh possessed that towering personality. .. for commanding the loyalty of the nation of warriors...

Thirdly, it was not the dogra brothers who were so much suspected by the Punjabi Sardars, who had let down the ruling family of Lahore, but it was the Sindhianwala brothers who in their lust for power had supported the succession of Mai Chand Kaur and when they could not succeed in perpetnatiug the weak rule of the Mai, murdered Maharaja Sher Singh, his son Kanwar Partap Singh in 1843 and once again threw the Lahore Durbar in ... civil war, treacheiy and instability .... "1

(Continued Chapter VI)

1. Ahluwalia, M.L.: op. cit.

''بعد دخل سلطنت کے مہاراجہ شیر سنگھ نے بادشاہی اجلاس کیا۔ وزارت کا خلعت راجہ دھیان سنگھ کو دیا ۔ قلعہ کے فتح ہوتے ہی سردار عطر سنگھ سندھانوالیہ دریائے ستلج کے پار بھاگ گئے ۔ اس وقت مہاراجہ شیر سنگھ سخت حیران تھا کہ فوج خودسر کا انتظام کرے اور رعایا چاہتی تھی کہ انگریز دخیل ہو کر انتظام ملک کا کریں مسٹر کلارک صاحب ایجنٹ گورنر جنرل کی تحریر بھی اس وقت مہاراجہ شیر سنگھ کے نام آئی تھی کہ اگر آپ کہیں تو انگریزی فوج لاہور میں آ کر آپ کے انتظام میں شامل ہو مگر مہاراجہ یہ سمجھا کہ اگر میں نے انگریزی فوج کو آنے کی اجازت دی تو اس کے لاہور میں پہنچنے تک سکھی فوج میری جان لے لے گی اور سلطنت انگریز لے لیں گے ۔ اس خیال سے وہ تجویز نامنظور کی چار ماہ تک فوج میں بد انتظامیاں بدستور رہیں پھر کچھ انتظام وقوع میں آیا ۔ اتنے میں معاملہ دگر گوں ہو گیا اور افغانوں نے شورش برپا کرکے شاہ شجاع کو مار ڈالا اور انگریزی فوج واپس آئی سردار دوست محمد خاں انگریزوں کی قید سے چھوٹ کر بہ ارادہ جانے کابل کے لاہور میں آیا ۔ مہاراجہ شیر سنگھ نے اس سے ملاقات کی اور اس سے عہد نامہ دوستی لکھا لیا اور لارڈ النبرا صاحب بہادر گورنر جنرل بہادر ھند نے اس وقت چاہا کہ مہاراجہ شیر سنگھ سے ملاقات کرے اس ارادہ پر فوج کثیر دریائے ستلج کے کنارے پر جمع ہوئی مگر راجہ دھیان سنگھ نے مہاراجہ شیرسنگھ کے دل میں شک ڈال دیا اور بیان کیا کہ چونکہ صاحبان انگریز کو کابل سے بدلہ لینا منظور ہے ایسا نہ ہو کہ ان کا خیال ہو کہ کابل کے لینے سے اول پنجاب لے لیں جب راستہ بخوبی صاف ہو جائے تو کابل پر مہم کریں اور فوج کے جمع کرنے کا بھی یہی سبب ہوا صرف راجہ دھیان سنگھ اور شہزادہ پرتاب سنگھ نواب گورنر جنرل بہادر کی ملاقات کے لیے گئے اور جنوری ۱۸۴۲ء کو بعد ملاقات لام فوج کا توڑ ڈالا گیا اس وقت ملاقات کے وقت لارڈ گورنر جنرل بہادر نے سکھی فوج کے قواعد جو ہمراہ شہزادہ کے تھے دیکھ کر رضا مندی ظاہر کی اور شہزادہ انگریزی فوج کو دیکھ کر

بہت خوش ہوا اس وقت کہ فوج کثیر فیروز پور میں جمع تھی پنجاب کے ہر ایک شخص کو یقین تھا کہ صاحبان انگریزی اب پنجاب پر یورش کریں گے - مگر جب ملاقات ہو چکی اور لام ٹوٹا تو لوگوں کے دل کو تسلی ہوئی -

(رانی چند کور کی وفات یعنی ۲ جون ۱۸۴۲ء) سے شیر سنگھ کی تسلی بہت ہو گئی - اب اس کے دل میں یہ ہوس پیدا ہوئی کہ راجہ دھیان سنگھ کا اختیار کم کرکے اپنی حکومت کو ترقی دیوے کیونکہ وہ اس وقت بمشورت اور اجازت راجہ دھیان سنگھ کے کوئی کام نہیں کر سکتا تھا اور راجہ دھیان سنگھ اس کو اپنا آوردہ اور احسان مند تصور کرتا تھا - یہ بات اس کی مہاراجہ کو سخت ناپسند اور ناگوار گزرتی تھی علاوہ اس کے راجہ دھیان سنگھ نے اس کو شراب کی کثرت اور عیاشی سے بہت مرتبہ منع کیا اور وہ ممانعت اس کے خیال میں یہ گزری کہ یہ مجھ پر حکومت کرتا ہے اس خیال سے مہاراجہ نے بھائی گورمکھ سنگھ کو بڑھانا شروع کیا بعد اس کو مشیر خاص بنایا - اس شخص کی پہلے ہی راجہ دھیان سنگھ کے ساتھ عداوت تھی - اس کا مشیر ہونا دھیان سنگھ کو کمال ناگوار گزرا اورآپس میں صورت نااتفاق و نفاق کی شروع ہوئی چونکہ سردار لہنا سنگھ و اجیت سنگھ اور عطر سنگھ بوقت دخل مہاراجہ شیر سنگھ کے لاہور سے بھاگ کر ستلج پار چلے گئے تھے - اور سرکار انگریزی کو ان کے ھاں رھنے میں البتہ خدشہ اور تکلیف رھتی تھی اور صاحب ایجنٹ بہادر نہیں چاھتے تھے کہ وہ ہمارے علاقہ میں رہیں - اس واسطے دربار لاہور میں تحریک کی گئی کہ مہاراجہ سرداران سندھانوالیہ کا قصور معاف کرکے ان کو گذارہ دیں - اس وقت مہاراجہ شیر سنگھ بھی چاھتا تھا کہ راجہ دھیان سنگھ کا طرف ثانی اور مقابلہ پر کوئی زبردست مقرر ہونا مناسب ہے -

اس واسطے یہ بہانہ سفارش صاحبان انگریز کے سندھانوالیوں کو پھر لاہور میں بلا لیا اور جاگیریں ، حویلیاں ملک ، مکان ان کے سب واگذار کر دیے - اور سرفرازی کا خلعت بخشا اگرچہ اس وقت راجہ دھیان سنگھ

کو اس قدر مہاراجہ پر اختیار تھا کہ ان کی طلبی میں توقف ڈال دیتا مگر اسے بایں خیال سندھانوالیوں کو بلانے کی اجازت دے دی کہ جب یہاں آئیں گے تو ان کے ھاتھ سے اس بے وفا مہاراجہ کا کام تمام کیا جائے گا - کہ وہ جانی دشمن مہاراجہ کے ہیں . . . . اور بدنام وہ ہونگے - غرض جب سرداران سندھانوالیہ جس طرح پہلے تھے صاحب اقتدار و وقار ہو گئے اور بعد مہاراجہ کا خیال ان کی پرورش کی طرف کمال ہو گیا اور وہ ترقی پا کر مشیر و همصلاح ہر ایک امر میں ہو گئے تو راجہ دھیان سنگھ کو کمال شک پیدا ہوا اور اس نے جانا کہ مہاراجہ اب میری تخریب و ذلت کے درپے ہے اب جان کا بچنا محال ہے تو اس نے سردار اجیت سنگھ و لہنا سنگھ سندھانوالیہ سے کہ اس وقت وہ دونوں بڑے بھاری مصاحب مہاراجہ کے بنے ہوئے تھے دوستی شروع کی بعد ازان یگانگت کو اس قدر بڑھایا کہ ہر روز علیحدہ ملاقاتیں ان کے ساتھ کرتا آخر اس نے باتوں باتوں میں ان پر یہ بات یقین کر دی کہ مہاراجہ. شیر سنگھ نے تم کو لاہور میں صرف قتل کے لیے بلایا ہے جب یہ موقع پائے گا تم کو قتل کر دے گا . . . .

آخر تجویز دونوں فریق کی مہاراجہ شیر سنگھ کے قتل پر قائم ہوئی اور یہ بات قرار پائی کہ جس روز مہاراجہ سردارن ماتحت سردار اجیت سنگھ کی حاضری لے گا قتل کیا جائے گا - چنانچہ تاریخ ۱۵ ماہ ستمبر ۱۸۴۳ء کو مہاراجہ شیر سنگھ قلعہ سے سوار ہو کر باغ شاہ بلاول گیا اور دربار منعقد کیا - پہلے پہلوانوں کی کشتی دیکھی پھر سردارن سردار اجیت سنگھ سندھانوالیہ حاضری کے لیے حاضر ہوئے - وہ پرا باندھ کر کھڑے ہو گئے ان میں سے سردار اجیت سنگھ اپنے ھاتھ میں ایک عمدہ قرابین لیے ہوئے روبرو آیا اور عرض کی کہ یہ نہایت عمدہ ولائیتی قرابین ہے مہاراجہ اپنے پاس رکھیں تو لائق ہے -

مہاراجہ نے اس کو لینے کے لیے ھاتھ آگے بڑھایا اور اس نے سامنے کر کے اس کی گلی دبادی - چونکہ قرابین میں کئی گولیاں بھری ہوئی تھیں

لگتے ہی مہاراجہ خون میں لوٹنے لگا ۔ یہ حال دیکھ کر تمام اہل دربار بھاگ گئے . . . . .

یہ کام کر چکے تو سرداران سندھانوالیہ بڑی کروفر اور خوشنودی سے داخل قلعہ ہوئے ۔ شہر کے دروازے بند ہو گئے بازاروں میں ہڑتال ہو گئی رعیت بے چین ، خلقت بے آرام جا بجا بھاگنے لگی چونکہ راجہ دھیان سنگھ اس تجویز سے پہلے ہی خبردار تھا اس روز یہ خود جان کر دربار نہیں گیا تھا ۔ قلعہ میں آ کر موجودات توشیخانہ کی لتیا رہا وہاں سے فراغت پا کر یہ اپنی حویلی کو جانے لگا اور گھوڑے پر سوار ہوا قلعہ کے دروازے میں سرداران سندھانوالیہ اس کو مل گئے اور با آواز بلند کہا کہ دشمن قتل کر دیا گیا اب تم واپس چلو کہ تجویز کے مطابق دلیپ سنگھ کو تخت نشین کریں . . . . .

یہ بات سن کر راجہ دھیان سنگھ نے کچھ جواب نہ دیا اور ان کے ساتھ ہو لیا ۔ دوسری ڈیوڑھی پر جا کر سردار لہنا سنگھ نے جو پیچھے پیچھے آتا تھا حکم دے دیا کہ ڈوگرا سپاہی آنے نہ پائے ۔ چنانچہ جس قدر تھوڑی بہت فوج اس وقت مہاراجہ دھیان سنگھ کے ساتھ تھی سب کے سب پیچھے رہ گئے اور راجہ تنہا دشمنوں کے نرغہ میں آ گیا اور اس وقت سردار اجیت سنگھ نے راجہ سے پوچھا کہ شیر سنگھ نے رانی چندر کور کو کس جگہ ہلاک کرایا تھا ۔ اس وقت راجہ کو ثابت ہو گیا کہ اب میرے بھی قتل کی فکر میں ہیں . . . . اتنے میں سردار اجیت سنگھ نے نزدیک آ کر راجہ دھیان سنگھ پر قرابین سر کی جس سے وہ لائق وزیر فی الفور جان بحق تسلیم ہوا . . . . راجہ کی لاش وہاں ہی پڑی چھوڑ کر سرداران سندھانوالیہ سمن برج میں گئے اور مہاراجہ دلیپ سنگھ خورد سال کو اس کی والدہ کے پاس سے لا کر مسند پر بٹھا دیا . . . .

جب باپ کے مرنے کی خبر راجہ ہیرا سنگھ ، راجہ دھیان سنگھ کے بیٹے کو پہنچی ، کمال گھبرایا اور بمقام پڑاؤ بدھو جا کر کل افسران

فوج کو بلایا جب وہ آئے تو اس نے تمام کیفیت سندھانوالیوں کے ظلم کی فوج کے گوش گذار کر دی اور اپنی فریاد کی داد چاہی اور اقرار کیا کہ اگر خالصہ جی ماہوار مشاہرہ اور سوار کا ایک روپیہ یومیہ تنخواہ کر دوں گا۔ طمع کے مارے تمام سکھ سندھانوالیہ کی سر کوبی و استحصال کو تیار ہو گئے توپ خانے اور پیادہ پلٹنوں نے آ کر قلعہ کو گھیر لیا۔ رات کو قلعہ کا محاصرہ ہو گیا۔۔۔۔ تمام رات اور تمام روز توپ چلتی رہی اور دیواریں قلعہ کی بہت سی مسمار ہو گئیں اس وقت سردار لہنا سنگھ جو زخمی ہو چکا تھا اور سردار اجیت سنگھ سندھانوالیہ مع اپنے خاص مصاحب مہر گھسیٹا کے قلعہ سے بھاگنے پر مستعد ہوئے سردار لہنا سنگھ قلعہ کے اندر سے بھاگتا ہوا قتل ہوا اور سردار اجیت سنگھ دیوار سے کودتا ہوا پکڑا گیا اور مارا گیا۔ گھسیٹا بھی ان کے ساتھ قتل ہوا۔ ان کے مارے جانے کے بعد قلعہ فتح ہوا سکھوں نے اپنے ملک کا خزانہ اور توشے خانہ خوب لوٹا۔ شہر میں بھی بڑی بڑی غارتیں عمل میں آئیں اس وقت خاندان سرداران سندھانوالیہ پر ایک آفت برپا تھی گویا تمام زمانہ ان کا جانی دشمن بنا ہوا تھا۔ ان کے تمام نوکر و ملازم اپنے اپنے گھر چھوڑ کر بھاگ گئے سردار عطر سنگھ اور اس کا بیٹا سردار کہر سنگھ انگریزی علاقہ میں چلے گئے۔۔۔۔ (حکم ہوا) جہاں جہاں جائداد سرداران سندھانوالیہ کی ہو ضبط کر لیں جاگریں ان کی قرق کر لیں اور شامل علاقہ سرکاری کے کر لیں اور مکانات ان کے جس قدر ہیں سب کے سب گرا دیئے جائیں۔۔۔۔

خاندان سندھانوالیہ سے صرف سردار شمشیر سنگھ سندھانوالیہ امان میں رہے کیونکہ اس کی پہلے سے سردار لہنا سنگھ و اجیت سنگھ کے ساتھ عداوت تھی راجہ ہیرا سنگھ نے جان بخشی کی۔۔۔۔۔ جب یہ سب کام ہو چکے تو راجہ ہیرا سنگھ نے دوبارہ مہاراجہ دلیپ سنگھ کو گدی پر بٹھوا دیا اور خلعت وزارت آپ پہنا اور خلعت مختاری و مدارالمہامی کا پنڈت جلا اپنے مصائب کو دیا اور یہ دونوں مالک و مختار کل بنے۔۔۔۔

جب ھیرا سنگھ اور پنڈت جلا نے مہاراجہ دلیپ سنگھ کے کل مختار و مدارالمہام اختیار حاصل کیا تو یہ اختیار ان کا مہاراجہ دلیپ سنگھ کی والدہ رانی جنداں اور مہاراجہ کے ماموں سردار جواھر سنگھ کو ناگوار معلوم ہوا - - - - اس تدبیر میں وہ دن رات رہنے لگا کہ کسی طرح سے راجہ ھیرا سنگھ و پنڈت جلا کو خارج کر کے خود وزیر ہو جائے ادھر راجہ سوچیت سنگھ - - - - بھتیجے کا اختیار دیکھ کر ناراض ہوا اور نہ چاہا کہ میں بزرگ اور چچا ہو کر ایک لڑکے کی اطاعت کروں اور ایک برھمن ناچیز یعنی پنڈت جلا کی تابعداری اختیار کروں چنانچہ وہ بے اجازت لاہور سے ہو کر یا اٹھ کر جموں کو چلا گیا - - - اس وقت سردار جواہر سنگھ کو کمال رشک پیدا ہوا اور وہ مہاراجہ دلیپ سنگھ خورد سال کو گود میں لے کر سکھوں کے مجمع میں جا موجود ہوا اور کہا کہ تم پہاڑیوں کو دربار سے نکال دو تو بہتر ہے نہیں تو میں اپنے بھانجے کو لے کر سرکار انگریزی کی عملداری میں چلا جاؤں گا -

چونکہ انگریزوں کے نام سے سکھ بہت جلتے تھے یہ تقریر جواہر سنگھ کی ان کو پسند نہ آئی اور اس کو گرفتار کر کے راجہ ھیرا سنگھ کے سپرد کر دیا - راجہ ہیرا سنگھ نے اس کو مہاراجہ کھڑک سنگھ کی حویلی میں قید کر کے سنگین پہرہ اس پر قائم کر دیا چند روز قید رہا پھر رانی جنداں کے کہنے پر رہا ہوا چونکہ خرچ فوج کا بہت بڑھ گیا تھا اور بسبب انقلاب چند در چند سلطنت کے علاقوں سے آمدنی کا آنا کم ہو گیا تھا - راجہ ہیرا سنگھ دن رات اسی فکر و اندیشے میں رہتا تھا - اس واسطے مناسب متصور ہوا کہ تمام کارندوں ، جاگیرداروں ، حوالہداروں و اجارہ داروں و ناظمان صوبہ جات کا حساب کرا کر باقی روپیہ ان سے وصول کیا جائے - اس کام کے انجام کے لیے پنڈت جلا مقرر ہوا اور اس نے بڑی بڑی رقمیں روپیہ بقایا کی ہر ایک کے نام از روئے حساب نکالیں اور روپیہ کے وصول کرنے کے لیے ہر ایک امیر و سردار کو تنگ کرنا شروع کیا - اور اب ایک اور بنیاد فساد کی قائم ہوئی اور تمام امیر و سردار دلی بدخواہ ، راجہ

ہیرا سنگھ اور پنڈت جلا کے ہو گئے اس میں کئی لاکھ روپیہ کی رقم راجہ گلاب سنگھ اور راجہ سوچیت سنگھ کے ذمہ بھی برآمد ہوئی اس واسطہ راجہ ہیرا سنگھ نے مناسب سمجھا کہ پہلے پہل مطالبہ زر کا راجہ گلاب سنگھ اور سوچیت سنگھ کے شروع کیا جائے کہ اور لوگ اس میں حسد نہ کریں اور یہ نہ کہیں کہ اپنے رشتہ داروں سے تو راجہ ہیرا سنگھ روپیہ نہیں مانگتا اور ہم سے طلب کرتا ہے ۔ اس ساعت کہ راجہ سوچیت سنگھ اور زیادہ تر دشمن ہیرا سنگھ کا بن گیا اور اراکین دربار کے بہت سے لوگ اس کے ساتھ ہم صلاح ہو گئے۔ گھوڑ چڑھ یعنی سواری فوج بھی یہی چاہتی تھی کہ راجہ سوچیت سنگھ وزیر ہو کیونکہ راجہ ہیرا سنگھ پیادہ فوج کو اپنا معاون سمجھتا تھا . . . . .

راجہ ہیرا سنگھ کے بر خلاف ایک شخص اس وقت فتح خاں ٹوانہ تھا جو دست برورده غمخوار راجہ دھیان سنگھ کا تھا مگر وہ سرداران سندھانوالیہ کا ایک ایسا دوست بن گیا تھا کہ اپنے آقا راجہ دھیان سنگھ کے قتل میں اس نے بہت کوشش کی . . . . . .

اس فساد میں اس کے ساتھ دیوان ساون مل ناظم ملتان کا بیٹا بھی شامل ہوا ۔ کیونکہ اس کے ذمہ بھی بہت سا روپیہ خراج کا بقایا تھا ۔ کشمیرا سنگھ، پشورا سنگھ ، مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ کے مشہور بیٹے بھی اس وقت مدعیٔ سلطنت کے ہوئے اور راجہ سوچیت سنگھ اور فتح خان کے اغوا سے انہوں نے سیالکوٹ میں فساد برپا کیا بہت سے لوگ انہوں نے اپنے پاس جمع کر لیے۔ چار رجمنٹیں جو لاہور سے پشاور کو جاتی تھیں وہ پشورا سنگھ کے ھمراہ ہو گئیں ۔ ان کی سرکوبی کے لیے مسلمان پلٹنوں کو حکم دیا گیا کہ سیالکوٹ کو جائیں مگر انہوں نے انکار کر دیا اور جواب دیا کہ اگر سکھی فوج ہمارے ساتھ روانہ ہو تو ہم بھی جانے کے لیے تیار ہیں ۔ آخر راجہ گلاب سنگھ کے نام پروانہ جاری ہوا کہ جموں سے سیالکوٹ آ کر مفسدوں کا مجمع منتشر کرو اور ان کی سرکوبی کرے ، جب یہ بہادر راجہ اپنی فوج لے کر سیالکوٹ پہنچا تو مفسدوں کا مجمع منتشر ہو گیا اور راجہ ہیرا سنگھ

نے پھر زیادہ پیچھا پشورا سنگھ و کشمیرا سنگھ کا نہ کیا اس میں زیادہ شورش برپا ہونے کا خدشہ تھا ۔ جب راجہ سوچیت سنگھ نے فوج سواری اور اکثر اراکین دربار کے ساتھ اپنی سازش کر لی تو اچانک ۲۶ ۔ مارچ ۱۸۴۴ء کو مع اپنی فوج کے شاہدرہ آپہنچا ۔ فوج کو تو دریائے راوی کے پار چھوڑا اور خود ایک سو سوار اور رائے کیسری سنگھ وغیرہ اراکین کے ساتھ لاہور کے باہر بمقام خانقاہ میاں وڈا آ اترا اس کو امید تھی کہ جب میں لاہور جاؤں گا تو تمام فوج سواری کی میرے پاس جمع ہو جائے گی ۔ اور میرے دوست اراکین سب میرے پاس جمع ہوجائیں گے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ اور میں ان کے اجتماع سے راجہ ہیرا سنگھ کو دربار سے نکال لاؤنگا ۔ مگر یہ تدبیر اس کے برخلاف پڑی ۔ جب یہ خبر راجہ ہیرا سنگھ کو پہنچی تو اس نے ایک ایک کمپنی فوج پیادہ سے ایک ایک پنچ اپنے رو برو بلا کر نہایت عاجزی کے ساتھ کھڑے ہو کر عرض کی کہ خالصہ جی مجھ سے کون سی تقصیر اور نمک حرامی ہوئی ہے ۔ جس کے عوض میں خالصہ نے ناراض ہو کر میرے چچا کو جموں سے وزارت کے لیے بلایا ہے ۔ چونکہ پیادہ فوج اس سازش سے بے خبر تھی اس نے لاعلمی کا اظہار کیا اور کہا کہ ہم تیرے حکم کے منتظر ہیں چنانچہ اس کے نام احکام جاری ہوگئے کہ علی الصبح اپنی فوج اور توپ خانہ لے کر راجہ سوچیت سنگھ کو سزا دیں پھر فوج سواری کے افسر بلائے گئے اور وہی تقریر ان کے رو برو کی گئی اگرچہ سب کے سب راجہ ہیرا سنگھ سے ناراض تھے اور راجہ سوچیت سنگھ انہیں کی آمیزش اور اجازت سے آیا تھا مگر انہوں نے بنظر اس کے کہ توپخانے سب کے سب فوج پیادہ کے پاس تھے اور فوج پیادہ راجہ ہیرا سنگھ کی حامی ہو گئی تھی دم بخود ہو کر وہی جواب دیا جو فوج پیادہ نے دیا تھا چنانچہ چار باڑی کے سواروں کو حکم ہو گیا کہ علی الصبح اپنی چھاؤنی سے نکل کر راجہ سوچیت سنگھ کا محاصرہ کرلیں ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

راجہ سوچیت سنگھ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ اسی انتظار میں رہا کہ جس فوج

نے مجھے بلایا ہے وہ میری مدد ضرور کرے گی ۔ یہاں معاملہ برعکس ہو چکا تھا پھر رات فوج کا جانا شروع ہوا اور جاتے ہی خانقاہ کا محاصرہ کر لیا . . . . . راجہ ہیرا سنگھ بھی علی الصبح وہاں پہنچا اور توپ چلنی شروع ہوئی اور آدھ گھنٹہ میں چار دیواری خانقاہ کی مسمار ہو کر کف دست میدان ہو گیا ۔ راجہ سوچیت سنگھ کے ہمراہی بھی بہت سے کام آئے اور خبر پہنچی کہ عطر سنگھ سندھانوالیہ جو لاہور سے بھاگ کر بمقام تھانیسر یعنی گور چھیتر گزارہ کرتا تھا دریائے ستلج سے عبور کر کے بھائی بیر سنگھ کے ڈیرے میں آگیا ہے اور چاہتا ہے کہ بھائی بیر سنگھ کی امداد سے خالصہ جی کے ساتھ سازش کر کے مہاراجہ کے دربار میں وزارت کا عہدہ حاصل کرلے چنانچہ اس بارے میں بھائی بیر سنگھ کی تحریریں سکھاں فوج کے نام جاری ہو گئی ہیں اور بھائی بیر سنگھ نے صاف اپنی تحریروں میں درج کر دیا ہے کہ لاہور کی سلطنت . . . . . کا وزیر مدار المہام سنگھ ہو ۔ راجہ ہیرا سنگھ ، سنگھ نہیں ہے اس کو معزول کر دینا چاہیے اور اس کی جگہ سردار عطر سنگھ کو مہاراجہ کا ہم جدی سردار لائق اس کام کے لیے مقرر کرنا چاہیے . . . . . ۔

راجہ ہیرا سنگھ نے پھر فوج کے پنچوں کو بلایا اور وہاں ہاتھ جوڑ کر ان کے سامنے کھڑا ہوا . . . . . . ایسی ایسی تقریریں جو راجہ ہیرا سنگھ کے اپنے مطلب کے لیے تھیں سکھوں کو جوش میں لے آئیں اور انگریزوں کا نام سن کر وہ نہایت برافروختہ ہوئے اور کہا بھائی بیر سنگھ فقیر ہے اس کو سلطنت کے کام کی کیا خبر ہے ؟ خالصہ جی ایسا بے وقوف نہیں ہے کہ اس کے کہنے سے سردار عطر سنگھ کو جس کی سازش انگریزوں کے ساتھ ثابت ہو چکی ہے اپنی سلطنت کا وزیر بنائے اور اپنے ہاتھ سے اپنے گلے پر چھری پھیرے . . . . . ۔

دوسرے دن سکھوں کی آٹھ پلٹنیں دو رجمنٹ اور تین توپ خانے دریائے ستلج کی طرف روانہ ہو گئے . . . . . ۔

تمام فوج وہاں پہنچی اور بھائی بیر سنگھ کو پیغام بھیجا کہ سردار عطر سنگھ کو قید کرکے ہمارے پاس بھیج دے اور یہ نہ کر سکتا ہو تو اس کو مکان سے نکال دیوے اور نکال بھی نہ سکتا ہو تو خود اپنے چیلوں کے ساتھ مکان سے الگ ہو جائے . . . . . جب یہ پیغام بھائی بیر سنگھ کے پاس پہنچا تو تینوں امر جن سے اس نے کوئی بات منظور نہ کی . . . . . اس کے دل میں یہ بھروسہ سا تھا کہ جب تک میں اور سردار عطر سنگھ یکجا ہیں سکھ کبھی اڑنے کو ہاتھ نہیں اٹھائیں گے - دوسرے روز اس نے کئی سو من آٹا اور بکرے خالصہ جی کی ضیافت کے لیے بھیجے اور بہت سی بھنگ بھیجی کہ خالصہ جی گھوٹ کر پئیں - وہ ضیافت بھی خالصہ جی نے منظور کر لی اور آٹا وغیرہ سب لے گئے . . . . . -

تیسرے دن پھر سکھوں نے وہی سوال تین امر کا پیش کیا جس کا جواب وہی پایا چوتھے روز جب کچھ فیصلہ نہ ہوا تو سکھوں نے مکان کا محاصرہ کر لیا اور توپیں جوڑ دیں . . . . . . سکھوں نے اول توپ داغ دی اور توپ خانے کے لوگوں سے بھی کہا ، دیوار گر پڑی اور بھائی بیر سنگھ کے چیلے مرتے گئے- اس وقت بھائی بیر سنگھ خاموش ہو کر گردن نیچے کیے بیٹھا تھا . . . . . . آخر جب عطر سنگھ نے دیکھا کہ اب کوئی یاد دھانی و مددگار نہیں رہا تو وہ خود شمشیر برہنہ لے کر میدان میں آیا اس کے باھر آتے ھی سکھوں نے چاروں طرف سے اس کو گھیر لیا . . . . . آدھے گھنٹہ تک لڑتا رہا آخر مارا گیا یہ فتح نمایاں جب خالصہ جی نے پائی نہایت خوش و خرم لاہور کو واپس آئے اور اس آنے جانے میں سکھوں نے دیہات سرکاری پر بہت دست اندازی کی اور اپنے مالک کے ملک کو لوٹا- کشمیرا سنگھ . . . . . بھی اسی لڑائی میں مارا گیا . . . . . -

سرکار انگریزی کے ساتھ بھی سرکار لاہور کے دو ایک معاملے ایسے ہو گئے کہ راجہ ہیرا سنگھ سرکار انگریزی سے بھی ناراض ہو گیا - ایک یہ کہ گاؤں موڑان نام سرکار نابھہ کی علمداری میں تھا چونکہ راجہ کا

ایک عزیز رھنا سنگھ نام مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ کے دربار میں معزز عہدہ پر نوکر تھا اس کی جاگیر میں وہ گاؤں اپنی طرف سے راجہ نابھہ نے دیا ہوا تھا اس وقت اگرچہ وہ تمام علاقہ سرکار انگریزی کی حفاظت میں اور حکومت میں تھا مگر اس کی اطلاع انگریزوں کو نہ تھی۔ بارہ تیرہ برس کے بعد راجہ نابھہ کسی کام سے کسی سبب سے رھنا سنگھ پر ناراض ہو گیا اور اس نے وہ گاؤں ضبط کرکے اس کا مال و اسباب لوٹ لیا۔ اس بات کا استغاثہ رہنا سنگھ نے سرکار لاہور میں کیا۔ دربار لاہور سے بذریعہ وکیل صاحب ایجنٹ کی خدمت میں یہ پیغام پہنچا . . . . . چونکہ اطلاع اس امر کی سرکار انگریزی کو نہ تھی اور رھنا سنگھ کا نام کسی ستلج کے جاگیر داروں میں نہ تھا سرکار انگریزی نے اس میں دست اندازی نہ کی۔ اور لکھا یہ معاملہ باہمی رھنا سنگھ اور راجہ نابھہ کا تھا اس بات پر اہالیان دربار لاہور میں انگریزوں کی شکایت تھی۔ دوسرے یہ کہ راجہ سوچیت سنگھ کا پندرہ لاکھ روپیہ نقد فیروز پور میں ایک شخص کے پاس تھا اور وہ اس واسطے اس روپیہ کو وہاں لے گیا تھا کہ بوقت پہلی مہم کابل کے نواب گورنر جنرل بہادر نے بھی ستلج کے رئیسوں سے روپیہ قرض سودی لیا تھا اور اس نے بھی چاہا تھا کہ انگریزوں سے دوستی قائم کرنے کے لیے ان کو یہ روپیہ قرض دونگا مگر پھر روپیہ قرض دینے کا موقع نہ ہوا اور وہ روپیہ وہاں ہی رکھا رہا . . . . . ۔

جب راجہ سوچیت سنگھ لاہور میں ہی مارا گیا تو اس کے نوکر جو اس راز سے واقف تھے اور سند روپیہ کی جو ان کی تحویل میں تھی لے کر وہاں جا پہنچے اور روپیہ لے لیا سرکار انگریزی کو عین وقت پر کسی نے خبر کر دی اور خزانہ روک لیا گیا اور ملازم واپس آئے۔ جب یہ خبر راجہ ہیرا سنگھ کو پہنچی تو راجہ نے دعویٰ اس بات کا پیش کیا کہ خزانہ ہرلوح سال سرکار لاہور کا ہے ایک تو یہ کہ لالہ سوچیت سنگھ لا ولد مر گیا ہے . . . . . دوسرے اس نے سرکشی کی اور بخلاف سرکار لاہور کے مستعد بجنگ ہو کر آیا . . . . . سرکار

انگریزی نے اس بیان پر التفات نہ کیا اور راجہ سوچیت سنگھ کی سر کشی کو سرکار کی سرکشی تصور نہ کیا بلکہ اس کو باہمی عداوت چچا بھتیجے کی قرار دی ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ -

مصر لال سنگھ جو آورداہ و دست پرورده راجگان جموں کا تھا اس نے بھی اس خاندان سے علیحدگی اختیار کی اور رانی جنداں والدہ مہاراجہ دلیپ سنگھ سے رابطہ ارادت کا ایسا پیدا کیا کہ رانی اس کے کہنے میں آگئی ۔ وہ بھی ہر وقت رانی کو پنڈت جلا کی طرف سے ایسی باتیں پہنچاتا تھا کہ جس سے وہ سخت دشمن پنڈت جلا کی ہو گئی اور فی الحقیقت پنڈت جلا نہایت بد زبان آدمی تھا ۔ بعض اوقات وہ مہا رانی کی نسبت بھی ایسے ناشائستہ کلمے کہہ دیتا تھا کہ جس سے تمام اراکین دربار ناراض ہو جاتے تھے اور سردار جواہر سنگھ مہا رانی کے بھائی کو تو وہ بر سر دربار بے عزت کر دیتا تھا ۔ جب ایسی حالت ہونے لگی تو مہارانی اور سردار جواہر سنگھ نے پھر سکھان فوج کو بھڑکایا اور تمام فوج اس بات پر مستعد ہو گئی کہ راجہ ہیرا سنگھ پنڈت جلا کو معزول کر کے دربار سے نکال دو ۔ تمام اراکین دربار بھی اس بات کے ممد و معاون ہوئے مگر مہاراجہ ہیرا سنگھ کو پنڈت جلا کی جدائی ہرگز منظور نہ تھی اور فوج کا پیغام بھی پے درپے پنڈت جلا کے نکالنے کے لیے پہنچتا تھا اس سے راجہ ہیرا سنگھ کو یقین ہو گیا کہ اب فوج در صورت نہ علیحدہ کرنے پنڈت جلا کے میری جان کی دشمن ہو گئی ہے مجھ کو وہ ہرگز زندہ نہ چھوڑے گی آخر وہ ۲۱ دسمبر ۱۸۴۴ء کو لاهور سے بھاگ جانے پر مستعد ہو گیا ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ جب سواری دریائے راوی کے قریب پہنچی تو سکھان فوج کو خبر ہوگئی ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ یہ سنتے ہی سوار و پیادہ فوج توپ خانہ لے کر اس کے تعاقب کو دوڑی اور پانچ میل کے فاصلہ پر جا کر گھیر لیا اس وقت جب سکھان فوج نزدیک پہنچے تھے راجہ ہیرا سنگھ ایک روپیہ اشرفی کا بکھیر دیتا تھا اور سکھ لوٹنے میں مشغول ہو جاتے تھے پھر وہ آگے بڑھ جاتا تھا آخر اس طرح پانچ میل کا راستہ اور طے کیا آخر

وہ دولت کب تک وفا کرتی ۔ سکھوں نے چاروں طرف سے ان کو گھیر لیا اور وہ ہاتھیوں . . . . . . سے اتر کر پیادہ ہو لیے اور تلواریں لے کر سکھوں پر آ پڑے ۔ جس طرف وہ جاتے تھے سکھوں کو بھگا دیتے تھے آخر پانچ چار آدمیوں کا کیا وجود ہے سب سے اول پنڈت جلا نے آگے بڑھ کر جان دی پھر سوہن سنگھ اور لابھ سنگھ مارے گئے پھر راجہ ہیرا سنگھ پر نوبت آئی . . .

راجہ ہیرا سنگھ کے قتل کے بعد سردار جواہر سنگھ وزیر و مدارالمہام سلطنت کا قرار پایا . . . . . . اور مصر لال سنگھ کو راجگی کا خطاب دے کر انتظام مملکت میں اپنے ساتھ شامل کیا . . . . . . اس وقت سب اہالیان دربار کی نظر راجہ گلاب سنگھ کی دولت مندی پر تھی اور چاہتے تھے کہ اس سے بھاری رقم روپیہ کی وصول کی جائے ۔ چنانچہ سکھان فوج کو اس بات پر آمادہ کیا گیا کہ جموں پر یورش کر کے راجہ گلاب سنگھ سے روپیہ وصول کریں . . . . . جب فوج علاقہ جموں میں داخل ہوئی ایک لڑائی راجہ گلاب سنگھ کی فوج کے ساتھ بہت اچھی ہوئی مگر آخر کو راجہ گلاب سنگھ نے سکھوں کو انعام و اکرام و ضیافت دے کر راضی کر لیا سکھوں نے جو احکام دربار لاہور کے اس کو پہنچائے وہ اس نے منظور کیے۔ ایک تو یہ کہ راجہ سوچیت سنگھ کی کل جائداد وہ سرکار لاہور کے حوالے کردے گا ۔ دوسرے راجہ دھیان سنگھ و ہیرا سنگھ کی جائداد جس قدر جموں میں ہے وہ تمام و کمال حق سرکار لاہور کا متصور ہوگا ۔ تیسرے اب جس قدر روپیہ از روئے حساب اس کے ذمہ نکلے گا وہ ادا کر کے آئندہ سال بسال پینتیس لاکھ روپیہ سالانہ بابت خراج علاقہ کوہستان کے دیا کرے گا ۔ چونکہ فیصلہ زر بقایا کا سوائے حاضری راجہ گلاب سنگھ کے بمقام لاہور میں مشکل تھا بلا تامل وہ . . . سکھوں کے ہمراہ ہو لیا . . . لاہور میں پہنچا ۔ اس کے لاہور پہنچنے پر سکھوں کے خیالات بدل گئے اور چاہا کہ راجہ گلاب سنگھ پرانا اہلکار ہے اور دولت مند سردار ہے ۔ اگر یہ وزیر ہو جائے تو بہتر ہے . . . یہ خبر جب سردار جواہر سنگھ و راجہ

لال سنگھ کو ہوئی چاہا کہ جلدی سے اس کو لاہور سے نکال دیں ۔ چنانچہ اڑسٹھ لاکھ روپیہ زر بقایا کا اس کے ذمہ نکال کر بہ تقرر اقساط تمسک لکھا لیا اور راجہ سوچیت سنگھ اور راجہ ہیرا سنگھ کے ملک و املاک جاگیر کے واپس دینے کا تحریری وعدہ لے کر اس کو لاہور سے رخصت کر دیا گیا ۔ راجہ گلاب سنگھ نے بھی اسی وقت لاہور سے نکلنا غنیمت جانا کیوں کہ لاہور کی خون خوار وزارت پر مقرر ہونا تو اس کو منظور ہی نہ تھا . . . . .

لال سنگھ درپے اس بات کے تھا کہ خود وزیر بن جائے ۔ اس نے سکھوں کو بہت بھڑکایا اور خبر دی کہ سردار جواہر سنگھ انگریزی علاقہ میں بھاگ جانے کو تیار ہے اس واسطے سکھوں نے سردار جواہر سنگھ کو واسطے جواب دہی قتل پشورا سنگھ کے چھاونی فوجیں بلایا ۔ اس بات پر رانی جندان اس کی ہمشیرہ نے بہت عذرات پیش کیے اور چاہا کہ کسی طرح غضب فوج کا فرو ہو مگر نہ ہوا ۔ آخر ۲۱ ستمبر ۱۸۴۵ء کو دو بجے کے وقت سردار جواہر سنگھ مہاراجہ دلیپ سنگھ کو گود میں لے کر اور اپنی ہمشیرہ رانی جندان کی ہمراہی میں سوار ہو کر فوج میں گیا جب پلٹن میں پہنچا سکھاں پیک اجل کی طرح اس پر آن پڑے اور ہاتھی پر چڑھ کر مہاراجہ دلیپ سنگھ کو اس کی گود سے لے کر ایک خیمہ میں لے گئے اور اس کو ہاتھی کے اوپر بیٹھے ہوئے ہی قتل کر ڈالا . . . . . .

دوسرے روز جب جنازہ سردار جواہر سنگھ کا نکلا اور دو زوجہ اور چار کنیزیں اس کے ساتھ ستی ہونے کو نکلیں تو سکھاں فوج بھی آموجود ہوئے اور ستی ہونے والی عورتوں پر کمال دست اندازیاں کیں ان کے زیورات اتار لیے اور ان کے کانوں کی بالیاں اس زور سے کھینچی کہ ان کے کانوں سے خون کے فوارے جاری ہوئے . . . . سردار جواہر سنگھ کے قتل کے بعد عہدہ وزارت کا کسی ارکان سلطنت نے منظور نہ کیا اور نہ افسری فوج کی کسی کو منظور ہوئی اس وقت فوج اور اراکین کی تجویز سے راجہ گلاب سنگھ کو لاہور میں بلایا گیا

مگر ایسے وقت میں وہ کب آتا تھا اس وقت مہا رانی جندان خود دربار کرتی تھی اور احکام عمومی اس کی تجویز سے جاری ہوتے تھے - اور تمام اراکین سلطنت فوج سے اسے ترسان و لرزاں تھے کہ ہر ایک دم کو دم آخرین سمجھتے تھے -

کبھی فوج کی یہ درخواست پیش ہوتی تھی کہ دیوان دینا ناتھ نے بڑا مال خالصہ کا کھایا ہے تو وہ ایک ایک انگشتری طلائی خالصہ کو دیوے - کبھی بخشی بھگت رام کبھی راجہ نہال سنگھ پر طمع کی نظر ہوتی تھی - جب تمام اراکین دربار نے جانا کہ اب جان کا بچانا سکھوں کے ہاتھوں سے سخت مشکل ہے اور سرکوبی ایسی زبردست فوج کی سوائے صاحبان انگریزی بہادر کے کسی سے نہیں ہو سکتی مناسب ہے کہ ان کو صاحبان انگریز بہادر کے ساتھ لڑنے کے لیے مستعد کیا جائے چنانچہ بعد تجویز و تدبیر ایک جلسہ بمقام شالا مار قرار پایا اور اس جلسہ میں تمام پنچان فوج بلائے گئے اور ان کے روبرو بیان کیا گیا کہ خالصہ جی صاحبان انگریز نے آج کل اپنی قدیمی عہد و پیمان جو مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ کے ساتھ کیے گئے تھے - بالکل لوح خاطر سے محو کر دیئے ہیں - چنانچہ موضع موڑان جو شامل علاقہ از روئے دریائے ستلج کے سرکار لاہور کا حق تھا راجہ نابھہ نے ضبط کر لیا اور انگریز اس کے ہرگز پرسان حال نہ ہوئے - راجہ سوچیت سنگھ کا پندرہ لاکھ روپیہ جو مقام فیروز پور رکھا تھا وہ بھی انہوں نے نہ دیا - بہتر یہ ہے کہ خالصہ جی اس میں کمر ہمت باندھ کر اور صاحبان انگریز سے جنگ کریں تاکہ انگریزوں کے دل پر بہادری خالصہ جی کی نقش ہو جائے اور آئندہ کبھی خالصہ جی کے حق میں دست انداز نہ ہوں - یہ بات سنتے ہی فوج نے بڑا تعجب کیا اور کہا کہ انگریزوں کی کیا طاقت ہے کہ خالصہ جی کے ملک و مال کی طرف آنکھ اٹھا کر بھی دیکھیں ....
نہایت تیزی اور تندہی کے ساتھ ۱۱ دسمبر ۱۸۴۵ کو سکھی فوج لدھیانہ وغیرہ مقامات پر روانہ ہو گئی شروع ماہ دسمبر میں یہ خبر انگریزوں کو پہنچ گئی تھی کہ لاہور سے سکھی فوج صاحبان انگریز کے

ساتھ لڑنے کو آئی ہے ۔ اس وقت نواب گورنر جنرل بہادر بمقام انبالہ صاحب کمانڈر انچیف بہادر سے ملا اور تجویز پیش کی کہ فوج اضلاع مغربی وغیرہ مقامات سے آ کر بمقام فیروز پور لدھیانہ جمع ہو چنانچہ انہیں ایام میں سترہ ہزار آدمی اور اکہتر ضرب توپ ان دونوں مقامات پر آ موجود ہوئی اور لارڈ ہارڈنگ بہادر نے لدھیانہ کے قلعہ کا نہایت استحکام کیا اور لارڈ ہارڈنگ صاحب بہادر بھی چالیس ہزار فوج اور توپ خانوں کے ساتھ سکھوں کے مقابلہ کے لیے مستعد و تیار ہو گیا . . . . . سکھوں کی فوج کا . . . . . . تخمینہ ساٹھ ہزار سے زیادہ تھا ۔ فوج سکھی کے سپاہی اور سپہ سالار سردار تیج سنگھ اور راجہ لال سنگھ بسردارشام سنگھ اٹاری والا قرار پائے اور تمام فوج لاہور سے تین مجمع بن کر روانہ ہوئی راستہ میں اس فوج نے اپنے ملک میں بڑی زبردست دست اندازیاں کیں . . . . یہ تمام فوج جب دریائے ستلج کے کنارے پر پہنچی تو انگریزوں نے بہت سے اشتہار اس مضمون سے بھیجے کہ سرکار انگریزی کی دوستی لاہور کی ریاست کے ساتھ مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ نے قائم کی اور اس روز سے آج تک فریقین میں سے کوئی مرتکب عہد شکنی کا نہیں ہوا ۔ . . . . اب بھی خالصہ کو مناسب ہے کہ دریا نہ اترے اور لاہور کو واپس جائے . . . . . .

یہ اشتہار بہت سے افسران فوج کے ملاحظہ میں گزرے مگر جب افسران کو فوج کو قتل کرانا ہی منظور تھا تو اس پر عمل کیوں کر ہوتا ۔ جب فوج سکھی دریا سے اتر گئی صاحبان انگریز بڑی سختی کے ساتھ ان کے مقابل ہوئے اور پانچ لڑائیاں فریقین میں ہوئیں ۔ پہلی لڑائی موضع مدکی کے مقام پر ہوئی . . . . یہ (سکھی) فوج انگریزوں کے مقابل بڑی چستی و چالاکی کے ساتھ ہوئی اور بڑی تیزی اور تندہی سے لڑی ۔ لڑائی کے وقت ان کا قدم پیچھے نہ ہٹا ۔ صاحبان انگریز کی طرف سخت آگ برسائی گئی اور پیادہ فوج نے ایسی بہادری سے جنگ کی کہ اگر ایک ساعت تک لڑائی رہتی تو میدان سکھوں کے ہاتھ رہتا ۔ جب راجہ لال سنگھ سپہ سالار نے دیکھا کہ میری

فوج بڑھتی جاتی ہے - یقین ہے کہ فتح یاب ہوگی چاہا کہ بھاگ جائے اور اپنی فوج کو شکست دلائے - کیونکہ اصلی مطلب اس کا فوج کو ذلیل کرنا تھا یہ سوچ کر وہ آٹھ ہزار سوار کے ساتھ میدان سے بھاگا . . . . . جب افسر ہی بھاگ گیا اور سوار بھی چل دیئے تو لڑنے والی پیادہ فوج میں سے بہت سا حصہ بھاگ آیا - صرف گیارہ ہزار سپاہی اور توپ خانہ برابر لڑتا رہا - - - - - اس وقت انگریزوں نے پے در پے حملے سکھوں پر کیے جس سے وہ عاجز و بے دل ہو گئے اور ستره توپیں میدان میں چھوڑ کر بھاگے - انگریزوں نے ان کا تعاقب کر کے ایسا منتشر کیا کہ ایک کا دوسرا خبر گیر نہ ہوا اس لڑائی میں چھ سو ستاون آدمی انگریزوں کے زخمی ہوئے اور دو سو مارے گئے مسٹر براڈ فٹ صاحب ایجنٹ انگریزی بھی مارے گئے اور دوسری لڑائی بھائی پھیرو کے مقام پر ہوئی - سکھی فوج بارہ پلٹن اور دس رجمنٹ سواران اور سو ضرب توپ تھی - اس فوج کے مقابلے پر سر ہیر گف بہادر سپہ سالار اور لارڈ هارڈنگ صاحب گورنر جنرل بہادر موجود تھے - - - دونوں طرف سے گولہ باری ہوئی سکھوں کی ایک سو ضرب توپ چلتی دور دور تک اس کی مار ہوتی - - - - انگریزی فوج کمال بہادری اور مردانگی سے آگے بڑھتی آئی - سکھوں نے ان کے حملے سخت زور آور قوت کے ساتھ روکے - سردار تیجا سنگھ سپہ سالار اس فوج کا علیحدہ کھڑا ہوا لڑائی دیکھ رہا تھا - اچانک اس کو دل میں ایسی سوجھی کہ بے سبب و باعث بھاگ اٹھا - جس قدر اس کی گھر کی فوج اس کی حفاظت میں تھی وہ بھی بھاگ جانے میں اس کے ساتھ شامل ہوئی -

اس کی فوج نے جب دیکھا کہ سپہ سالار بھاگ گیا ہے اور بہت سی فوج بھی ہمراہ لے گیا ہے تو وہ فوج بھی بیدل ہو گئی اور ستر توپیں میدان میں چھوڑ کر بھاگ آئی - وہ سب توپیں اور سامان میگزین جو میدان میں چھوڑ گئے تھے انگریزوں نے لے لیا -. . . . . تیسری لڑائی لدھیانہ کے متصل ہوئی اور اس کی تشریح اس طرح پر ہے کہ ایک فوج سکھی کا سردار رنجودھ سنگھ مجیٹھیہ کے ماتحت بمع فوج

نہال سنگھ اہلو والیہ ، راجہ چیت سنگھ لاڈوہ والہ متصل لدھیانہ کے اترا ہوا تھا اور فردو گاہ موضع بدووال تھا جب انگریزی فوج نے تحت جنرل سمتھ صاحب بہادر کا سکھوں کے سامنے اتفاقاً گزر ہو گیا تو سکھوں نے ان پر گولہ باری شروع کی . . . . . .

تھوڑی دیر لڑائی ہوتی رہی آخر بسبب اس کے انگریزی فوج بہت تھوڑی تھی ۔ میدان چھوڑ کر لدھیانہ چلی گئی . . . . . . جب لاہور میں خبریں پہنچ گئیں کہ دو طرف سکھی فوج نے شکست کھائی اور کمال نقصان اٹھایا ہے تو رانی جندن مدارالمہام سلطنت نے ستر سوار روانہ کرکے فی الفور راجہ گلاب سنگھ کو لاہور طلب کیا اور وزارت کا خلعت دیکر اس کو وزیر بنایا اور امور سلطنت اس کے تفویض کئے۔ چوتھی لڑائی علی وال اور چوندڑی کے مقام پر ہوئی ۔ اس کا حال یہ ہے کہ جب فوج جرنیل سمتھ صاحب کی شکست کھاکر لدھیانہ میں پہنچے بڑے کمپو کو جنھوں نے مدد کے لئے طلب کیا جب فوج مدد کو آ گئی تو دوبارہ لڑائی شروع ہوئی ۔ جب لڑائی خوب گرم ہوئی تو سردار رنجودھ سنگھ بہادر بزدل ہو کر سب سے اول ہو کر بھاگا مگر فوج نے اس کے بھاگ جانے کی پروا نہ کی اور بدستور لڑائی جاری رکھی ۔ آخر افسر کے بھاگ جانے سے بیدل تو تھی جب انگریزوں کی طرف سے کمال زور پڑا تو بھاگ نکلی ۔ انگریزوں کی فوج نے ان کا تعاقب کیا اور دریا کے کنارے تک پیچھا کئے ہوئے چلے آئے۔ سکھوں نے بے اختیار اپنے آپ کو دریا میں ڈال دیا اور سینکڑوں پانی میں غرق ہو گئے . . . . پانچویں لڑائی سبراؤں کے مقام پر ہوئی اس میں سکھی فوج تیس ہزار جوان سکھ پیادہ و سوار اور اڑسٹھ توپیں تھیں۔۔۔ جب لڑائی گرم ہوئی فریقین سے بڑے حملے فریقین پر ہوئے . . . . سردار تیج سنگھ جنرل سپہ سالار یکایک میدان چھوڑ کر بھاگ گیا . . . . پھر بھی فوج نے قدم پیچھے نہ ہٹایا اور برابر میدان گرم رکھا ۔ جب دوسرا افسر شام سنگھ اٹاری والہ بھی مارا گیا تو پھر فوج کا حوصلہ باقی نہ رہا اور بے اختیار ہو کر بھاگے۔ مگر انگریزوں نے انکا پیچھا نہ چھوڑا اور

مارتے مارتے دریا تک لے آئے باقی ماندہ دریا میں غرق ہوگئی . . . .

اس لڑائی کے بعد سکھوں کی لڑائی ختم ہوگئی اور انگریزوں کے روبرو کوئی لڑنے والا نہ رہا ۔ نواب گورنر جنرل بہادر فی‌الفور دریا ستلج پر آیا اور مع بیس ہزار فوج جرار کے بمقام قصور ڈیرا کیا ۔ ۱۵ - فروری ۱۸۴۶ کو راجہ گلاب سنگھ مع اور سکھ سرداروں کے نواب گورنر جنرل کی خدمت میں حاضر ہوا اور اظہار کیا کہ مہاراجہ دلیپ سنگھ خورد سال واجب الرحم و قابل پرورش ہے اور فوج جو خود سر تھی وہ اپنے ارادے سے سرکار انگریزی کے ساتھ لڑنے کو گئی تھی اس وقت اگر کوئی اراکین دربار میں سے ان کو منع کرتے تو بیشک ان کی جان پر آفت آتی اور سکھ کبھی اس کو زندہ نہ چھوڑتے . . . . . . .اور ایسی تقریروں کا نواب گورنر جنرل بہادر نے جواب دیا کہ سرکار انگریزی مہاراجہ دلیپ سنگھ سے اتحاد و محبت رکھے گی جس طرح اس کے باپ مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ کے ساتھ تھا اور بدستور اس کو مالک سلطنت سمجھیں گے لیکن تمام علاقہ سرکار لاہور جو دریائے ستلج کے شرق غربی کنارے دریائے بیاس تک ہے وہ ضبطی میں آکر شامل علاقہ انگریزی میں ہو جائے گا دونوں دریا ستلج اور بیاس سرکار انگریزی کے اختیار میں رہیں گے اور ڈیڑھ کروڑ روپیہ جرمانہ نقد بابت اخراجات جنگ اور خون اس فوج کے اور افسروں کے جو اس لڑائی میں مارے گئے ہیں لیا جائے گا ۔ راجہ گلاب سنگھ نے یہ حکم سن کر بہت سے عزرات کئے اور مہاراجہ خورد سال پر رحم کا طلب گار ہوا ۔ چنانچہ منجملہ ڈیڑھ کروڑ روپیہ میں پچاس لاکھ روپیہ معاف ہو کر ایک کڑور قرار پایا[1] . . . . . .

۱- ان کے علاوہ دیگر شرائط مندرجہ ذیل تھیں ۔

(۱) مہاراجہ اپنی باقی فوج سے ھتھیار لیکر اور ان کے بقایاجات ادا کرنے کے بعد منتشر کر دیگا ۔

بقیہ اگلے صفحہ کے نیچے

۲۰ فروری ۱۸۴۶ء کو نواب گورنر جنرل اور لشکر انگریزی لاہور میں دروازے پر اور قلعہ کے اندر انگریزی سپاہ کے پہرے قائم ہو گئے اور دوابہ بست جالندہر اور علاقہ سس ستلج متعلقہ سرکار لاہور

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(۲) باقاعدہ فوج کی تعداد پیادہ ۲۵ بٹالین (فی بٹالین ۸۰۰) اور گھوڑ سوار بارہ ہزار متعین کر دی اس میں اضافہ کرنے کے لیے برطانوی حکومت سے اجازت ضروری قرار پائی -

(۳) وہ ۳۶ توپیں جو انگریزی فوج کے خلاف سبراؤن کے مقام پر رکھی گئیں تھیں برطانوی حکومت کے حوالے کر دی جائینگی-

(۴) دریائے بیاس اور ستلج مٹھن کوٹ تک اور دریائے سندھ مٹھن کوٹ سے بلوچستان کی سرحد تک برطانوی حکومت کی تحویل میں دے دئے جائیں گے - کمپنی ان پر سے ٹول ٹیکس وصول کرے گی - جو منافع حاصل ہوگا اُس کا آدھا حصہ لاہور دربار کو دے دیا جائے گا -

(۵) اگر کسی وقت برطانوی، حکومت کو اپنی فوجیں پنجاب سے گزارنی ہونگیں تو لاھور دربار اجازت اور دوسری سہولتیں مہیا کرے گی -

(۶) برطانوی حکومت کی اجازت کے بغیر مہاراجہ کسی برطانوی ، یورپین یا امریکن کو ملازم نہیں رکھے گا -

(۷) گلاب سنگھ اور لاھور دربار کے درمیان اختلافات کو تصفیہ کے لیے برطانوی حکومت کی منظوری کے بغیر لاھور دربار کی سرحدوں میں تبدیلی نہیں کی جائے گی -

اگرچہ برطانوی حکومت نے اس معاهدے میں دلیپ سنگھ کی حکومت کو برقرار رکھنے کا وعدہ کیا تھا لیکن اسے آزاد سلطنت تسلیم کرنے کو تیار نہ تھی - اس کے تقریباً تمام حقوق برطانوی حکومت نے اپنے ھاتھ میں لے لیے تھے - (ایڈیٹر)

سے کاردار اور اہلکار بلائے گئے اور وہ تمام پہاڑی اور میدانی علاقہ سرکار انگریزی کے قبضہ میں آ گیا ۔ اب ایک کروڑ روپیہ جرمانہ کی تجویز باقی تھی جو سرکار لاہور کے ذمہ بابت خرچہ فوج وغیرہ قرار پایا ۔ مگر خزانہ میں اتنا روپیہ موجود نہ تھا ۔ اس کے واسطے یہ تجویز قرار پائی کہ تمام علاقہ کشمیر و تبت و لداخ و جموں وغیرہ سے مادھو پور کی حدود تک جس قدر علاقہ زیر قلم سرکار لاہور کے ہے وہ تمام و کمال ایک کروڑ روپیہ میں فروخت کر دیا جائے اور زرثمن مشتری سے وصول کر کے داخل خزانہ انگریزی ہو --- چونکہ - - - - - - - یہ روپیہ راجہ گلاب سنگھ نے دینا منظور کیا اس واسطے وہ تمام ملک اس کو دے دیا گیا اور مہاراجگی کا خطاب راجہ گلاب سنگھ کو گورنر جنرل بہادر نے عطا کر کے خلعت فاخرہ بخشا اور اس کا علاقہ سرکار لاہور کے علاقہ سے علیحدہ قرار دیا ۔ اگرچہ اس وقت اہالیان دربار لاہور نے گورنر جنرل بہادر کی خدمت میں یہ اظہار کیا کہ راجہ گلاب سنگھ کے ذمہ سرکار لاہور کا اڑسٹھ لاکھ روپیہ از روئے حساب سابقہ علاقہ مفتوحہ کے واجب الادا ہے وہ روپیہ اس سے وصول کیا جائے اور زر جرمانہ میں محسوب ہو اور باقی روپیہ علیحدہ ایک کروڑ روپے کے سرکار لاہور بتقرر اقساط ادا کرے گی مگر نواب گورنر جنرل بہادر نے اپنی عملداری سے پہلے جھگڑے بکھیڑے میں دست اندازی نہ کی اور علاقہ بسیط سرکار لاہور کا اس کے ہاتھ فروخت کر ڈالا اور بڑا حصہ سلطنت کا اس کو دے کر مالک صاحب اختیار حاکم بنا دیا - - - - (جب انگریز فوج کوچ کرنے کے لیے تیار ہوئی) مگر اس وقت بھی اراکین دربار لاہور کو بڑا اندیشہ سکھوں کی طرف سے تھا اور جانتے تھے کہ جب فوج انگریزی لاہور سے جائے گی سکھ پھر جمع ہو کر ہم کو قتل کروا لینگے۔ اس واسطے یہ تجویز قرار پائی کہ نو مہینے تک اور انگریزی فوج لاہور میں رہے - - - - نو مہینے میں اراکین دربار اپنا انتظام بخوبی کر لیں گے ۔ صاحبان انگریز نے بصورت اپنے خرچہ فوج کے یہ تجویز منظور کی اور انار کلی میں انگریزی فوج کی چھاؤنی قرار پائی ۔ چونکہ

ناظم کشمیر کا ان دنوں میں شیخ امام‌الدین تھا ۔ اس کے نام دربار لاہور سے بدستخط صاحب ریذیڈنٹ کے پروانہ جاری ہوا کہ علاقہ کشمیر وغیرہ جو اس کے متعلقہ ہے مہاراجہ گلاب سنگھ کے حوالہ کر کے خود لاہور میں حاضر ہو ۔ مگر شیخ امام الدین نے اس کے برخلاف کیا اور جو فوج مہاراجہ گلاب سنگھ کی کشمیر کے دخل کے لیے گئی اس کو جنگ کر کے پسپا کر دیا ۔ وقوع اس حال کے ایک تازہ فساد پنجاب میں شروع ہوا اور فوج معقول لاہور سے کشمیر کو شیخ امام‌الدین کی سزا کے لیے مامور ہوئی ۔ آخر وہ اکتوبر ۱۸۴۶ کے شیخ امام الدین ریذیڈنٹ کی خدمت میں حاضر ہو گیا اور عندالاستفسار بیان کیا کہ میں ملازم و نمک خوار سرکار لاہور کا تھا دربار کے حکم کے بموجب میں نے یہ سرکشی کی کیونکہ پروانہ راجہ لال سنگھ مدارالمہام کا میرے نام پر جاری ہو چکا تھا اور اس میں صاف درج تھا کہ علاقہ کشمیر کا ہرگز ہرگز راجہ گلاب سنگھ کو نہ دینا ۔ صاحب ریذیڈنٹ بہادر شیخ امام الدین کو لے کر آیا اور کشمیر پر دخل مہاراجہ گلاب سنگھ کا ہو گیا ۔ لاہور پہنچ کر ایک بڑا جلسہ واسطے تحقیقات مقدمہ کشمیر کے منعقد ہوا ۔

راجہ لال سنگھ نے تحریر پروانجات اسمی شیخ امام الدین سے صاف انکار کر دیا مگر جب پورن چند پروانہ نویس کاتب پروانجات نے گواہی حلفاً دی کہ میں نے یہ پروانہ حسب‌الحکم راجہ لال سنگھ کے لکھے تھے تو لال سنگھ لاجواب ہو گیا اور جرم مفسدہ پردازی فساد انگریزی کا راجہ لال سنگھ کے ذمہ ثابت ہوا ۔ جس کی پاداش میں وہ وزارت و مدارالمہامی کے عہدے سے برخاست ہوا بلکہ یہ تجویز ٹھہری کہ آئندہ وزارت کا عہدہ تخفیف میں آئے اور چند اراکین کی کونسل قرار پا کر انتظام ہو اور سردار تیجا سنگھ و دیوان دینا ناتھ و سردار شیر سنگھ اٹاری والہ تینوں کو راجگی کا خطاب با اضافہ جاگیر عطا ہو اور چوتھا ممبر کونسل کا فقیر نور الدین قرار پائے اور ہر ایک کام ان کی صوابدید و منظوری صاحب ریذیڈنٹ سے انجام پائے چنانچہ دیوان

دینا ناتھ راجہ کلا نور کا اور سردار تیج سنگھ راجہ سیالکوٹ کا قرار پایا - جب نو مہینے آخر ۱۸۴۶ تک گزر چکے وہ وقت آ گیا کہ انگریزی فوج لاہور سے رخصت ہو جائے - - - - - - مگر اہالیان دربار کو اسی طرح پر سکھوں کی وہشت دل میں تھی اور نہ چاہتے تھے کہ صاحبان انگریز لاہور سے چلے جائیں اور اسی واسطے سب نے مل کر بحضور جناب ریذیڈنٹ بہادر التجا کی تاسن بلوغ مہاراجہ دلیپ سنگھ انگریزی فوج لاہور میں رہے اور بائیس لاکھ روپیہ سالانہ تنخواہ فوج و افسران فوج سرکار لاہور کے خزانے سے دیا جائے گا - - - - -

اور یہ بھی تجویز ہوئی کہ سردار رنجودہ سنگھ و بھائی ندہان سنگھ و سردار عطر سنگھ کالیان والہ سردار شمشیر سنگھ سندہا نوالیہ نائب اہالیان دربار مقرر ہوں اور جس امر میں یہ سب لوگ تجویز قائم کریں صاحب ریذیڈنٹ بہادر کی منظوری کرالیں - رانی جندان والدہ مہاراجہ دلیپ سنگھ کو یہ انتظام پسند نہ آیا کیونکہ وہ چاہتی تھی کہ بجائے وزیر کے میں حکمران تصور کی جاؤں اور ہر ایک امر میرے حکم سے صورت انجام کی پائے چونکہ اس انتظام میں صاحبان انگریز نے اس کا دخل کسی طرح منظور نہیں رکھا تھا وہ نہایت ہی ناراض تھی اور پوشیدہ پوشیدہ درپے فساد و خرابی انتظام سلطنت کے ہوئی یہ امر ریذیڈنٹ اور اہالیان دربار پر واضح ہوا تو تجویز یہ ٹھہری کہ جندان کو مہاراجہ دلیپ سنگھ سے علیحدہ کر دیا جائے بلکہ اس کو قلعہ لاہور سے قلعہ شیخو پورہ میں بھیج دیا جائے جس میں یہ قیام پذیر ہو چنانچہ فی الفور یہ امر ظہور میں آیا اور رانی نہایت ناراض اور مجبوری کی حالت میں قلعہ لاہور سے نکل کر قلعہ شیخو پورہ میں سکونت پذیر ہوئی اور حکم جاری کیا گیا کہ کوئی شخص ملازمین وغیرہ ملازم سلطنت بلا اجازت صاحب بہادر ریذیڈنٹ کے مہا رانی کے پاس جانے نہ پائے -[1]

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۱ - اس قدم کے پس منظر کو بیان کرتے ہوئے ہنری لارنس نے ایک اعلامیہ جاری کیا جس میں اس قدم کی مندرجہ ذیل وجوہ بیان کی گئیں -

(۱) بھیروال کے معاھدے کی رو سے مہارانی کو حکومت سے علیحدہ کر دیا گیا تھا لیکن وہ کمپنی کے خلاف سازشوں میں مصروف رہی اور

بقیہ اگلے صفحے کے نیچے

مارچ ۱۸۴۷ء میں کرنل لارنس صاحب ریذیڈنٹ لاہور سے تبدیل ہو گیا اور مسٹر کری صاحب بہادر ریذیڈنٹ مقرر ہو کر آیا اس وقت ایک نیا فساد برپا ہوا رانی جنداں نے شیخوپورہ میں بیٹھے بیٹھے یہ ارادہ کیا کہ افسران انگریزی کو زہر دیکر مار دیا جائے کہ کوئی ان میں سے باقی نہ رہے ۔ چنانچہ کاہنا سنگھ و گنگا رام ملازمان رانی چند کنور نے مسکوٹ کے خانساماں کے ساتھ مل کر یہ تجویز ٹھہرائی کہ وہ جب صاحب لوگ مسکوٹ میں کھانا کھانے کے لیے آئیں تو ان کے کھانے میں زہر ڈال دیوے اور اس خدمت کے عوض بڑی رقم روپیہ کی اپنے زمہ پر قبول کی مگر اتفاقاً یہ راز کھل گیا اور اس جرم میں رانی جنداں کو جلاوطنی نصیب ہوئی اور دونوں معتبر اس کے جان سے مارے گئے* ۔

دوسرا فساد چتر سنگھ اٹاریوالہ نے ہزارہ کی طرف برپا کر دیا اور اس نے تمام علاقہ ہزارہ و پشاور نواح اٹک وغیرہ اپنے قبضہ میں کر لیا فوج ماموره پشاور و ہزارہ وغیرہ سب کی سب سرکار لاہور سے برگشتہ ہو کر اس سے مل گئے۔ جارج لارنس صاحب وغیرہ انگریز مع ان کی میم صاحب کے جو پشاور کی نظامت پر مامور تھے سب کے سب سردار چتر سنگھ کی قید میں آ گئے سردار چتر سنگھ نے امیر دوست محمد خاں والئی کابل کو بھی

لاہور کی حکومت کی مخالفت کرتی رہی ۔

(۲) چونکہ دلیپ سنگھ ابھی بچہ تھا اس کی پرورش ایسے حالات میں کرنے کی اجازت دینا کمپنی کے لیے مناسب نہیں تھا ۔

(۳) مہا رانی کو ہر قسم کے لوگ مل رہے تھے اور اس طرح سازش کے جال پھیلا رہے تھے ۔ اس وقت پنجاب کی حکومت کمپنی کے رحم و کرم پر تھی عام لوگ سکھوں سے بے دل ہو چکے تھے اگر کمپنی چاہتی تو اسے اپنی سلطنت میں آسانی سے شامل کر سکتی تھی لیکن وہ ابھی الحاق کے لیے تیار نہ تھی گورنر جنرل لارڈ ہارڈنگ نے ۱۱ مارچ ۱۸۴۶ء کے خط میں ایجنٹ لارنس کو اس امر کی تلقین کی کہ فوج کا استعمال بہت کم کیا جائے ۔ (ایڈیٹر)

*اس زمانے میں ملتان کے گورنر مول راج نے بغاوت کر دی ۔ اس پہ مضمون علیحدہ شامل کیا گیا ہے ۔ (ایڈیٹر)

اپنی مدد پر اس اقرار سے بلایا کہ جب صاحبان انگریز پنجاب سے نکال دیئے جائیں کہ پشاور و ڈیرہ جات کا بدستور کابل کے ساتھ متعلق کر دیا جائیگا ۔ اٹک کا قلعہ اور علاقہ دوابہ جج کا بھی اس نے لے لیا اور پنجاب میں یہ خبر مشہور ہو گئی کہ اب سکھوں کی علمداری پھر ہونی شروع ہوگئی ہے ۔ یہ سن کر تمام سکھی فوج جو معزول ہو چکی تھی سردار چتر سنگھ کے پاس جمع ہو گئی اور لاکھ آدمی کے قریب اس کے پاس جمع ہو گیا ۔ مگر بے سرو سامانی کمال تھی ہر چند اس نے پشاور اٹک و ہزارہ کے قلعوں سے توپیں بہت بہم پہنچائیں تھیں مگر اس کے پاس اس قدر ہتھیار نہ تھے کہ تمام فوج کو تقسیم کرتا ۔ دریائے چناب تک کا علاقہ سردار چتر سنگھ کے قبضہ میں آ گیا اور کمال بے انتظامی لاہور کی سلطنت میں واقع ہوئی

جو فوج سرکار انگریزی مفسد چار لڑائیاں لڑے ۔ پہلی لڑائی تو بمقام رسول نگر عرف رام نگر عمل میں آئی ۔ اس کا مجمل حال یہ ہے کہ جب سرکار انگریزی کی فوج کا مقابلہ ان کے ساتھ ہوا تو سکھوں نے پہلے مقابلہ سے پہلو تہی کی کیونکہ اس وقت راجہ شیر سنگھ سردار چتر سنگھ ان کے شریک نہ تھے ان کے آنے کا انتظار تھا ۔ جب وہ نہ آئے تو اور ادھر سے زور پڑ گیا تو ۲۲ ۔ نومبر ۱۸۴۸ع کو آپس میں لڑائی شروع ہوئی اور سکھ ایسی جوان مردی سے لڑے کہ کوئی دقیقہ شجاعت اور بہادری کا باقی نہ رہا اس لڑائی میں انگریزوں کا بہت نقصان ہوا اور کیورتن صاحب افسر فوج انگریزی کا کام آیا ۔ دوسری لڑائی بمقام سعد اللہ پور وقوع میں آئی اور دونوں فریق ۳ ۔ ماہ دسمبر ۱۸۴۸ع کو دن بھر آپس میں لڑتے رہے سینکڑوں آدمی فریقین سے مارے گئے اور بعد جنگ کے شیر سنگھ اور چتر سنگھ وہاں سے ہٹ کر موضع مونگ رسول کو چلے گئے ۔ تیسری لڑائی ۱۳ ۔ دسمبر ۱۸۴۸ع سے ۱۲ فروری ۱۸۴۹ع تک فریقین کی فوجیں ایک دوسرے کے مقابل میدان میں پڑی رہیں اور ہر روز مقابلے اور مجادلے ہوتے رہے اور فریقین کا نقصان ہوتا رہا ۔ آخر ۱۳ فروری ۱۸۴۹ع کو شیر سنگھ و چتر سنگھ

مونگ رسول کا مقام چھوڑ کر گجرات چلے گئے۔ چوتھی لڑائی بمقام گجرات نہایت سرگرمی کے ساتھ ہوئی اور فریقین کمال جوش و خروش کے ساتھ لڑے۔ ہزاروں آدمی دو طرف سے مارے گئے۔ سکھوں نے پہلے سخت حملے انگریزی فوج پر کیئے . . . . . . جب سکھ لڑتے لڑتے تھک گئے تو انگریزوں نے ان پر زور ڈالا اور وہ آگ برسائی کہ سکھوں کی آنکھ میں زمانہ تاریک ہو گیا اور سوائے بھاگنے کے کوئی تدبیر نہ سوجھی۔ اور بے اختیار سامان توپیں میگزین چھوڑ کر بھاگے اور میدان خالی رہ گیا۔

اس وقت سردار چتر سنگھ و شیر سنگھ دیوان حاکم رائے وغیرہ مفسدہ سردار بحالت زار انگریزی افسر کے رو برو از خود آ کر مستدعی تقصیر کے ہوئے اور لاہور میں بحالت نظربندی حاضر ہوئے۔ صاحب ریذیڈنٹ نے بمنظوری نواب گورنر جنرل بہادر ان کی نسبت یہ حکم صادر کیا کہ بڑے بڑے مفسد یعنی دیوان حاکم رائے، سردار چترسنگھ و شیر سنگھ وغیرہ تو جلا وطن کرکے پنجاب سے نکالے جائیں اور چھوٹے رقبہ کے مفسد اپنے اپنے گاؤں میں رہیں۔ سوائے اجازت سرکار انگریزی کے کہیں آنے جانے نہ پائیں اور پولیس ان کی نگران حال رہے۔ چونکہ سکھی سلطنت کی بے انتظامی اور سکھوں کی سرکشی سے صاحبان انگریز کمال تنگ آ گئے ہیں۔ بحالت مجبوری نواب بہادر گورنر جنرل ہند نے اس ریاست کے ضبطی کا حکم نافذ فرمایا"۔[1]

۱۔ ماخذ کنھیا لال۔ تاریخ پنجاب۔ لاہور۔ ۱۸۷۷ء۔ صفحہ نمبر ۳۹۰ - ۳۳۳

Mulraj's Revolt

"The diminishing revenues, the never ending clamour of merchants and trading classes for the abolition of the town and transit duties, the adverse influence of his brother at the Lahore Durbar and, above all, the right of appeal against his judicial decisions claimed by the Durbar were some of the circumstances which the Diwan Mulraj, Governor of Multan, considered too embarrassing to enable him to carry on the government of his province. Accordingly, he came to Lahore in November, 1847, to secure a modification in the terms of his appointment or, in the alternative, to resign his post.[1] Unfortunately for the Diwan, he arrived too late to see Major Henry Lawrence who was sympathetic towards him and on whose support he mainly depended. That officer had just left for England and the Diwan failed to get any substantial help from his younger brother Sir John Lawrence ... now acting as Resident. Accordingly Mulraj submitted his resignation (December 18, 1847), but the Resident would not accept it on the ground that the new governor would not be able to realise the revenues from the country in the middle of the harvesting season .... "I should prefer," writes John Lawrence, "that Diwan Mulraj continued to hold Multan for another year, for the rest of the Punjab will afford ample occupation for all our energies for that period. Hereafter it will be well to get rid of the Diwan".[2]

His resignation not accepted, Mulraj was persuaded by the Resident to continue to act as Governor for some time more. It was arranged that he should be relieved in March, 1848. At the request of Mulraj, it was further agreed that his resignation should be kept a secret even from the members of the Council of Regency .... Mulraj had also requested that, on being relieved of his charge, he might be provided with a jagir.... The Resident could not, of course, give him a definite promise, but he was given an assurance that he would be taken on the Council, the members of which were, as a rule, rewarded with jagirs. The third and last condition of the agreement was that a couple of months before Mulraj was actually relieved, two British Officers should be sent to

1. The Diwan arrived at Lahore, on 30th November, 1847. He had expressed his wish to resign a week before his letter to the Resident, dated 21st December, Punjab Blue Book, pp. 70—91.

2. Page 94, Punjab Blue Book, (1847-49).

Multan to be instructed by the Diwan in the state of affairs, before they took over the administration of the country ....

Mr. John Lawrence was relieved of his officiating charge in March 1848, and Sir Frederick Currie was appointed Resident at Lahore. Before handing over charge of his office to him, Mr. John Lawrence told him all about his interview with Diwan Mulraj. Sir Frederick at once wrote requesting Mulraj to reconsider his decision, but the Diwan was anxious to be relieved of his heavy and troublesome charge. The Resident then proceeded to make arrangements for the new government of Multan and Sardar Kahan Singh Mann was selected for the post. He was to be assisted by two British officers ... Mr. Vans Agnew and Lt. Anderson[1] ....

The party reached Multan on 17th April, 1848.[2].... The charge of the province having been formally transferred, the party set out on horseback to return to their camp....As the small procession emerged out of the Sikki Gate of the fort and was crossing the bridge over the ditch. ... One Amir Chand, a member of Mulraj's garrison stationed in the fort, attacked, Mr. Agnew with a spear and wounded him on the left shoulder. The blow knocked him off his horse, but he soon jumped up and struck his assailant with the riding whip in his hand. After receiving one or two blows, Amir Chand drew his sword, rushed on Mr. Agnew, and inflicted two or three severe wounds on him, and then escaped by leaping into the ditch. Immediately on Mr. Agnew being wounded, Mulraj pushed forward his horse and proceeded to his residence, leaving word, ... with his chief, Bhagwan Das, to bring the assassin before him. Almost at the same time, Lieut. Anderson too rode off rapidly and after passing through one of the gates of the town, turned towards the Idgah, but he was followed by some horsemen who cut him down wounding him severely.

In the meantime, Sardar Kahan Singh and Ram Rang, the brother-in-law of Mulraj dressd Mr. Agnew's wounds and placing him on an elephant coveyed him to the Idgah. Lieut. Anderson was also picked up, placed on a charpai, and carried to the same place.

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1. Mulraj's resignation was accepted on March 24, 1848, Kahan Singh Mann was appointed as Governor on March 31, for details see page 123, Punjab Blue Book.
2. Punjab Blue Book, p. 131, gives April 14 as the date of arrival obviously, a misprint.

Having made arrangements for the safe conveyance of the wounded British officers Ram Rang himself proceeded to the Am Khass to see Diwan Mulraj. After some consultation, it was decided that they should go to visit the wounded British officers in their camp, but as soon as they mounted their horses, one of the soldiers rushed forward and cut down Ram Rang wounding him severely on the arm and on the forehead. Mulraj escaped into his garden house and after some time managed to send his confidential officer, Raizada Tulsi Ram, to wait upon Mr. Agnew with a letter of excuse....

Mr. Agnew ... reported the serious occurrences to the Resident at Lahore. He also sent express messages for assistance to General Courtland and Major Edwardes, who were at that time at Bannu ...

Mr. Agnew also wrote to Mulraj expressing his disbelief of the Diwan's participation, but asking the Diwan to seize the perpetrators of the outrage and to come himself to the Idgah. In the meantime, Raizada Tulsi Ram, evading the mutinous troops, succeeded in reaching the Idgah in the early afternoon of the 19th where he delivered Mul-Raj's message to Mr. Agnew. In reply, that gentleman reiterated what he had said in his previous message to the Diwan ... Tulsi Ram went away, but as no reply was received from the Diwan, Mr. Agnew sent two more messages during the remainder of the 19th April, but none of them reached their destination since the insurgents had prevented the Diwan's communication with the British officers. In the evening Mr. Agnew ordered a battery of guns to be placed in position ready for action and also took other measures for the defence of the Idgah...

...When Raizada Tulsi Ram returned to the Diwan's residence ... he found the Diwan a prisoner in the hands of his turbulent soldiers. The insurgents had gathered together and had called a council of their chiefs at Mulraj's residence and, after some deliberations, proceeded with the ceremony of investing Mulraj with leadership of the revolt ....This happened before the evening of the 19th .... During the early hours of the morning of the 20th, the war council ... considered it expedient to remove the families and valuables of the Diwan into the fort from his residence at the Am Khass. At 7 o'clock the same morning proclamations were issued in the name of Mulraj exciting the country to a general

revolt.[1] A couple of hours later the guns of the fort as also those at the Am Khass commenced firing. Mr. Agnew then despatched messengers to endeavour to put a stop to the firing and to explain the object and circumstances of his mission, but his envoy never reached Mulraj, being repulsed by the insurgents on the way. The cannonade continued in a desultory manner throughout the day and by Agnew's direction it was answered by fire from his guns ...

About this time Kahan Singh's troops (that is, the Lahore troops) began to show symptoms of disaffection. The gunners refused to work their guns and began to desert, even going over to join the insurgents. So also did the troopers and the infantry. Towards the evening between 4 and 5 p.m. Mr. Agnew again sent a deputation to Mulraj, but the insurgents would not allow the envoys a private interview with the Diwan. The party was, however, admitted to the Conference, and after some discussion it was agreed that the Lahore force and the British officers should leave Multan; their cattle, etc. should be restored to them, and the firing both from the fort and the Am Khass should cease. A party was accordingly sent with Mr. Agnew's messengers to put a stop to the cannonade and to arrange for the restoration of the cattle and then for the march of Lahore troops. But before the party could accomplish much, the desertion at the Idgah was complete and the Lahore troops had joined the insurgents.[2] As soon as this became known, a band of the lowest rabble headed by ... Godar Singh and his friends, rushed towards the Idgah, and cruelly murdered Messrs. Agnew and Anderson.[3] Kahan Singh Mann and his son were made prisoners...

Edwardes crossed the Indus with a strong army on the 24th April, but finding that Mulraj's army under the command of his younger brother, Diwan Sham Singh, had advanced as far as Leia to meet him, he was forced to recross and fall back on the right bank of the river. Edwardes and Courtland remained in the Derajat country till the middle of June....

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1. Several of these proclamations were issued at the time of the outbreak and during the war by Mulraj, Sher Singh and others, and are preserved among the papers in the vernacular section of the Record Office, Lahore.
2. Two days after their desertion the Lahore troops issued a proclamation setting forth the circumstances under which they had joined Mulraj and calling upon their brethren to follow suit.
3. Godar Singh was put on his trial, on 2nd March, 1849.

In the meantime, the Nawab of Bahawalpur, an ally of the British Government, was persuaded to cross the river Sutlej with a view to advance on Multan and co-operate with Edwardes who was moving from the right bank of the Indus. Edwardes and Courtland crossed over on the 14th June and marched post-haste towards Khangarh where they had to cross the Chenab and join the Bahawalpur force marching towards Shujabad. Mulraj's army had already strengthened the garrison at Shujabad and had Ram Rang, the Diwan's officer commanding, been alert, he would have attacked the Daud-potras before Edwardes could effect junction with them. But Ram Rang was neither prudent not perhaps very zealous in his master's cause. He wasted a whole day... so that on the morning of the 18th June, Edwardes was able to join his allies, and to engage in and win the famous battle of Kineyri. Courtlandt's charge by the raw Pathan levies, created confusion in Mulraj's army. This was the first decisive action and it cost Mulraj his province between the Indus and the Chenab.

The victorious army then marched on Multan, and by the end of June, it encamped near Suraj Kund about four miles from the city. Here Edwardes was joined by the Lahore troops, some 4,000 strong, under the command of Shaikh Imamuddin. In spite of the intense heat of July and August, Edwardes did not consider it prudent to give more resting time to his enemy. He engaged wherever he could find them and even gained a couple of important victories ...

Bhai Maharaj Singh (also styled as Guru) had accepted Mulraj's invitation early in May, and was now stirring up rebellion in the country. A large number of Sikh soldiers—especially those who had been discharged from service since 1846—now flocked to his standard and the Bhai with his 5000 troops was on the move towards Multan. The Diwan had also entered into correspondence with Amir Dost Mohammad of Kabul and with some leading Sikh Sardars. Sir Frederick Currie ... ordered General Whish to march to Multan with British troops, 600 strong and a siege train of 30 guns ... The siege operations commenced on the 7th September, but the British artillery failed to make any appreciable impression. The defection of Raja Sher Singh (Attariwala) with his 4,000 cavalry on the night of the 14th September further weakened the position of the besieging army, so that before long General Whish was compelled to raise the siege and wait for the arrival of further adequate

reinforcements... Sher Singh consequently quitted Multan on the 11th October, to join his father, who had advanced from Hazara as far as the Jhelum river. All over the province, the Sikhs were flocking to the standard of the Attariwala chief who had declared a Dharm Yuddh or religious war against the British. Thus in three weeks' time the whole Punjab was ablaze and the local disturbances at Multan rapidly developed into the second Sikh war ... It was on the 26th December that the Bombay division, commanded by Brigadier Dundas arrived with a siege train and the siege was resumed. After a heavy bombardment and severe fighting of nearly a week, the city of Multan was carried by assault on the 2nd January, 1849 ... In this desperate condition Mulraj was left no alternative but to surrender. At nine o'clock on the morning of the 22nd January, 1849, he rode out of the fort and placed himself at the mercy of his conquerors."[1]

The Punjab is annexed

(The following Proclamation was issued on that occasion:)

"For many years in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, peace and friendship prevailed between the British nation and the Sikhs.

When Runjit Singh was dead, and his wisdom no longer guided the councils of the state, the sirdars and the Khalsa army without provocation and without cause, suddenly invaded the British territories. Their army was again and again defeated;...

The Governor-General extended the clemency of his Government to the state of Lahore. He generously spared the kingdom which he had acquired a just right to subvert; and the Maharaja having been placed on the throne, treaties of friendship were formed between the states.

The British have faithfully kept their words, and have scrupulously observed every obligation which the treaties imposed upon them.

But the Sikh people and their chiefs have, on their part, grossly and faithlessly violated the promises by which they were bound.

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1. Kohli, Sita Ram : The Multan Outbreak and the trial of Diwan Mulraj. Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society, vol. I, Part I (April 1932), pp. 32-48.

Of their annual tribute no portion whatever has at any time been paid, and large loans advanced to them by the Government of India have never been repaid.

The control of the British Government, to which they voluntarily submitted themselves, has been resisted by arms.

Peace has been cast aside. British officers have been murdered when acting for the State. Others engaged in the like employment have treacherously been thrown into captivity. Finally, the army of the state and the whole Sikh people, joined by many of the Sirdars in the Punjab who signed the treaties, and led by a member of the regency itself, have risen in arms against us, and have waged a fierce and bloody war for the proclaimed purpose of destroying the British and their power.

The Government of India formerly declared that it desired no further conquest; and it proved by its acts, the sincerity of its professions.

The Government of India has no desire for conquest now; but it is bound in its duty to provide fully for its own security, and to guard the interests of those committed to its charge.

To that end, and as the only sure mode of protecting the State from the perpetual recurrence of unprovoked and wasting wars, the Governor-General is compelled to resolve upon the entire subjection of a people, whom their own Government has long been unable to control—and whom (as events have now shown) no punishment can deter from violence, no acts of friendship can conciliate to peace.

Therefore, the Governor-General of India has declared and hereby proclaims, that the kingdom of the Punjab is at an end, and that all the territories of Maharaja Duleep Singh are now and henceforth a portion of the British Empire in India.

His Highness the Maharaja, shall be treated with consideration and with honour.

The few Chiefs who have not engaged in hostilities against the British, shall retain their property and their rank.

The British Government will leave to all the people... the free exercise of their own religions; but it will not permit any man to

interfere with others in the observance of such forms and customs as their respective religions may either enjoin or permit.

The Jageers and all property of Sirdars or others, who have been in arms against the British, shall be confiscated to the State.

The defences of every fortified place in the Punjab which is not occupied by British troops, shall be totally destroyed; and effectual measures shall be taken to deprive the people of the means of renewing either tumult or war"[1]

Treaty with Duleep Singh

"His Highness the Maharaja Duleep Singh shall resign for himself, his heirs, and his successors, all right, title, and claim to the sovereignty of the Punjab, or to any sovereign power whatever.

All the property of the state, of whatever description and wheresoever found, shall be confiscated to the Honourable East India Company, in part payment of the debt due by the State of Lahore to the British Government, and of the expenses of the war.

The Gem called the Koh-i-Noor, which was taken from Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, shall be surrendered. .. to the Queen of England.

His Highness Duleep Singh shall receive from the Honourable East India Company, for the support of himself, his relatives and the servants of the State, a pension not less than four and not exceeding five lakhs of Compay's Rupees per annum.

His Highness. .. shall retain the title of Maharaja Duleep Singh Bahadoor, and he shall continue to receive, during his life, such portion of the above named pension as may be allotted to himself personally, provided he shall remain obedient to the British Government, and shall reside at such place as the Governor-General of India may select."[2]

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1. Archer, J.H.: Commentaries on the Punjab Campaign, London, 1878, pp. 253-56.
2. Aitchison, C.V., Op. cit., pp. 271-72.

Attitude of the British Officials towards annexation

"When British annexed the Punjab in 1849, Sir John Hobhouse (later Lord Broughton) was the President of the Board of Control and Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister of England ...

Hobhouse first received from Dalhousie the proposal for annexing the Punjab by a private letter dated 15th August, 1848. Dalhousie had written this letter before the Second Sikh War had become a 'national rising'. He argued for it only with reference to the Multan revolt and his chief argument hinged on the failure of the Lahore Durbar to support the British crush this revolt and organise an anti-British conspiracy. He had learnt from the Resident at Lahore about this conspiracy in the first week of August. A dangerous move, it aimed not only at freeing the land of the five Rivers of the British influence but to turn them out from the whole of Northern India. This was inspired by Rani Jindan, encouraged by Maharaja Gulab Singh, known to the King of Kabul, and organized by the Lahore Durbar and the Chiefs of the Punjab.[1] The nature of this conspiracy, Dalhousie felt, had proved that the old policy of propping up a friendly and strong "Sikh State" to act as a convenient buffer between the Afghans and the British dominion in India had failed and annexation became necessary. ..

He discouraged any hope of trying the old policy by changing the composition of the Darbar. He, therefore, concluded:

> "We shall not succeed in establishing a friendly Sikh State" and to continue "to go on with the same policy is only to make great pecuniary sacrifice and needlessly to subject ourselves to great labour and anxiety for an object we shall fail in obtaining".[2]

Dalhousie did not feel sure of the economic cost of annexing the Punjab but regarded it of minor importance. ..

Hobhouse received this letter on 3rd October, 1848. He, of course, hardly needed any arguments from the Governor-General for annexing the Punjab. If he could have his way, he would have authoriz-

1. Currie to Secretary 31 July, 1848, Parl. Paper, vol. XLI, 1848, p. 261.
2. Dalhousie to Hobhouse, 15th August, 1848 (Broughton Papers, B.M. Addl. Mss. 36476, f. 214)

ed Dalhousie by the return post to annex the Punjab immediately. That he was an annexationist would be clear from his earlier attitude to Hardinge's Punjab arrangements. In November, 1846, when Hardinge had detailed the plan which was later to become the basis of the Treaty of Bhairowal, Hobhouse had written back:

> "My opinion is that you will finally be compelled to annex..."[1]

But desiring the annexation at the stage, he had the support only of Lord Palmerstone who assured Hobhouse :

> "Annexation and extension in India may be troublesome, and the first establishment of the British administration in incorporated and annexed districts may be difficult, but it is the business of Government to face trouble and conquer difficulties."[2]

Other members of the Cabinet had prevented any positive direction being sent to annex the Punjab. The result was that Hardinge's Treaty of Bhairowal was readily approved.

. . . No sooner he received Dalhousie's letter of 15th August, Hobhouse wrote back:

> "I may tell you that the tendency of my own views is towards that which you appear inclined to do. I have long held the opinion that the continuance of an independent power in the Punjab was incompatible with the present advanced position of the British."[3]

That he wanted annexation would also be clear from the fact of his immediately forwarding Dalhousie's letter to John Russell, the Prime Minister himself. The forwarding note made the significant observation :

> "The course proposed by Lord Dalhousie seems to me, and has long appeared, to be the only one which ought to be followed. I never entered into that part of Lord Hardinge's policy which was founded on the expectation that a strong and

1. Hobhouse to Hardinge, 7th November, 1846 (Broughton papers, Home Misc. (IOL) 853, p. 64).
2. Palmerston to Hobhouse, November, 1946, (Broughton papers, *ibid*, p. 121).
3. Hobhouse to Dalhousie, 6th October, 1848 (Broughton Papers, Home Misc. (IOL), 859, 56).

> friendly Sikh government could ever be replaced in the Punjab. I always felt sure that on the first favourable occasion, an attempt would be made to shake off the British yoke, and that we should be obliged to become in name what we are now in fact—Masters of the Province."[1]

...The Prime Minister was, however, more cautious. Perhaps he was afraid of provoking a controversy and so he wrote to Hobhouse arguing against annexation...

Russell advised Hobhouse to ask "for the official report" from Lord Dalhousie and requested him not to "take any step of importance without authority". Meanwhile, Hobhouse was to consult those who either had a say in the matter of annexing the Punjab, or were otherwise regarded as authorities on Indian and Punjab affairs.

The result of these consultations gave a big jolt to Hobhouse's desire to see the Punjab annexed. Almost all those whose opinion, he sought, advised against that annexation. Sir Henry Lawrence who was the "Resident at Lahore" before he had came on leave to England was averse to it... A former Governor-General of India, Auckland ... wrote to Hobhouse advising against annexation... among the reasons that he gave ... was that the act would be unjust to the young Maharaja. Moreover the public opinion of England would be against it. The necessity for the contingent that the British had undertaken to keep at Lahore would continue. It would also violate the British obligations under the Treaty of Bhairowal....

At the stage, when Hobhouse was getting all the advice against annexing the Kingdom of Dalip Singh, he heard from Dalhousie that the government of India had already decided for that annexation. On 11th September, Dalhousie had taken his Council into confidence by circulating a Minute among the members. Thoughc cautiously worded, the Minute made no secret of the fact that Dalhousie wanted the Council to decide for annexing the Punjab. He wrote :

> "I sincerely desire ... to avoid the necessity for totally subjecting the Punjab to the British Rule. I think it ought to be avoided as long as any chance can be supposed to exist of a strong Hindoo Government being formed."

1. Hobhouse to Russell, 7th October, 1848 *Later correspondence of Lord John Russell*, 277.

. . .Though put in a cautious tone, Dalhousie, was quite clear about it when he observed :

> "I do not hesitate to express a clear opinion that the experience of the last two years, and more especially of the last four months has almost conclusively proved that such a Government is not to be looked for. Under the circumstances, I conceive that regard for the security of our frontier, for the tranquility of our Province, for the maintenance of the reputation of our own name and of the conviction of our own power, will not permit us to pass over such national outrages as are now being committed against us in the Punjab and that we shall in the end be compelled to submit this government . . . and to take possession of the country in order to ensure the peace and security of our own."[1]

. . .The Council met nineteen days later. By this time, Chutter Singh had rebelled at Attock and Sher Singh, raised the banner of revolt at Multan. In Dalhousie's eyes, these incidents gave added emphasis to the proposal for annexing the Punjab . . . He, therefore, wrote a new Minute for the consideration of the Council. This Minute did not show the cautiousness of the earlier one of 11th September and suggested annexation categorically. . .

With both the members of the Council showing their concurrence with the Governor-General, Dalhousie wrote to the President of the Board of Control that :

> "The Government of India after anxious and grave deliberation have without hesitation resolved, that the Punjab can no longer be allowed to exist as a Power and must be destroyed."[2]

The details of these proceedings which reached Hobhouse sometimes in the first week of November, must have been upsetting to him. They ran completely counter to the thinking on the subject in England. As if to drive home that fact to Dalhousie, Hobhouse now openly argued against the annexation.

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1. Minute by the Right Hon'able the Governor-General of India, dated 11th September, 1848; ISC 7th October, 1848, 517.
2. Dalhousie to Hobhouse, 7th, October, 1848. Broughton Papers B.M. Addl. Mss. 36476. p. 262.

Hobhouse began by informing Dalhousie that " Your Minue of September thirty and all the correspondence have been most attentively considered, and I have consulted the Chairs, and Lord John Russell, Lord Auckland and others" and passed on to say that the home authorities were opposed to annexation. Perhaps to underline his personal opposition to annexation, he expressed doubt on the existence of the conspiracy on which Dalhousie's arguments for annexing the Punjab hinged a great deal . . .

The directions of the home authorities could not have been more explicit. It is surprising then to find Dalhousie annexing the Punjab on 29th March, 1848, and almost with a note of defiance write to Hobhouse :

> ". . .If Her Majesty's Government and the Court think my act wrong and mischievious, there is no physical impossibility in the reversal of it. If you think that I have done what is unjust to the state of Lahore, or injurious to the crown of Britains disallow my act, reverse my policy. .. I shall submit quitely to the consequences now: well satisfied that the disgrace will be but temporary that time and Events will right me—and that a very few years only will pass before the course of affairs in the Punjab will prove the correctness of my views and will compel you to the adoption of the policy which I have set up."[1]

1. Bal, Sarjit Singh: Sir John Hobhouse and the Annexation of the Punjab. Punjab History Conference, First Session, (1965) Patiala, pp. 123-33.

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CHAPTER VII

Company Rule (1849-57)*

The British Policy immediately after the annexation

"On March 29, 1849, the last of the Sikh darbars held at Lahore. Maharaja Dalip Singh and the Council of the Regency signed their submission to the East India Company.[1] Soon after, it was proclaimed to be a portion of the British Empire in India.[2] The machinery of Government was set in motion by the appointment of a Board of Administration.[3] It consisted of three members. The first member, or rather the president was the soldier-statesman, Henry Lawrence. He was well-known for his benevolence towards the Sikhs. He had lately directed the affairs of the Lahore State in the name of the Maharaja and had most intimate knowledge of the Sikh character.[4] The second member was John Lawrence, the younger brother of Henry Lawrence. He was an officer of the Company's civil service and had distinguished himself in matters of revenue settlement in the North-west provinces (now U.P.) and the Jullundur Doab in the Punjab.[5] The third member was Charles Mansel, a covenated civilian, who had a high reputation as one of the ablest financiers in India.[6]

The functions of the Board were divided into political, revenue and judicial, and each member had charge of one of the departments,

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*This Chapter consists of extracts from :

Yadav Kipral Chandra : "British Policy towards Sikhs 1849-57" Proc. Punjab History Conference, Patiala, 1966

Hasrat, Bikram Jit : An Epilogue to the Punjab Campaign, 1849, Proc. Punjab History Conference Patiala, 1966.

Punjab Administration Report, 1911-12

Khilnani, N.M. The Punjab under the Lawrences, Simla, 1951.

1. Foreign Secret Consultation, No. 21, April 28, 1849. The following members of the Regency accepted and signed the submission on the part of the minor Maharaja Dalip Singh : Raja Tej Singh, Raja Dina Nath, Bhai Nidhan Singh, Faqir Nuruddin, Sardar Ganda Singh, Agent of Sardar Sher Singh, and Sardar Lal Singh, agent of Sardar Attar Singh.
2. Baird, Private Letters of Lord Dalhousie, p. 61.
3. Foreign Secret Consultation No. 73, April 28, 1849.
4. Calcutta Review, 1854, Vol. XXII, 13-14; Temple, Lord Lawrence, pp. 47-49.
5. Arnold, the Marquis of Dalhousie's Administration of British India, p. 1230.
6. Latif, History of the Punjab, p. 574.

though all were jointly responsible if any question of more than ordinary importance arose.[1]

The whole of the province was divided into seven divisions usually called commissionerships.[2] These divisions were further divided into 27 districts according to convenience. The officers by whom the administration of these units was conducted were commissioners, deputy commissioners, assistant commissioners and extra-assistant commissioners. while the first three grades consisted of covenanted or commissioned European officers, to the fourth belonged both Europeans and Indians...[3]

The Board of Administration at the very outset took in hand the work of suppression and coercion...with help of the army of occupation comprising 60,000 soldiers and a police force of 15,000 men.[4] They assumed an attitude of enmity towards the Sikhs and tried their level best to demoralise them completely...

"...The eleven-year[5] old Maharaja Dalip Singh was...made to resign 'for himself, his heirs and his successors, all rights, title and claim to the sovereignty of the Punjab or to any sovereign power whatever,[6] in return of a pension' not less than four and not exceeding five lakhs of rupees per annum...[7]"

Disbanding of the Sikh Soldiery

"...Immediately after annexation, a general muster of all the Sikh soldiery was called at Lahore where nearly 50,000 persons were paid and disbanded.[8] Scarcely a tenth of the entire army were taken into

1. Foreign Secret Consultation, No. 73, April 28, 1849.
2. Governor-General's letter to the Court of Directors, Foreign Political, No. 56, August, 22, 1851.
3. For details see Foreign Secret Consultation, No. 73, April 28, 1849; Calcutta Review, 1853, Vol. XXI, pp. 230-1.
4. Government Records, VIII-II, p. 328. Punjab Administration Report, 1851-53, 41-2.
5. There are different views about the date of Dalip Singh's birth. Ganda Singh, The First Sikh War 1845-46, p.43, gives October 6,7, 1838, Smyth, A History of the reigning family of Lahore, 96, gives February, 1837, Griffin, The Rajas of the Punjab, p. 7, also gives February, 1837 on the testimony of Smyth, Dr. H.R. Gupta after a careful examination of all these dates in his book, Punjab on the Eve of First Sikh War, XXIX gives September 4, 1837 as correct date.
6. Foreign Secret Consultation, No. 21, April 28, 1849.
7. *Ibid*, Article Fifth said, "He shall continue to receive during his life, such portion of the above-named pension as may be allotted to him personally, provided he shall remain obedient to the British Government.
8. Lee Warner, Dalhousie's administration, I, p. 262; Calcutta Review, 1856, vol. XXVII, 107.

British pay.[1] It was not that the highly soldierly qualities of the Sikhs were not known to the British, but they considered the enlistment of such men in the ranks of their army dangerous...

Disarming of the Civil population

... . All classes of people, other than Europeans and government servants were prohibited to keep or carry arms of any kind . .. Contravention of these rules was punishable by heavy fines and imprisonment ..."[2]

"The total expenses of the Punjab Campaign having amounted to £1,500,000, crown property of Maharaja Dalip Singh estimated at 15,000,000 rupees was declared to be confiscated to the East India Company to realise the above sum. In addition, the Maharaja was made to surrender as a token of submission, to the Queen of England the famous Koh-i-Noor diamond... Soon after annexation... Dalip Singh was removed to Fatehgarh; Dr. John Login was put in charge of him and another Englishman Walter Guise was appointed his tutor. .. In November 1850, he suddenly announced his intention of embracing Christianity and it appears that his European entourage had been quite anxious to impress favourably on his mind the ways of Christian faith...

Lord Dalhousie wrote to the Maharaja at Fatehgarh: "I rejoice to learn that Your Highness remains firm in your desire to be instructed in the doctrine of the Bible, and that you have resolved to embrace a faith whose teaching will increase your happiness in life, and will ensure it in another to come...

After two years' prohibition, on March 8, 1853, the young Maharaja was quietly, at a private ceremony, baptised at Fatehgarh. . ."[3]

All the state property, the immense collection of valuable articles and jewels, so zealously collected by Maharaja Ranjit Singh was confiscated. . . Out of this valuable collection, many things of historical importance were sent to the Museum of the East India Company; while other articles such as the weapons of Guru Gobind Singh were purchased by Dalhousie himself. The rest of the state property was put to public sale.

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1. Calcutta Review, 1856, vol. XXVII, p. 107.
2. Yadav, Kirpal Chandra : op. cit. pp. 163—182.
3. Hasrat, Bikram Jit : op. cit. pp. 149—162

After the suppression of the Maharaja and his mother, the ruination of the entire aristocracy was taken in hand. Dalhousie was quite determined that 'the chiefs and fief holders of the Punjab should be effectively deprived of the power of doing mischief. . ."

John Lawrence fully agreed with the Governor-General. In his dealings with the aristocracy John Lawrence first of all took up cases of those chiefs who had fought against the British in the two Sikh Wars. He confiscated outright the estates of some 25 chiefs, the revenue yield of which had amounted to Rs. 11,31,865, per annum and gave an annual pension of Rs. 42,670.00 in return. Besides, they were deprived of their ranks."[1] Many of them were put under surveillance in their own houses, while others were exiled from Punjab and kept as closely guarded prisoners at such places as Calcutta and Allahabad. . .[2]

The turn of the neutral jagirdars and holders of free land tenures came next. The Governor-General sent specific instructions to give them new grants on the condition of production of valid documents justifying their claim of ownership... The Board acted quite promptly. Holdings were sealed, records were inspected, oral evidence was taken, the limits of holdings were surveyed and the application of the proceeds was tested.[3] Pension cases were also investigated in the same manner. A special officer under the Board was appointed to investigate army, civil and political pensions.[4] In all some 10,000 cases of rent-free tenures and as many more of pensions came before the Board for decision. . .[5]

Henry Lawrence, as head of the administration, wanted to recognize in the jagirdars, the aristocracy of the land. John Lawrence in his capacity as local Chancellor of the Exchequer and in pursuance of the imperialistic policy of Dalhousie, thought that the Jagirdars deserved little but maintenance; that none should intervene between the people and their alien rulers. By tightening the grip on the land tax, and preventing any but a small part of it going to the coffers of the aristocracy, he clearly stood for their destruction.[6] Apparently, all the cases of

1. Foreign Secret Consultations, Nos. 68—71, May 26, 1849.
2. *Ibid*, Nos. 41-42, October 25, 1850.
3. *Ibid*, p. 272.
4. Foreign Consultations, Nos. 140—144, December 29, 1852. Innes, Sir Henry Lawrence, The Pacificator, p. 144.
5. Innes, p. 144.
6. Romesh Dutt, Economic History of India, p. 86.

difference were referred to Dalhousie who invariably agreed with John's opinion...[1]

Land Settlement

Next, the government turned its attention towards agriculturists. Regular settlements of their lands for periods of 15 to 30 years were taken in hand. Very complicated as this work was, it required many years for its completion. During the intervening period settlements made by the Resident (1846—48) in the Punjab proper were temporarily upheld; and in the rest of the State, summary settlements were made for five years.[2] Both these settlements. .. were unavoidably made of great expedition and generally by officers who possessed but little previous knowledge of the subject.[3] These officers made rapid tours through their respective districts and fixed the assessment on the basis of the average revenue of the previous 3 to 5 years on the testimony of the headmen and accountants of the village[4].... These settlements continued in force in most parts of the state till 1855, when they were replaced by regular settlement[5]...

....The new settlements ... lowered the rates of assessment and... made them lighter than those in existence during the Sikh rule; the reduction being from 5 to 50 per cent for different regions and 25 per cent for the whole of the State.[6] But the peasants did not feel so, because the British system pressed more heavily upon them than the older system...

John Lawrence himself admitted that as soon as the British settlements came in vogue, the people made loud and general complaints against them.[7] That assessments were really very heavy is also revealed by the fact that these settlements were changed time and again in every district before...1857...

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1. *Ibid.*
2. Douie, The Punjab Settlement Manual, p.24; Baden-Powell, The Land system of British India II, p. 543; Foreign Consultations, Nos. 140—44, December 29, 1852.
3. Foreign Consultations, Nos. 140—44, December, 29, 1852, Douie p. 22.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Regular settlements were carried out piecemeal, Kangra was settled in 1850, for 30 years; some parts of Ambala were settled in 1852 and the others in 1855. Settlement of the rest of the districts of Cis and Trans-Sutlej divisions was made in 1855, see Baden-Powell, II, p.543 and Settlement Reports of different districts.
6. Selections from the Records of te Government of India, No. XVII, pp. 27-8.
7. *Ibid*, No. XVIII, p. 25.

"Secondly, the agriculturists suffered a loss of indirect income with the advent of the British. ...The sharp decline in the prices of the agricultural commodities that came with the advent of the British rule hit the peasant's economy hard. This unprecedented fall in prices was due to the combination of two factors, namely growth in total produce and decline in demand following the loss of employment by a large number of people. . .

Besides over-assessment, the new legislation of the British Government, according to which land began to hold value as a security against loans, etc., added to the miseries of the agrculturists.[1] The village money-lender, the Bania, who was more intelligent than the farmers, exploited the situation . . . This resulted in the gradual transfer of soil from its natural lords the cultivators, to the astute bankers with the help of the British courts[2] and the mortgages such as were almost unheard of . . . appeared in every village.[3]"[4]

Other measures undertaken by the Board of Administration

". . .A Punjab Code, embodying much of the customary civil law of the province, was prepared. In criminal law, the code adopted during the period of the Residency was maintained....One of the principal duties of the new Government was to develop the resources of the country, to make canals, and, chief of all, to create roads . . . The principal and earliest work of this kind that was undertaken was the construction of the Grand Trunk Road to connect Peshawar with Lahore. The Bari Doab Canal was commenced, and many other works of public utility were either projected or undertaken. A strong body of military police under European military officers, comprising six regiments of foot and twenty-six troops of horse, in all 8100 strong, was raised in aid of the civil police....which was of the strength of 6,900 men of all grades. The Military Police furnished guards and patrolled the country, and acted in the prevention of crime and apprehension of offenders ... A special

1. Cunningham, History of the Sikhs, p. 322, Archer, the Sikhs, p. 290; Thorburn, The Mussalmans and the Money-lenders in Punjab, pp. 1, 40—51.
2. Thorburn, p. 51.
3. Thorburn; Darling: The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt, p. 170.
4. Yadav, Kirpal Chandra: op.cit.

force, the Punjab Frontier Force, under the direct orders of the Board, was raised for service, normally on the frontier, and only in special cases elsewhere. . .

. . . The Punjab became gradually covered with the institutions of modern civilization; roads were made in every direction; canals were projected or constructed; schools, dispensaries and jails were erected in every district; a uniform code of civil and criminal law and procedure was adopted; the currency was reformed; taxation on trade was removed; and a system of regular settlements was commenced, which was designed ultimately to embrace the whole province, and in the course of which the status of all classes connected with land, the shares of the produce one class could demand from the other, and the portion which was due to Government, were accurately defined and recorded.

Abolition of Board of Administration

In 1853 the Board of Administration was abolished and in its place Sir John Lawrence was appointed the first Chief Commissioner, as the head of the local executive administration, with control over the Punjab Frontier Force. Subordinate to him were appointed a Judicial and Financial Commissioner, who were the chief authorities in the Judicial and Revenue Departments, respectively. The Judicial Commissioner was also head of the police; he supervised educational operations and superintended the control of Local and Municipal Funds. Among other measures, the following are principally noticeable, as having been carried out during 1853. The addition of another battalion to the military police, raising it to a strength of 7 battalions of infantry and 27 troops of horse, the virtual extermination of thaggi, and the employment as organized bodies of labourers, of the Mazbi Sikhs, among whom this crime was prevalent; the introduction or rather re-imposition of octroi duties in all towns and large villages in lieu of a house-tax with the full preference of the inhabitance; a determined effort to put down female infanticide which found expression at a great assembly of all the leading Chiefs and native gentlemen of the province at Amritsar, when rules with a view to diminishing marriage expenses were accepted by those present and promulgated for general observance; and, lastly, the introduction of tea cultivation in the Kangra district, and extensive operations in arboriculture, nearly a million trees being planted in two districts alone. Including all the necessarily large expenditure consequent upon the

annexation of a province in the condition in which the Punjab was found to be when taken over, the financial results of the administration showed a surplus in 1851-52, of seventy-three lakhs of rupees, and in 1852-53, of thirty-five and three quarters lakhs.

The next three years from 1853 to the close of 1856 constitute a period of consolidation, during which the measures originated in the earlier years were completed or perfected. No effects in the internal history of the province call for special notice, except that the construction of a railway from Multan to Amritsar was under consideration, when the outbreak of the war of 1857 put aside, for a time, that and many other schemes."[1]

John Lawrence as Chief Commissioner of the Punjab

"The dissolution of the Board opened a new chapter in the eventful history of the Punjab. The period of transition from the Sikh to British rule was over. The brave and spirited people had been reconciled to the new order of things. The disbanded soldiers quietly cast their "swords into plough-shares."[2] The foundations of a solid administrative structure had been laid. The grand projects calculated to ameliorate the condition of the masses had been launched. It now remained to build upon that ground work to organise, to develop and to consolidate. The roots of the British power had been dug fairly deep in the soil . . .John Lawrence, therefore, had no complicated questions of policy to grapple with and no new problems or thorny issues to tackle. No organic change was necessary anywhere and no new policies had to be initiated. The period under review therefore is essentially one of peaceful progress. No stirring events took place except at the end, when the Great Revolt of 1857, shook the very foundations of British Indian authority....

John Lawrence inherited all the powers and functions hitherto vested in the Board.[3] His control over all departments and subordinate services was absolute and all-pervading. It included the defence and management of the whole trans-Indus frontier (the District of Peshawar excepted). He was to be assisted by two Commissioners, who were to be assigned the Financial and Judicial branches of work respectively . . .

1. Punjab Administration Report, 1911-12, pp. 18—20.
2. G.B. Malleson: Recollections of an Indian Official, p. 44.
3. Political Consultation, February 4, 1853; No. 129, Foreign Department I.R.O.

The new administration was not shackled with Regulations a'la Cornwallis. The Judicial system as initiated by the Board was maintained. Further, no elaborte rules were prescribed for the guidance of the Chief Commissioner. The Punjab was to be governed by a strong hand, unfettered by the tedious regulations. Responsibility was undivided...

The province was divided into seven divisions.* Each division in turn was subdivided into small districts, so that intimate contact between the people and the Deputy Commissioners was practicable.[1] The district officers were instructed to move among the people and cultivate personal contacts with all classes.... John Lawrence abhorred the idea of British officers living on Olympian heights, cut off from the main currents of popular feeling. The Deputy Commissioners and their assistants, so Kay tells us, "were judges, revenue collectors, thief catchers, diplomatists, conservancy officers, and some times sergeants and chaplains, all in one"[2]....It will not be incorrect to say that these officers were dictators in miniature. But their dictatorial sway had two redeeming features-confidence and paternalism. "They had," wrote Aitchison "a respect for native ways and institutions and did not consider a thing bad because it was not English. They put themselves in the people's place and made the interests and the care of the people their own, striving to identify them with the Government, and create as it were a family feeling."[3] This intimate relationship yielded rich dividends during the fateful year of 1857....

The North-Western Frontier of India with its rugged regions and fierce and freedom-loving people claimed the constant attention of John. The problem was no new one. It was the same old question of curbing the trans-frontier tribes in their predatory habits. The Guide Corps and the Punjab Frontier Force could not permanently stop the tribal raids. For centuries the Pathan and Baluch tribes had grown accustomed to take toll from the trade routs and to make frequent inroads into the plains. Lord Dalhousie had no wish to extend the boundaries

*(i) Cis-Sutlej State's Division, (ii) Trans-Sutlej State's Division, (iii) Lahore, (iv) Jhelum, (v) Multan, (vi) Leia, (vii) Peshawar. The second Punjab Administration Report, p. 4.

1. Aitchison, Lord Lawrence, pp. 60-61.
2. John Kay, Sepoy War i, p. 55.
3. Aitchison, op. cit., p. 69.

of the Punjab, beyond the line of the Sikh conquest and invite a perpetual headache. So he maintained the status quo and respected the independence of the trans-frontier tracts[1]....

To deal effectively with the tribes two different lines of policy were suggested at that time. The one recommended that the tribal belt should be annexed to the Punjab....The other school advocated non-intervention in tribal affairs but suggested strong measures on the Indus frontier... John Lawrence and Herbert Edwards belonged to this school of thought. As John's Government had no intention of permanently occupying the Pathan territory, military actions necessarily took the form of a punitive expedition followed by a withdrawal. The object was to convince the tribes by some direct action that the armed incursions into the plains and attacks on Government personnel harmed their own cause....

Some twelve expeditions were conducted from 1849 to 1856.[2] The display of force had the desired effect. "The tribes after chastisement" wrote Sir Richard Temple "usually professed and evinced repentance. They entered into engagements, and for the first time began to keep their faith".....This policy of coercing the tribes into submission was for the time being successful. Throughout the crisis of 1857, the tribes remained inactive and passive spectators of the eventful drama. Some even came down from their mountain strongholds and helped the British in chastising the rebel sepoys....

John Lawrence did not wholly rely on force to preserve the border peace. He maintained the conciliatory method of the Board. Their allowances, subsidies and grants of land, all were confirmed[3].... Thus, by a judicious mixture of force and forbearance and by friendly approaches of various kinds the Pathans were pacified in a way as to be rendered harmless in 1857...

Side by side these measures of security from across the border, John was working out schemes of popular contentment that enabled the British to weather the Mutiny. Three-fourths of the population of the Punjab were engaged in agriculture. The change from grain payment to money payment had continued to cause widespread distress to the cultivators

1. Temple, Lord Lawrence, p. 81.
2. The Third Punjab Administration Report (1854—56), p. 117.
3. The Second Punjab Administration Report, p. 12.

who were unable to pay even the reduced land-tax. The continuance of low prices, added to their misery. To meet the situation without changing money economy, remissions of land-tax were granted. To safeguard the interests of the peasant proprietors, their holdings were registered and their rights recorded.[1] The defects, such as waste of manure, the exhaustion of the soil caused by faulty rotation of crops, the injudicious methods of planting seeds were all impressed upon the peasants[2]. . . .

The Agri-Horticultural Society made experiments with New Orleans cotton, Otaheite sugarcane, flax, tobacco, marigold and turnips, in various districts so that these crops might be substituted and the supply of wheat reduced. To encourage the peasants to take to the new crops, the Government offered handsome rewards to those who took to the cultivation of flax. As a result of all these efforts, the agriculturists were everywhere showing signs of settling down to prosperous industry by the end of 1853.

A scheme was prepared to cover the entire province with a network of railways. It was proposed in the first place to link Multan with the seaboard of Karachi and then to connect it with Amritsar. The existing trade route was very hard to traverse. The goods to Bombay were exported through a very circuitous route, passing from Central India and the arid deserts of Rajputana. . .Besides the development of agriculture and industry, there were other considerations which made John Lawrence anxious to develop the rapid means of communication. His imperial vision saw how rail-roads would enable the Administration to mobilise all its resources, material as well as military in time of trouble. Likewise, the navigation of the river Indus, too, attracted John's attention. The construction of boats was improved and the steamers of the Indus Flotilla began to run from Karachi to Multan. During the critical year of 1857, when the Punjab was cut off from U.P., the steam vessels of the Indus Flotilla performed very useful service. . . .The introduction of electric telegraph in 1856, also proved a blessing for the Administration.

The ambitious programme of the Board in roads building was pushed further. Up to May, 1854 some 2,251 miles of roads were constructed,

1. The Second Punjab Administration Report, p. 138.
2. *Ibid*, p. 192.

bringing the total to 3,600.[1] The Grand Trunk Road was brought near completion. The military works at Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Multan, Sialkot, Mianmir and Kohat were completed.[2] The Baree Doab Canal, fittingly described as one of the finest irrigation works of that time, was completed. The rural society which constituted the back-bone of the province were thus reconciled to foreign domination, mainly owing to the benefecient activities of the early pioneers of British rule. It has been estimated that from 1849 to 1856, a little over three crores of rupees were spent on public works. Considering the resources of the times in which the Lawrence brothers worked, the sum of Rs. 2,10,43,600 spent on public works in seven years, is by no means an insignificant figure. Certain improvements were effected in the police organisation....A river police was organised to check the marauders traversing rivers on inflated skins. This branch proved very useful during 1857 in arresting the progress of the sepoys on their way to Delhi. An appreciable decrease in organised crime resulted.

But there was, however, one form of crime which the ingenuity of the police had hitherto failed to uproot. That was infanticide. In 1851 the Deputy Commissioner, Gurdaspur, drew the attention of Government to the notorious fact that the Bedees, or the followers of Guru Nanak, killed their female off-spring and were known as "Kureemars" (girl killers). The returns of the various districts showed that not only the Bedees but the Hindus and Muslims also were not free from this nefarious practice.[3] It was revealed that, of a hundred families, hardly one girl was allowed to survive....John combined firmness with tact in this matter. His previous experience in the Jullundur Doab had taught him the futility of coercive methods like confiscation[4] of land, etc. He, therefore, hastened to create a certain predisposition, whether from fear or favour, among those accustomed to this practice. In 1853, he called a meeting of the representatives of all classes at Amritsar, where the evil practice was frankly but amicably discussed and the Conference was convinced of the heinous nature of the crime. The success of this Conference was felt in every district in the Punjab.[5] The local officers

1. *Ibid*, p. 167.
2. The Third Punjab Administration Report, p. 62.
3. Arnold: Dalhousie's Administration of British India, i., p. 267.
4. R.R. Sethi: John Lawrence as Commissioner of the Jullundur Doab, p. 29.
5. Arnold: op.cit., pp. 279-280.

took great interest in the matter and pursuaded people to carry out the resolutions of the Conference. Maharaja Gulab Singh, at the request of the Punjab Government forbade the practice in his territory and promulgated sumptuary laws.[1] By 1856, the crime practically ceased to exist....

To open the gates of western learning and science to the people in 1856 it was proposed to found some thirty schools at the District Headquarters, about hundred schools in the interior and one Central College at Lahore.[2] Education was, however, not a new thing....The existence of such an education, almost unknown in other parts of India," reported the Board of Administration even in 1851, "is an encouraging circumstance."[3] The conditions in which this education was imparted in the villages and towns were of course most primitive[4].... But higher education did not exist at all....

The beginning which the Chief Commissioner made in the direction of imparting education was by way of making the schools popular and fixing vernacular as the medium of instruction. The introduction of English in the early stages would have rendered the whole scheme unpopular and defeated its own purpose at the very outset. Besides, the Government schools situated in the District-Headquarters and in the interior, the Lawrence Administration took active measures to encourage both the urban and rural people to set up schools in their own areas to be aided and supervised by Government.[5]

Justice too was further improved by bringing it near to the peasant's door by means of the Small Causes Courts, started all over the province... The procedure laid down was as quick and simple as in the central Court. The average duration of a suit in 1854 was twenty-eight days and in 1855 even this was reduced to twenty-three days.[6] No fees were charged by the Courts for professional advice given to the people. The employment of pleaders was very rare and every effort was made by the Administration to discourage it. The people flocked to officers who presided over them.[7] The efficiency, impartiality and promptness dis-

1. The Second Punjab Administration Report, pp. 55-56.
2. The Third Punjab Administration Report, p. 43.
3. The First Punjab Administration Report, p. 143.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid*, p. 44.
6. The Third Punjab Administration Report, p. 7.
7. The Fourth Punjab Administration Report (1856-58), Part I, Section I, Para 3.

played by the Courts did much to help the administration to gain popular goodwill....

Thus John Lawrence during the four years preceding the Mutiny, concentrated his energies on building a stable fabric on the foundations laid by the Board of Administration.

His promptitude of action, unruffled temperament in the moments of difficulty and vigour and singleness of purpose stood John in very good stead. These qualities enabled him to complete the work initiated by the Board in a short period of four years. To secure the contentment of the people was the principal feature of his domestic policy. His agricultural measures, his reforms and innovations all had their basis in one thought that was how best to improve the condition of the masses. It is said of him that his administration of the Punjab before the outbreak of the Great Rebellion "constituted one of his title to posthumous fame."[1] There is considerable truth in this remark. Even if the 'Mutiny' had not occurred, he would have occupied a prominent place among the administrators of the 19th century. His grasp, both of principles and details in fiscal, revenue, police and judicial matters, was at once comprehensive and minute....Happily, John had the enthusiasm and energy of youth and the experience and far-sightedness of age."[2]

1. Richard Temple: Men and Events of My Times in India, p. 85.

2. Khilnani, Dr. N.M., op. cit., pp. 126—135.

CHAPTER VIII

The Punjab and the Outbreak of 1857*

(The following is a brief account of the events relating to the war of independence 1857 in various divisions of the Punjab.)

The Cis-Sutlej Division

"...Towards the close of March last . . . the station of Umballa contained the following troops:—

Her Majesty's 9th Lancers.

4th Regiment, Bengal Cavalry.

5th Bengal Native Infantry.

60th Bengal Native Infantry.

2 troops, Horse Artillery (Europeans).

At Umballa the incendiary fires began early in March, and continued, at intervals, until the outbreak. The sepoys were all along suspected, and even among themselves the 5th Native Infantry accused the 60th Regiment, and the 60th Regiment to 5th while both accused the soldiers of the Musketry Depot. An offer of 1,000 rupees reward. . . failed to discover the perpetrators. The houses and property of the officers and men attached to the depot, or assigned to them for shelter, were especially marked out for destruction; and the Government also was a heavy loser. Affairs remained in this unsettled state until Sunday, the 10th of May . . . the day on which the Native troops at Meerut broke out into mutiny ... On that day, the two sepoys' regiments at Umballa, probably by concert with their comrades at Meerut, rushed out of their lines, broke open the bells of arms, and began to form and lead under the direction of their Native Officers. General Barnard...

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* Material for this Chapter has been taken from :

Mutiny Reports, Punjab Government Records, vol. VIII, Parts I& II, Lahore, 1911.
Suri, V.S.: "The Punjab and re-capture of Delhi 1857" Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society, vol. VI , December 1940, pp. 98—105.

rode down, attended by his staff, and succeeded in pacifying the sepoys. The men returned to their lines, and restored their arms to the places where they were usually kept. Next day General Barnard issued an address to the native regiments, assuring them...that their misconduct on the 10th would be overlooked...

...The sepoy guards at Phillour and Ferozepoor were speedily set aside by European troops, and the inestimable advantage of two well-stocked arsenals was secured for our side. Their preservation...is attributable to the telegraph...

At this time I was at Kussowlee....I reached Umballa on the night of the 13th. Mr. Forsyth had written to summon the Maharaja of Putteeala and the Rajahs of Nabha and Jheend.... As my first thoughts were for the protection of my own division, I made the following arrangements.

The first object was to provide for the safety of the Grand Trunk Road, and the two stations of Thanesar and Loodiana, which were without reliable troops. I accordingly directed the Rajah of Jheend to proceed to Kurnaul with all his available forces. Captain McAndrew... Assistant Commissioner at Umballa, was deputed to accompany him, and started at once with some Putteeala sowars. The Maharajah of Putteala...sent a detachment of all arms, and three guns, under his brother, to Thanesar...The Rajah of Nabha and the Nawab of Maleir Kotla were requested to march with their men to Loodiana, and the Rajah of Fureedkote was desired to place himself under...the Deputy Commissioner, Ferozepoor. Thus all points of the main line of road were secured; and the Rajah of Jheend was also instructed to collect supplies and carriage for the field force, to protect the station of Kurnaul and to get trustworthy intelligence of the mutineers at Delhi...At the same time a telegraph station was established at Kurnaul.

My next thought was for the treasure; at Umballa there were 3½ lakhs...at Thanesar about a lakh...At Loodiana the treasure (about 1½ lakhs) was guarded by a company of the 3rd Native Infantry from Phillour. At Ferozepoor there was a considerable sum in the hands of a detachment of the 57th Native Infantry, and the Simla treasure was

guarded by a party of Goorkhas of the Nusseeree Battalion. The Umballa treasure was escorted by the sepoys themselves, and lodged safely in the quarter-guard of the 1st Bengal Fussiliers...Captain McNeile, at Thanesar, adopted the same means for sending in his treasure to Umballa ; Mr. Ricketts sent his money to Phillour, and the Deputy Commissioner at Ferozepoor removed his treasure to the fort, and placed it under charge of a guard from Her Majesty's 61st Regiment. Thus all the public money in the treasuries in the plains was at once placed in security...The branch treasury at Kussowlee was not so fortunate. The money belonging to government, about 30,000 rupees, was saved by the Assistant Commisioner...But the deposits lodged...by the Commissariat officer and Executive Engineer were carried off by the Goorkhas; and though 12,963 rupees were eventually recovered.... the balance of 20,080 rupees, was lost...

The station of Umballa was left with four weak companies (about 250 men) of the 2nd Bengal Fussiliers, the 5th Regiment, Native Infantry, and some 6-pounder guns, to man which we had only Native Artillerymen. A redoubt was erected, with the church in the centre, and the remaining residents were concentrated in the houses around. A militia was formed of uncovenanted officers; and the magazine, the treasure, and the commissariat stores were all lodged in the redoubt, which was garrisoned by a company of the Fussiliers...Throughout the campaigns, the most important military stores were constantly sent down under the charge of contingents furnished by the Chiefs of the Cis-Sutlej states; their troops protected our stations, and patrolled the Grand Trunk Road from Ferozepoor and Phillour down to the very walls of Delhi. The safety of th:s province may be attributed to their loyalty and good example. The Rajah of Jheend....acted as the vanguard of the army, and by my directions kept always in advance. When the first detachment of Europeans reached Kurnaul this little band proceeded 22 miles further to Paneeput, quieting the country, securing the road, and collecting supplies; and in this manner they advanced boldly to within 20 miles of Delhi. A detachment of the Jheend troops seized the bridge at Bhagput, and thus enabled the Meerut force to join headquarters. A party of the Jheend sowars...rode into Meerut, and opened our communication with that station. The troops of the Maharajah of Putteeala guarded Thanesar and Umballa; and the safety of Loodiana was entrusted to the Rajah of Nabha and the Kotla Nawab...

...It became the duty of myself and the district officers to take every precaution to preserve the territory from the surrounding contagion. The first measure was to close the ferries on the Jumna...The police, strengthened by the Jagheerdar contingents, were put on the alert, the roads were well patrolled and explicit instructions given " to attack and destroy any plundering band seen in the actual commission of crime..."Every available officer was sent into the interior to preserve the peace and furnished with an escort of horse and foot to repress disorder wherever it might show itself. Captain McNeile took the field in person at Thanesar. Mr. Levien, the Assistant Commissioner, was sent to the banks of the Jumna; and Lieutenant Parsons, the other Assistant Commissioner, was despatched to Kythal...Mr. Plowden, of the Civil Service at Umballa, was deputed...to Jagadree, an important town on the Jumna, on the high road to Saharanpoor; here also we had a bridge of boats...The districts of Loodiana and Ferozepoor were less disturbed, and there was full work for the Civil authorities in supplying carriage for the guns and ammunition issuing daily out of the arsenals, in providing escorts, and in facilitating the passage of the heavy Siege Train across the sands and branches of the Sutlej...

The 'Rangurhs' of Paneeput and Hissar were in successful rebellion, and taunted their brethren in the Cis-Sutlej territory with their want of courage ... Men's minds were further unsettled by the passing of mutineers of the 45th and 57th Native Infantry from the cantonment of Ferozepoor, and by alarming stories ... of the desperate position of the British in India. Towards the end of May and beginning of June, daring outrages were of daily occurrence. The Grand Trunk Road for some days was not safe ... Frequent fights occurred, and the police were afraid even to report the state of affairs. The country was getting rapidly disorganized. This was not the time for hesitation: every highway robber that was seized was immediately hanged, and at my request the districts of Thanesar and Umballa, from the 5th June, were placed under summary law ... The two companies sent to Roopur, so far from maintaining order, were the first to excite sedition... They were, of course, recalled, but on their way back the worst of them absconded. However, five were singled out and . . . were tried by myself and Mr. Forsyth on the 5th June, and hanged the same day.

... The people of these States sympathized with the mutineers, who were regarded as martyrs for their caste; they would plunder any stragglers; but they would not seize and hand them up to justice ...

... Mr. Plowden found the eastern portion of the Umballa district comparatively quiet; but Saharanpoor was in great disorder. He immediately crossed, and employed the detachments under Captain Wyld and Garstin in punishing robbers and in restoring confidence. I left him at liberty to do as he liked ... Several Goojur villages were destroyed, and bands of armed plunderers were dispersed. The temper of the sepoys, however, was uncertain, and there was no real dependence to be placed on them; at one time they refused to march; on another occasion some mutinied and went off to Delhi. At last, on the 12th July, ... the sepoys, 80 in number, mutinied in a body ...

... On the morning of the 8th June I was informed ... that the Jullundur Brigade had mutinied, and were in full march to the Sutlej ... The bridge of boats was broken up, and the ghauts closed to the right and left of Phillour. But at the Lussara Ferry ... their advanced guard ... managed to seize a boat that was on the Jullundur side, and, crossing over it took possession of the others also, they were joined by the 3rd Regiment, Native Infantry, at Phillour, and now consisted of a strong column, nearly three regiments of Infantry and one of Cavalry, but without guns. Mr. Ricketts, the Deputy Commissioner of Loodiana, with two guns of the Nabha Rajah, and a detachment of the 4th Sikh Infantry under Lieutenant Williams, then encamped at Loodiana, opposed the crossing with the utmost gallantry, but they were unsupported ... Next day, at 12 o'clock, the mutineers marched into Loodiana, broke open the gaol, and ... plundered the Mission premises and the property of supposed British partisans ... They marched liesurely away, and got clear off to Delhi ... They were befriended by the people, who gave them supplies and guided them by secluded paths across the country. Mr. Forsyth started to intercept them with a party of the police battalion, but was not successful.

This incident did not improve our position in the Cis-Sutlej States. However, the increase of lawlessness was met with increased severity and zeal on the part of the district officers. The people of

Thanesar withheld their revenue, but Captain McNeile declared that such recusancy was an act of rebellion, and that wilful defaulters would be punished as traitors; the threat was enough to bring them to reason ... Serious outrages began to occur at Mookutsur in the Ferozepoor district, but the march of General Van Cortlandt's force quieted the country, and the opportunity was taken at the same time to execute one or two of the worst offenders ...

About this time also a petty insurrection arose at Jeytokee in the Nabha territory. It was speedily put down by Major Marsden, Deputy Comissioner of Ferozepoor ... The police at Assund, on the border, were attacked and driven in by some insurgents. Assund is well-known for the bold and lawless of its population. Captain McNeile marched there in force, and the people deserted; but the gateways of the village were found barricaded, and entrenchments had been commenced round the village site. To strike an example, the houses were destroyed and such property as remained was given up to plunder ...

At the suggestion of the Chief Commissioner we commenced on the 17th June to disarm the people. The bazaars in cantonments had been previously disarmed, and even the police, who, were mostly Hindustanees, were allowed no other weapons than sticks. Mr. Ricketts took the opportunity of the presence of Major Coke's regiment to disarm the town of Loodiana. The search was effectually made, and upwards of 10 cart-loads of arms of all sorts were seized and confiscated. The several officers out of camp were busily engaged in the same duty. A proclamation was issued declaring the carrying of arms to be a misdemeanor ...

... A proclamation was issued in the vernacular, pointing out the causes which had led to the temporary want of money and calling upon all who had the means, to come forward and show their loyalty to the British Government ... by contributions to the loan, which was declared to be open for one year only, at 6 per cent per annum ... The wealthy bankers were given distinctly to understand that their demeanor in this matter would be taken as the test of their attachment to the British rule, and those who held back would lose the confidence and good-will of the local authorities. The measure proved successful. The collections realised were as follows :

Where realized		*Amount*	*Remarks*
		Rs.	
From Puteeala		5,00,000	*N*.B.—More would have been furnished, but it was not required.
,, Nabha		2,50,000	
,, other chiefs		85,000	Kulsea and Fureed-Khote.
By Deputy Commissioner	Umballa	2,53,591	
,, ,, ,,	Thanesar	2,35,000	
,, ,, ,,	Loodiana	2,32,400	
,, ,, ,,	Ferozepoor	1,70,300	
,, ,, ,,	Simla	91,300	Partly from Hill Chiefs.
	Total	18,17,591	

. . . There is not much more to be said. The crisis with us was from the 11th May till the end of July. After that the people gradually returned to their allegiance, and the peace was not again disturbed. Re-inforcements passed down, and helped to tranquilize the country. . . In the beginning of September desertions became frequent among the disarmed sepoys of the 5th and the depot of the 60th Native Infantry, left at Umballa. They were ordered into the Umballa gaol; on being paraded for the purpose, a voice from the ranks called out, "fly" and they instantly broke and fled. The Europeans fired and pursued them. In ten minutes 135 were killed, 33 were made prisoners, and the rest, about 40 men, made good their escape."[1]

The Trans-Sutlej Division

". . . The force in the Jullundur Doab and in the Kangra Hills consisted of twelve guns, or two troops of Horse Artillery, . . . the one European, the other native, of five regiments of Native Infantry, one regiment of European Infantry, two regiments of Cavalry and a Police Battalion. After deducting men absent on furlough, it may be stated

1. From George Carnac Barnes, Commissioner and Superintendent to Robert Montgomery, Judicial Commissioner at Umballa, 5th February, 1858. Mutiny Reports, vol. VIII, Part I, pp. 1—20.

in round numbers that there were six thousand natives to nine hundred Europeans, Her Majesty's 8th and the Artillery troop not having their full complement.

. . . Early in June an attempt was made in Kooloo to excite the population to rise in rebellion against us. This movement was organized by one Purtab Singh, who pretended to be the rightful Rajah or Chief of the principality of Kooloo. He gave out that all Europeans in the Punjab and in Hindoostan had been massacred. . . it was promptly repressed and detected by the vigilance of Major Hay and the native officials of Kooloo...

A telegraph message communicated by . . . Superintendent at Jallundur (Mr. Rees) informed Brigadier Hartley of what had occurred at Delhi. He convened a council of Commanding officers and Heads of departments at which it was determined to place Europeans in the Fort of Phillour. Twelve hours after the resolution... the measure had been carried out. At the same time a Telegraph Office was opened in the Fort of Phillour . . .

Captain Farrington also wisely took upon himself the responsibility of applying for aid to Raja Rundheer Singh Ahluwalia, the Raja of Kapoorthala. This Chief came at the head of his troops, bringing with him his brother Kowur Bikrama Singh and his principal advisers. To the decided part thus taken by the Rajah at the commencement of the outbreak, I attribute in a great measure the safety of the civil station of Jallundur ... and the security we enjoyed in the Jalundhur Doab throughout the crisis . . .

From the first, measures were taken by Captain Farrington at Jalundhur, by Colonel Abbott at Hoshiarpur, and by Major Taylor at Kangra, to put public buildings in a state of defence. Precautions were also taken for the safe custody of treasure . . .

On the 3rd of May, the Mess House of the 33rd Native Infantry at Hoshiarpur was burnt to the ground. There is every reason to suppose that this was the act of incendiaries . . .

On the 11th of May came intelligence of the Delhee catastrophe; this was followed almost immediately by the open mutiny of the Ferozepoor Brigade, the Simla panic, and a partial insurrection at Nalaghur. . .

Fires were more or less frequent; a seditious notice was placarded at the Pay Office threatening certain Native Officers who had been commended by the General Commanding for their loyalty; . . . with all this there was a marked readiness to take offence, and demands were made quite incompatible with a proper state of discipline . . .

When however, I had opportunities for testing the temper of the troops, and found that their acts betokened open defiance of constituted authority, my views changed, and I strongly recommended that one if not both regiments, should be disarmed . . .

That on the night of the mutiny no attempt was made to release the convicts from the Jail, to rob the Treasury or to plunder property, private and public, must be attributed to the presence of the Ahluwalia Rajah and his troops, who supplied all the principal guards in the civil lines. On the morning, following the mutiny, the Rajah and his brother went through the city of Jallundur reassuring the towns' people, who were disposed to close their shops and desert the place. He also detached a body of his Cavalry in pursuit of the mutineers. . . .

It was at this time that the wisdom of the policy which had organised a Movable Column became apparent. It moved in the direction of Jallundur, where its arrival was preceded by the gallant officer in command, Brigadier-General Chamberlain, who had many arrangements to make consequent upon the withdrawal of all reliable troops from the Jalundhur Doab .. .

A proposition was made by Brigadier-General Chamberlain to disarm the 33rd and 35th Regiments of Native Infantry. A few days afterwards, this was most skilfully managed by Brigadier-GeneralNicholson, upon whom the command of the Movable column devolved when General Chamberlain proceeded to Delhee as Adjutant-General of the army . . .

First and foremost among them, has been Rajah Rundheer Singh Ahluwalia, whose active and zealous co-operation exercised the best influence upon all classes of the population. . .

The good services of Vazeer Goshaon, the Regent of Mundee, next call for prominent notice. At my request he supplied 125 match lock-men to the local authorities of Hoshiarpoor and sent some 50 men with myself to Jallundur. Vazeer Goshaon, in compliance with the expressed

wishes of the Chief Commissioner, had made arrangements for furnishing me with a large number of men, if any call had arisen for their services...

... The Rajah of Chumba afforded protection to ladies and children at the hill sanitatorium of Dalhousie. He also captured thirty of the Sealkote mutineers and made them over to the local authorities of Kangra.

Hameedoolla Khan, ex-Rajah of Rajouree, resident in the Kangra district, where he draws his pension, afforded Major Taylor valuable aid in raising levies, and his brother Nowab Khan, who fought for us at Mooltan, joined Major Taylor at Noorpoor with a band of retainers...

Rajah Ram Singh of Seeba and Rajah Jodhbeer Chand of Nadoun came in person at the commencement of this outbreak to meet me and tender offers of assistance.

Konwur Sochait Singh, a younger son of the late Rajah of Kapoorthulla, repaired on the first intelligence of this outbreak to the headquarters of the Hoshiarpoor district, and taking a house adjacent to that of the Deputy Commissioner, showed himself on all occasions ready and anxious to support our cause ...

Goroo Sadho Singh of Kurtarpoor was prevented by sickness from attending in person at Jallundur, but his followers did good service."[1]

Lahore Division

"There were in the division :

		Europeans	Natives
Artillery	..	716	434
2 British Regiments of Foot	..	1,706	—
3 Regiments, Native Cavalry	..	29	1,164
6 Regiments, Native Infantry .	..	78	5,587
School of Musketry	..	27	165
Grand total	..	2,556	7,350

1. From Major Edward Lake, Commissioner and Superintendent to Robert Montgomery, Jallundur, 5th January, 1858, Mutiny Reports, op. *cit.*, pp. 145-162.

From the very composition of this force, containing as it did—9 regiments of Hindoostanees and upwards of 400 Hindoostanee Golundaze and Gun Lascars, it could not but happen that there should be great sympathy with everything that took place, even at the most remote stations, connected with the feelings and prejudices of the Bengal Army.

The native soldiers, however, above enumerated, by no means represent the number of Hindoostanees in this part of the country. . .

There were thousands of Hindoostanee syces, grass-cutters and Artillery drivers, and thousands of Hindoostanee camp-followers and bazar people at all the large military stations, while there were hundreds of Hindoostanee domestic servants at every place.

Lastly, the Hindoostanee element prevailed in all the more responsible and lucrative appointments in all departments and offices.

Of 6 native extra Assistants attached to this Division, 5 were from Hindoostan.

Of 19 Tehseeldars and 47 Cotwals and Thanedars about one-half of the former and one-third of the latter were Hindoostanees. The proportion among the Tehseel and Thanah Mohurirs was about the same, or from a half to a third.

As to the Serishtedars, Nazirs and Mohurirs at all the Sudder offices, the greater number were from the old North-Western Provinces, and there were not a few Poorbeahs among the orderly jemadars, chaprassies and muzkoorees and also among the same grades in the Tehseels and Thanahs.

. . . Recently, conquered Punjab was held in subjection by a large proportion of Hindoostanee troops, while the revenues were collected and the laws were administered in a great measure through the medium of Hindoostanee officials . . .

Some time in April a seditious paper was found . . . on the parade ground of the School of Musketry at Sealkote.

Incendiary fires occurred at Umballa, and I have since ascertained that a very suspicious fire took place towards the end of April in one of the public offices at Umritsur, but it was extinguished before much harm was done . . .

. . . Deeming it my duty to ascertain the state of feeling of the troops at Meean Meer, about whom there had been many rumours, I went the same day to cantonments accompanied by Mr. Egerton, the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, and heard from Captain Piercy, the Cantonment Joint Magistrate, that the native troops were disaffected, and that they held nocturnal meetings . . .

At daybreak on Wednesday, the 13th of May . . . two-and-a-half regiments of Native Infantry and a regiment of Light Cavalry (were) disarmed by Brigadier Corbett with two troops of Horse Artillery and six weak companies of Her Majesty's 81st Foot . . .

. . . Colonel Smith . . . had with equal tact and success disarmed the wing of the 26th Native Infantry, which with a few Europeans, had heretofore formed the garrison of our stronghold. Some of the men of Soobhan Khan's Police Battalion were thrown into the fort to assist the Europeans in sentry duty, and the Treasury, which had up to this time been guarded by a detachment from one of the disarmed regiments, was also made over to the Police Battalion . . .

. . . Captain Cripps, the Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Goojranwalla, the same day, got rid of his treasury guard, consisting of a Native Officer and 40 men of the 46th Native Infantry from Sealkote, whose places were supplied by part of the Jail guard, which was formed of men of the Police Battalion. . .

Mr. Naesmyth, the Deputy Commissioner of Goordaspoor, on the 19th May sent the greater part of his treasure, about seven lacs of rupees, into Amritsar under an escort of the 2nd Irregular Cavalry . . .

At Sealkote Brigadier Brind by a judicious disposition of the Artillery and Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment commanded the lines of both the Native Infantry Regiments, but they as well as the Cavalry were allowed to retain their arms and to perform duty as before. . .

During the forenoon of May 14 . . . Brigadier Corbett wrote . . . that the disarmed regiments had resolved to break away in a body, in the evening, for Ferozepore; (and) that he had determined to follow them with his guns . . .

The animosity between the Sikhs and the Poorbeahs is notorious, and the former gave out that they would not allow the latter to pass through their country. It was therefore determined to take advantage of this ill-feeling and to stimulate it by the offer of rewards for every Hindoostanee sepoy who should be captured.

The moment it became known that the sepoys contemplated a general move, expresses were sent off to the Deputy Commissioner at Kussoor, to rouse the people and to intercept the deserters. Mr. Cooper relates how Dewan Nurain Singh, the Agent of Sirdar Kanh Singh of Attaree, responded to Mr. MacNaughten's call on that side, while the capture of many sepoys who stealthily deserted from Meean Meer during the night of the 14th shows that the people in the direction of Puttee and Kussoor were equally true to their instinct. . .

There were many suspicious persons going about in the guise of Hindoo and Mohamedan fuqueers. These were arrested and either required to give security or were thrown into prison or deported.

The ferries were guarded with the double object of preventing emissaries from entering the Punjab, as also deserters from here from swelling the numbers of the disaffected at and about Delhi and Meerut . . .

On the 8th June intelligence was received of the mutiny at Jullundur, and on the following day two sepoys of the 35th Native Infantry were blown from guns on the Anarkullee parade ground by order of General Chamberlain for using mutinous language. The effect was most salutary on the 35th and other native troops of the column, on the disarmed regiments at Meean Meer, on Hindoostanees generally and on the people at large, for there were many mischievous rumours and reports and much seditious talking at this time. . .

On the 7th July, the 14th Native Infantry at Jheelum refused to give up their arms and made a violent and determined resistance. On the receipt of the intelligence at Amritsar, General Nicholson, who had returned to that place with the Movable Column, disarmed the 59th Native Infantry.

Within 48 hours of the outbreak at Jheelum, the wing of the 9th Cavalry and the 46th Native Infantry at Sealkote mutinied.

The movement commenced about daybreak of the 9th July by the Cavalry galloping, armed and equipped, to the lines of the 46th Native Infantry, to the jail and to the lines of the Mounted Police. The European officers who proceeded to the lines of their respective regiments on hearing the commotion were either warned off or fired at . . .

Brigadier Brind was hotly pursued by several troopers and received a wound, of which he died a few hours afterwards in the fort.

Dr. Graham, the Superintending Surgeon, was shot dead by a trooper while driving his daughter in a buggy.

Dr. J.C. Graham, the Medical Store-Keeper, was similarly murdered while trying to escape with his wife, another lady and some children in his carriage.

Captain Bishop, the Major of Brigade, who fled from his carriage, which contained his family, apparently in order to draw off the troopers from it, was followed and had his brains deliberately blown out. . .

During the morning, the prisoners in the jail, to the number of upwards of three hundred, were liberated and many of the jail buildings were destroyed. The treasury, in which a small amount of cash (Rs. 11,341) was kept for current expenses, was plundered thereof and of stamps to the value of about a lac of rupees, but many of the latter were recovered ...

By 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the mutineers had ransacked many of the houses in cantonments, had collected all the public and private

carriage and every horse in the place, and accompanied by a great number of private servants, by not a few of the police and other public servants, and by almost the whole of the residents of the sudder bazar, marched for Goordaspoor. . . .

During the day of the 10th, it was ascertained that the mutineers had marched in the direction of Goordaspoor. That evening, General Nicholson set out with a portion of the Movable Column for Goordaspoor. He left three guns and about two companies of the 52nd at Amritsar to overawe the 35th and 59th Regiments, Native Infantry, and the wing of the 9th cavalry. His force consisted of 128 European and 61 Native Artillerymen, 658 of Her Majesty's 52nd Light Infantry, about 2 companies of a frontier Police Battalion (Shere Dil) and some newly raised Sikh horsemen. . .

The rebels were known to be approaching the Ravee, but all the boats had been scuttled two days previously when the news of the mutiny at Jheelum was received, and it was supposed that the river was nowhere fordable for many miles . . .

The necessary means having been obtained, on Thursday, the 16th July, General Nicholson attacked and carried the position on the island, captured the gun, slew many of the mutineers and drove the rest into the water, in which numbers were drowned while others got on to sand-banks and small islands in the middle of the river, whence escape was difficult, as the country-people were up on both sides . . .

A hundred and forty-one mutineers were handed over by the Kardar of Jasrota in the Jummoo territory, whither all who escaped fled, to Lieutenant McMahon, who remained encamped with a party of levies for some weeks on the frontier . . .

Hundreds of those who cast in their lot with the mutineers and accompanied them from Sealkote were arrested, soundly flogged and sent back to Sealkote in case any specific charge of plunder, desertion of service or otherwise might be brought against them . . .

On the 30th July, the 26th Regiment Native Infantry, supposed to be the quietest and best disposed of the Hindoostanee Regiments at

Meean Meer, rose . . . and went off in a body about 11 A.M. during a dust-storm . . .

A cordon of Police chowkees was now placed at round the cantonment of Meean Meer, and on the 4th August, the remaining disarmed regiments were removed from their lines and put into tents within range of guns which were drawn up in front of the barracks of H. M's 81st Regiment. This has been the position of the 16th and 49th Regiments, Native Infantry, and 8th Cavalry eversince. The removal of these regiments from their lines was a delicate operation, carried out with complete success by General Gowan and Brigadier Corbett. The whole of the lines of the 16th Grenadiers were thrown down and levelled.

The 35th and 59th Regiments of Native Infantry remained and still remain at or in the neighbourhood of Amritsar, watched by horsemen and the Police, while a small body of troops is at hand to act against them if necessary. . .

In the meantime the Khurruls and other wild and turbulent tribes in the Googaira district rose in insurrection, disarmed the police and cut off the communication with Mooltan . . .

Owing to the nature and extent of the country and the paucity of troops, the disturbance was not very easily put down. The main body of the rebels was collected on the Ravee below Googaira, and it was chiefly the country between that place and Mooltan that was disturbed. . . During this interval the chiefs of the Wuttoos, Korashees and other tribes in that neighbourhood also came in and the people settled down in their villages. The main body of the rebels, moreover, who had taken up a position in a dense grass jungle called the "Jullee" on an island in the middle of the river, were driven out from thence by the troops on the left bank of the river and fled in the direction of Pak Pattan and towards the Sutlej."[1]

"Translation of a Proclamation addressed to the Native Soldiers of the regiments of Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery, &c., cantoned at

1. From A.A. Roberts, Commissioner and Superintendent to Robert Montgomery, Lahore, 20th March, 1858. Mutiny Reports, op. cit., pp. 227—249.

Lahore, (*vide* paragraph 60 of letter No. 106, dated 20th March, 1858, from Commissioner, Lahore—22 *supra*).

"From your Brother Soldiers, Hindoo and Mahomedan, who have assembled at Delhi.

To our Brothers, Hindoo and Mussalman, who are employed at Lahore and other places in the Punjab.

It is a matter of much regret that although we have for the sake of our religion revolted from the English, and considering you our associates have collected treasure from every place and made arrangements for fighting, and moreover had killed all the European soldiers, the enemies of our faith, and through the assistance of God, been victorious, why then are you, who are our relatives and connections and brothers in arms, sitting idle there? Such conduct is unbecoming. In whatever way you can, destroy the enemies of your religion and come to Delhi. All the revolted troops from Calcutta to Peshawar are collecting in Delhi. It is proper to fight in defence of our faith; thousands of Hindoos and Mussalmans have joined us for the purposes. Don't remain there on any account, and if European soldiers, should oppose you on your way, kill them by all means.

Don't think of your pay and service; . . . there are appointments of Rs. 12 per month here and food and drink, in abundance. Those who are slain in this contest if Mahomedans will become a martyr, and if Hindoos, will become 'Hykont Bashees'.

Do not entertain any fears, but come at once. All the sepahees have in consultation issued a proclamation throughout Hindoostan. All the country, Hindoo and Mussulman, &c., is with us. A copy of the proclamation is forwarded to you with this. Hear its contents and become acquainted with the particulars. You should have 10, 20, 50, or more copies of it written in a legible hand and suspended in evry place where there may be a cantonment. . . . ."[1]

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1. *Ibid*, pp. 258-259.

Translation of an inflammatory placard discovered on a Garden Gate at Sealkote—(*Vide* paragraph 104 of letter No. 106, dated 20th March, 1858, from the Commissioner, Lahore—22 *supra*).

(Firmaun by the Commander-in-Chief, Maharaja Shere Singh, Chief of Hindoostan and Punjab).

"On this date, the 1st Jeth, Sumbut 1914, this Firmaun is issued to the Hindoos and Mussulmans of the Punjab, for this reason that the Europeans are scamps (budmashes) and never publish news concerning the war; therefore, this firmaun is issued. In the first place god (Sut Gooroo) so ordered it that we have been involved in misfortune for the last ten years. There was no hope of liberation, but in the 'Durgah' of 'Sut Gooroo' there is no want of power. God so willed it that the senses of these worldly-wise vegabonds disappeared in the draught. They attempted to subvert our religions, so that all else may be ruined and they alone may be raised. But Fate Confounds wisdom. When the Padree Sahib arrived at Delhi, he ordered the troops to bite the cartridges. All night the troops continued silent. When morning dawned and the cock crew, the din of human voices rose. Jurakun Singh, Soobahdar Buhadoor, having made ready his troops, had all the vegabonds massacred and placed the King on the throne. Firmauns were addressed to the entire Hindoostan army, who massacred those in their respective cantonments. The fact of the Padree was well sweetened! At the present time Jurakun Singh is marching about in the direction of Calcutta, placing his own men in every thanah and tehseel. The Raja of Burhma is at Calcutta itself with an army of one lac and forty thousand men. Not a single soul of the vagabonds is allowed to enter. Hazrut Mirza Baee is now at Delhi with several thousand soldiers. Be assured ! God will not permit them to escape alive from this country. In the same manner as they caused dogs to be killed, will they themselves be killed. They have already retreated 40 miles from Delhi towards Lahore. If God assisted us we shall soon make over their wives to our sweepers. Any Hindoo or Mussalman who may kill a Feringhee will be well rewarded and taken care of. For the rest all is well."[1]

1. *Ibid*, pp. 259-60.

"Translation of an inflammatory placard discovered on a Garden Gate at Sealkote—(*Vide* paragraph 104 of letter No. 106, dated 20th March, 1858, from the Commissioner of Lahore—22 *supra*).

[This firmaun is issued to the English vagabonds (Budmashes].

"Be it known to you that when I march towards Lahore you will find it difficult to escape, because the army of the Punjab will join me *en masse*. Rest assured, the Punjab will never be yours, and I know that your bones will be broken to pieces in this province, and you will fall into difficulties. If you consult your own good you will be off to Europe at once. You may thus be saved, but you are helpless. God has confounded you; nothing good can enter your minds."[1]

Jhelum Division

"Rapid changes were made in the location of the Native troops... for... separation of regiments that were at the time brigaded together... ... The places to which these troops were removed are situated out of this Division. The Kumaon Battalion, a loyal regiment, was sent away on service.

The effect of these measures was to diminish the force at Jhelum to one Native Infantry Regiment, the 14th, and also to reduce largely, the Hindoostanee troops in the Rawul Pindee district.

On the 16th of May, I wrote to Captain McKenzie directing him to apply to the Commanding Officer of the 35th Native Infantry for the recall of the half company to headquarters, and also to forward his treasure into Sealkote at once ... On the 17th, similar instructions respecting the detachments of the 46th at Shahpoor were sent to ... Mr. Ouseley ...

Hardly were these slight precautions adopted when the news of our danger began to be known among the people. The effect struck me as very peculiar. Great interest was exhibited, but there seemed less of the shock of surprise than I had expected to see...

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1. *Ibid*, pp. 260-61.

A time of peril to the government of the day was to them so common that they conveyed to each other the whole case by use of a single word. There was a 'Roulah' or it was a time of 'shorish' . . . The large majority was satisfied with our rule, and, unless convinced that it was really about to close and that they must prepare to avoid offence to our probable successors, they would not voluntarily take an active part against us. . .

About the end of May, Dewan Jowalla Suhai was on his way from Cashmeer to visit the Chief Commissioner at Rawul Pindee. The Dhoond clan around Murree seized an idea that their mountains had been transferred to the charge of Maharajah Goolab Singh. They exhibited considerable excitement on this subject, and are reported to have watched their ferries to prevent the passage of the Dewan. He certainly went round instead of traversing those mountains. . .

The men of the Shahpoor Bar jungle about this time gave some indications of uneasiness. They are habitual cattle stealers . . . A desire to release their friends was thought by Mr. Ouseley to be their actuating motive, but . . . there was also in some places a degree of dissatisfaction regarding certain waste tracts. We applied a remedy as respects the latter annoyance, and a judicious arrest was successful in checking the symptoms of disaffection . . .

About the 4th of June, Major Browne reported that certain villages below Pind Dadan Khan and situated on the right bank of the Jhelum between Uhmedabad and Khutta were talking of withholding the revenue . . . The Tehseeldar was immediately strengthened, his horsemen being raised to about 30, and the revenue of the leading village was realised . . . Mr. Ouseley established a new police post in the neighbourhood, and . . . the attempt was defeated at once. It happened too most opportunely that Captain Wilde's corps of Punjab Infantry having started from the Derajat for Lahore and having, on reaching Shahpoor, been countermanded to Peshawar, traversed this unfrequented tract just at that moment. . . .

As almost a general rule, men who had been against us in the war of 1848-49, and who had lost wealth and rank in consequence, behaved especially loyally on this occasion. The Chowdrees of Dhunee . . . voluntarily undertook the duty of escorting treasure from Chakkowal to Rawul Pindee . . .

About the 7th of August Lieutenant Battye informed me that 8 or 10 days previously, some villages. . .had. . .been forming a treasonable confederacy or 'dua khyr' ; that the originators were Jafoo of the first-named village and Roosmut of Rewat; and that the real motive of these two men was annoyance of their not having been included in the list of influential individuals who were retained in attendance at Murree. He had judged it best to disconcert the scheme by summoning Jafoo and Roosmut and giving them the position they aspired to. . .

. . .The men of Bhagun and Mukole, which are Kurral villages, had formed a compact ('dua khyr') with Nuggree some 10 days previously, to make an attack on Murree. . .

. . .On the 2nd September, arrived a message. . .from Lieutenant Battye. . .he had been told by Hakim Khan. . .that the villagers intended to come and plunder the place that night, or the one after. . .About 2 A.M., he heard firing in the direction of Captain Robinson's house. . . the assailants then ran away. . .Lieutenant Battye added that he could form no correct idea of the extent of the mischief, but he was inclined to think that it was quite suddenly got up and was joined in by a very few villages. His suspicions were diercted against Mullote, Sindhyan, Rewat, Hookra, Kher and a few others. He did not think that it would spread. He had summoned the religious superiors of the Dhoonds, the Peers of Pulassee in Huzarah, and he had sent for men of the Suttee tribe to aid him. . .

On the morning of the 2nd September, a party of the insurgents were seen collected at Kooldunna, a low mountain connecting Murree with Hazara. The number is stated by Lieutenant Battye to have been about 100. These men maintained their position during the day. . .

Having on that day no clear idea of the plans formed by the rebels, Lieutenant Battye did not think it prudant to quit the sanitorium to attack either of these parties. But that afternoon the Peers of Pulassee arrived. . .

The following morning, Lieutenant Battye sent the Peers and their followers in the direction of Topa to disperse the insurgents who were still assembled there and then to proceed to Mullote and burn it. . . The Peers did disperse the insurgents and also burnt a few of the houses in Mullote.

On the same morning, Lieutenant Battye and Captain Berry proceeded to Kooldunna. . .and attacked the rebels who fled after firing a volley which wounded one volunteer. Our party then went to Kunnetak . . .and destroyed it. . .

On the 9th, Major Becher heard from his Thanadar at Nara that, although Hussun Ali had ostensibly seceded from the confederacy, Puhlwan Khan of Bhagun, who had received Baz Khan of Mullote and other Kurrals, talked of putting Tayub Khan, a nephew of the Sirdar, at their head and simultaneously attacking the fort of Nara and the station of Murree. . .

On the 12th, several letters were despatched to me by Major Becher announcing that Sirdar Hussun Ali Khan had come in and professed to believe that none of our fugitives were harboured in his country. . . One of the letters spoke in general terms, of treasonable confederacies being formed, while another instanced Pukli, the northern part of Hazara, as the place where danger was brewing.

On the same date, the Thanadar of Bukkote, a thanah of Huzarah. . . came to me to report an extensive confederacy which. . .was being formed against us. . .

On the 13th, Major Becher informed me that Puhlwan Khan and other headmen of Kurral villages had come in to him, and he begged we would say no more of attacking the Kurrals lest we should terrify them into committing themselves. We were also requested not to send any men into the Kurral country to arrest our fugitives, but were to content ourselves with despatching two persons to the Thanadar of Nara, that these might be sent with Puhlwan Khan and an agent of Sirdar Hussun Ali's and in their company search for our refugees among the Kurrals."[1]

Multan Division

"Many instances of growing disaffection could be adduced, but one or two willfully exemplify:—

1st—A sepoy rushed into the Assistant Commissioner's Kutchery two hours before the arrival of the post conveying the Calcutta

1. From Edward Thornton, Commissioner and Superintendent to R. Montgomery, Camp Goojrat, 23rd February 1858, Mutiny Report, Vol. VIII Part I, pp. 313—55.

Gazette announcing the disbanding of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, and asked "what is the news". Receiving in reply that the post had not arrived he left with an incredulous smile, implying knowledge of more than inclined to disclose.

2nd—The sepoys daily surrounded the post office asking unusual and inquisitive questions to the bodily fear and alarm of the whole establishment.

3rd—Family remittances invariably made through Government, but lately through native agency, were re-demanded in cash payment.

4th—The price and purchase of gold mohurs increased hourly, warranting the anxiety to rid themselves of cumbersome silver. . .

The Editor of the native newspaper published at Mooltan had also been instructed by the Commissioner to submit his paper for inspection prior to its publication, and to this order, the Editor gave a ready compliance.

The whole of the native correspondence was stopped and examined. Only one or two letters of importance were discovered, one leading to the execution of the author. Most of the ferries were closed, and those which remained open were carefully guarded. All fakeers, foreigners and suspected persons were arrested, and every possible measure taken to prevent news from other parts of the country reaching the Native troops. . .

The disaffection of the 69th Regiment, Native Infantry, now no longer admitting of a doubt . . . About 9 P.M. of the same evening orders were received from the Punjab Government, addressed to the Commissioner and Major Chamberlain, for the immediate disarming of the Native Infantry Regiments. . .The same night, arrangements were made for carrying the order into effect, but no communication was made to the residents of cantonments until next morning. . .

. . . Simultaneously with the disarming of the troops in cantonments a strong guard of the 69th Regiment, Native Infantry, at the local treasury in the Edgah was disarmed. . .

The only inhabitants of rank at Mooltan are the descendants of the Mahomedan saints, who are also the guardians of the district, and a few remains of the old Pathan nobility. The former have much influence with the community, and. . .that at this crisis, they, with one exception, stood faithful to the British Government and in general, were anxious to evince their loyalty by every means in their power. . .

The most conspicuous amongst these was Makhdoom Shah Mahmood Kooreshee, within the enceinte of the fort. The Pathan Chiefs had rendered eminent service during the last Punjab War, and on the present occasion they also shewed their readiness to come forward in aid of the State, but they had little influence in the country.

By order of the Punjab Government, Ghulam Moostapha Khan, Khagwanee, organized a resallah of Irregular Cavalry, with which he afterwards did good service under General Cortlandt. . .

On the evening of the day of the disarming, three or four sepoys of the 69th Regiment, Native Infantry, deserted; one was caught, brought to trial before a Court-martial and condemned to death.[1] Sundry disclosures, however, made by him. . .obtained him a reprieve, but the execution parade was to allow some arrests to be made from among the mutineers.

On this occasion, Nahur Khan, Soobadar-Major of the 69th Regiment, Native Infantry, and some others of that regiment were arrested and at once confined in separate guards.[2] Most of them subsequently were released from the want. . .of evidence against them, but the enquiries instituted in their cases, produced evidence which led to the conviction of the leading mutineers. .

The Chiefs of the Lungreal clan, who held a strong position in the pasture tracts of the Mooltan district, were directed to join Major Voyle, and this duty they willingly performed, rendering good service during the whole of the insurrections.

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1. *Note.*—A man of the 2nd Punjab Infantry was tried at the same time and another of that regiment had been previously condemned to imprisonment by the Commissioner for seditious language.
2. *Note.*—Nahur Khan was sent to the fort. A horse was provided for him from the 1st regiment, Irregular Cavalry, but he had scarcely mounted when it reared and fell on him,—an omen which the natives present were not slow to interpret as a warning of his fate.

The chiefs of the clans of the Mooltan district, on the Ravee, were also called upon for aid, and they at once obeyed the summons. Salabut Singana, a leading man of that tribe, immediately attended at the tehseel of Seraie Sidhoo with 100 followers and he was followed by the Hirraj and other clans. The services of these men were most useful. They. . .protected the tehseel and the pergunna. . .(and) prevented the spread of the insurrection into Shorkot and the country to the west of the Chenab. . .

While these operations were in progress on the Ravee, the detachment under Major Voyle and Captain Tronson had continued to occupy Pakputtun, the smallness of their force preventing their undertaktng any active operations against the insurgents on the Sutlej. . .

On the requisition of the Commissioner, Major Jackson marched towards Jumlera on the 15th October, and, receiving information of a large body of marauders near Jeewan Shah, he detached a party of about 25 Infantry and 50 sowars to attack them. The marauders opposed the detachment, but were defeated with the loss of 70 killed. . .

On the 2nd November, strong bodies of Infantry were sent into the jungles on the Sutlej, supported by the Artillery and Cavalry on the open ground. These services were effectually performed, but the insurgents had taken advantage of the delay which had occurred and dispersed into the Bhawalpoor territory.

After this, no operations of importance occurred. The successful attempts on their stronghold at Jullee and their camp in the Bar and the incursions of the troops into their fastnesses on the Sutlej had shown them the utter hopelessness of their attempts to oppose the Government. On the 7th November, Mahomed Kattya, the Chief of that tribe, surrendered himself to the Commissioner, and his example was ultimately followed by all the leaders of the rebellion who had not been arrested or slain."[1]

Leiah Division

"The feeling of security of Leiah was first in some degree ruffled by the arrival of a part of the 17th Regiment, Irregular Cavalry, under

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1. Major Hamilton, Commissioner and Superintendent to R. Montgomery, Multan, 24th February 1858. Mutiny Report, vol. VIII, Part II, pp. 2—26.

Captain Hockin, and again by rumours of the mutiny of the 9th Irregulars at Meanwallee; but there appears to have been no real cause for alarm — Captain Hockin's men were too few in number to be mischieveous, if even so inclined, and it turned out that only 30 men of the 9th Irregulars had mutinied; 25 of these, however, did come towards Leiah, but were attacked and destroyed by a detachment sent from thence under command of Captain Hockin. . .

The districts of Derah Ismail Khan and Derah Ghazee Khan situated on an ever-troubled border and containing very many Hindoostanees in the nominally Punjab regiments, gave grave cause for anxiety. . .

This feeling was by no means lessened by the unwelcome, but unavoidable, advent of the 39th Regiment, Native Infantry, at Derah Ismail Khan and subsequently of 200 of the 9th Irregular Cavalry to Bunnoo. . .

The feeling of the people, themselves a warlike race, was providentially on the side of Government; and the District Officers were thus able to raise from the Irregular Levies, capable of keeping in check with the aid of the loyal portion of the Punjab regiments."[1]

Peshawar Division

"The strength of the Kohat force upto the middle of May was, as usual, three complete regiments of Punjab Infantry, one regiment of Punjab Cavalry, one 9-pounder battery with a 24-pounder Hawitzer and two mountain guns, also a detachment of Garrison Company of Artillery. . .

After (the orders had been given to stop the use of new cartridges) not a whisper of anything improper amongst the force forming the regular garrison, has ever reached me, though on the 29th May there was an increase of Hindoostanees, being 3 companies, about 230 men, of the 58th Native Infantry, which with 2nd Punjab Irregular Cavalry, mostly Hindoostanees (the Sikhs having gone under Lieutenant Nicholson towards Lahore), about 250 Hindoostanees in 6th Punjab Infantry and 50 in 3rd Punjab Infantry, gave this race a

1. From Major C. Brown, Commissioner and Superintendent to R. Montgomery, Camp Khangurh, 15th February 1858; Mutiny Reports, vol. VIII, Part II, pp. 79-80.

strong body for evil had there been any bad feeling in the country or neighbouring hills.

Early on the morning of the 8th July, orders were received for the disarming of the 58th detachment, and this was done quietly. . .The measure was well timed, as some men of the detachment had once or twice been heard speaking in a manner which evinced bad feeling. . .

The people of the district never evinced the slightest tendency to revolt; and although in Upper Meeranzye, people talked of our rule being ended, no one ever disobeyed an order or delayed a day in paying revenue.

The Toorees (inhabitants of Koorrum and subjects of Cabul) at one time appeared disposed to be troublesome; but they did no harm and soon ceased to require watching. . .

The Afreedees of the Kohat Pass have. . .for some time kept their Pass the safest portion of the road in the whole country; but since the beginning of these disturbances, there has not in the seven months. . .been one single charge of crime for them to answer to, not even a petty thsft. . .

A party in Boree were inclined to give trouble by plundering on the Peshawar side, but they were peaceably brought to reason. . .

Though the conduct of the people has been invariably good—in fact so much so that I could have confidently entrusted the cantonment to their keeping, had occasion required me to call out the few troops,—yet there is no doubt that it is to the Khans and Mullicks that we are mainly indebted for this good feeling. . .Khwajah Mahomed Khan's hearty and energetic goodwill, and his craving for news of our successes, his bounty to any messenger who brought him any, and his gifts when he heard of the fall of Delhi, give unmistakable evidence of his feeling. . .

Next comes Bahadoor Shere Khan, whose services were with you in Peshawar from the day of the disarming, when with a few horsemen he joined you, leaving this at a couple of hours' notice. He too is worthy of notice as having done some good, zealous service.

Gholam Mahomed Khan Shukkurdurra, Jaffir Khan Khuttuck, and Moozuffer Khan, Tehsildar of Hungoo, showed a very proper feeling, and did good service in every way in their power."[1]

Sir John Lawrence's role in the recapture of Delhi

"Delhi was the political pivot of the crisis of 1857. Centrally situated, it had been, through centuries, the imperial capital of Hindustan. During the crisis, the presence there of the last Moghul Emperor had afforded the rebels a rallying-point. A mysterious halo had been woven round the occupation of the city—as a symbol of military and political supremacy—in the minds of many people. So long as it remained in the hands of the mutineers, the last flicker of the phantom Empire would provoke further disturbances in the country. The strategical, fortified position of the city, with its vast commercial wealth, large stores of arms and ammunition in the magazine and the growing swarm of rebels pouring into it, would render its recapture more difficult in proportion to the delay in its assault.

In the words of Sir John Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, 'the prestige of the Empire had come to devolve on Delhi', and a speedy and crushing assault on the seat of rebellion alone 'would determine the issue.' This fundamental fact appears to have dominated his mind from the moment that the news of the out break had been received in the Punjab. In almost every despatch, he untiringly urged upon the Governor-General at Calcutta and the Commander-in-Chief at Ambala the supreme necessity of an early assault on Delhi. . .[2]

First in initiative, Sir John Lawrence was foremost in organising the assault on the Imperial City. He was prepared to set it on foot alone, in case the Calcutta authorities regretted their inability to undertake it until reinforcements had arrived from abroad. The Commander-in-Chief, too, apparently under similar considerations appeared to procrastinate. The Chief Commissioner had persistently urged on the Central Government to expedite the step. Every despatch to the Com-

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1. From Lt.-Col. H. B. Edwardes, Commissioner and Superintendent to R. Montgomery—Peshawar, 22nd February 1858, Mutiny Reports, vol. VIII, Part II, pp. 102—110.

2. In almost all the successive official communiques of narrative of events in the province, the Chief Commissioner sought to bring home, the urgency of the fall of Delhi. Particularly Nos. 55-60 ring with this note.

mander-in-Chief emphasized the necessity and called for the earliest action. . .

The task of organizing an assault exclusively from the Punjab resources presented formidable difficulties. The over-whelming numbers of mutineers shut up in the fortified city were equipped with vast wealth and materials of war. But once determined on the point, Sir John Lawrence would not see it suffer on account of in-action or lack of resources. Writing to H. Greathead he said: 'To my mind mere danger will arise from delay than from assaulting[1]. . .

Early in June an effective Field Force was stationed on the 'Ridge' before Delhi. While reinforcements were coming from the Punjab and Meerut, this limited force, despite the critical danger of being enveloped, would serve as a check against the pouring of more mutineers into the citadel and at the same time would oppose the spread of the insurrection from Delhi as a centre. . .

"The general optimism about the immediate fall of Delhi, on the appearance of the British force before it, faded away after the first contested engagements with the enemy. The inadequate Delhi force had to deal with the trained native soldiery of the same stock as they had on their own side. The mutineers, placed in a fortified position, for the time being, rich in resources, were decidedly superior in numbers as well. In the opinion of sound authorities on military craft, the thin British force before it, exposed to severe weather conditions (June and July) and decimated by disease, were the besieged rather than the besiegers. Unless it was substantially reinforced at the earliest, retreat with the most disastrous consequences, would not have been a distant prospect. The Punjab alone was the source of succour. The Chief Commissioner kept his word.

A long stream of baggage train, arms and ammunition was poured down the Grand Trunk Road. The line of over 300 miles of road through the territory occupied by the enemy was valiantly guarded by the troops of Maharaja of Patiala. In the first week of July, about 3,250

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1. R. Bosworth Smith, Life of Lord Lawrence, vol. II, pp. 203-204.

men in all, were despatched to Delhi.[1] Hardly twenty days afterwards, 1,700 more had been sent the same way. As many as 2,000 more troops were further promised. In order to achieve this, Lawrence had dangerously reduced his resources in the Punjab. At a time when danger was to be apprehended from every quarter in the province itself, no more than 2,400 infantry were retained. About 9,000 Europeans and natives besides some 30 guns were locked up in Peshawar and Kohat. But with his 'unalterable resolution' Sir John Lawrence was determined more than ever to sustain and reinforce the Delhi Force with the last resources of the province. . .

Still further requisitions for levies and materials for war[2] and the gloomy prospects of the English attack failed to unnerve the Chief Commissioner or to impair his confidence of ultimate success. The acuteness of the distress only added an extra fillip to his unabated courage and resource fullness. The last throw of the dice was cast. Literally to the last man, all that was best, strong and reliable was spared and the scanty holdings of the province were squeezed to the utmost. The Punjab itself, although the outward crust of peace and loyalty was preserved, had developed into a powder magazine. The spark before Delhi, if once things went against the English, was to decide the issue. The Chief Commissioner had not mistaken the growing symptoms of the malady and had delicately timed the concentration on Delhi.[3]

Under Nicholson, the Hercules of the Punjab, foremost amongst those who held rebellion in leash on the Frontier during the crisis; it was proposed to drain the Punjab cup to its dregs.[4] The famous warden of the Frontier who with his movable column had flashed like lightning wherever mutiny raised its head. . .was despatched to Delhi at the head of the same column, so vital to the peace and tranquility of

1. June 17, 1857, Chief Commissioner to Hervey Greathead, Delhi.

Description:	7 Companies of H. M.'s 8th	... 600
	5 „ „ „ „ 61st	... 450
	European Artillerymen	... 200
	1st Panjab Rifles (Cokes)	... 800
	4th Sikhs (Battrey's)	... 800
	Panjab Cavalry	... 400
		... 3,250

2. No. 390, July 25, 1857. Brigadier Wilson to Sir John Lawrence, "Mutiny Papers" op. cit.

3. No. 63, September 11, 1857, Official communique of events No. 52 clearly depicts the state of affairs in the Punjab.

4. September 6, 1857, Sir John Lawrence to the Governor-General, Calcutta.

the province itself. Besides reinforcements and the certainty of the collapse of resistance, if only they could break into the city, General Wilson responsible for the execution of the task, appeared to be too stolid to be roused to bold and vigorous action, which alone would carry the day. Lawrence continued, nevertheless, to stimulate him, as when he wrote: 'Every day's delay is fraught with serious danger. Everyday disaffection and mutiny spread. Every day adds to the native princes taking part against us. Peshawar is the political volcano which may explode any day. The coming rains could render all military operations impossible. There was little hope of being reinforced from below. . .[1]"

Finding it difficult to rouse the Commander-in-Chief from his lethargy, Sir John Lawrence thought it expedient to spur on some of the other more energetic spirits on the scene—Chamberlain, Norman and Nicholson—whom he hoped to infuse with his own spirit and of whose potentialities and peculiarities he was well aware. The Chief Commissioner never meant to side-track the authority of General Wilson. He was impelled by anxiety for the earliest achievement of the task, which, as his earlier untiring endeavours had shown, depended in his mind upon the maxim, 'Now or never'. . . .

Still the final assault was delayed till the second week of September. The Siege train arrived at Delhi on the 4th and Wilde's regiment and the Jummu troops followed close behind. About a week more was required to elaborate the plans. . ."

"At last on the 7th the ground was broken and the first battery attack was opened under Alexander Taylor. The besieged numbered more than 40,000 strong and had about 300 guns. By the 13th, the work had been pretty well done. Breaches were reported, 'difficult but practicable.' The assault was ordered at 3 next morning. After another thunder, the breaches were attempted. . .Soon the whole line facing the Ridge was occupied and the British flag was run up upon the Kabul gate. . .At last on the 20th, the tidings of the fall of Delhi were flashed to all parts of the Empire."[2]

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1. No. 133, September 18, 1857, Chief Commissioner to the Secretary to Government of India. Official communique of the progress of affairs before Delhi, 'Mutiny Papers', op.cit.
2. Suri, V.S. op. cit. pp. 98—105

the proximate Greeks. Besides reinforcements and the certainty of the collapse of resistance, if only they could break into the city, General Wilson responsible for the execution of the task, appeared to be too stolid to be roused to bold and vigorous action, which alone would carry the day. Lawrence continued, nevertheless, to stimulate him, as when he wrote: 'Every day's delay is fraught with serious danger. Every day disaffection and mutiny spread. Every day adds to the native princes taking part against us. Peshawar is the political volcano which may explode any day. The coming rains could render all military operations impossible. There was little hope of being reinforced from below...'[1]

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2. Suri, V.S. op.cit.,pp. 95—105

CHAPTER IX

The Punjab at the turn of the Twentieth Century*

"When the twentieth century opened, the Punjab was a very big province. Besides the Punjab now In Pakistan, it included the settled districts of the North-Western Frontier Province and Delhi. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab functioned also as an Agent to the Governor-General for the tribal areas beyond the settled districts. Through the Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners and ex-officio Superintendent of Simla Hill States, the Lieutenant-Governor represented the political department of the Government of India in all the Punjab States except Patiala and Nabha. His was a very big charge indeed.

All the administrative power in this area was concentrated in the Lieutenant-Governor forming the Local Government and representing the Government of India in all matters, whether of local concern or All-India importance. Legally all the governmental powers resided in the Governor-General-in-Council, but some subjects had been, in a way, placed in the immediate care of the local governments. Even here, the Government of India laid down general policy, received reports, called for fuller details and controlled the purse strings. In all subjects of administration, the local government stood for the Governor-General-in-Council in the entire area under its control.

The Punjab was a non-regulation province. The Lieutenant-Governor had no (executive) councillors whom he must outargue if he had to override them. The Financial Commissioner and the Chief Secretary were the two civil servants whose views he had to consider and who, in certain matters, could exercise some powers on their own. With the means of communication and transport being what they were, the Divi-

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* Material has been taken from :—
Sharma, S.R.: Punjab in ferment in the beginning of the 20th Century. Sita Ram Kohli Lectures, Patiala, 1966.
Hussain, Azim: Sir Fazl-i-Hussain: A Political Biography, Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., 1946.
Trevaskis, H.K.: The Punjab of Today, Lahore, 1931.

sional Commissioners exercised much more power than their successors do to-day. The Deputy Commissioner was the government so far as the vast bulk of the people in his district were concerned. These officers exercised much more untramelled authority than the collectors did in the three Presidencies, all the more so because many of them were drawn from the army. The 'Punjab Commission'—as the higher civil servants in the Punjab were collectively called—was still recruiting officers in the army for civilian work in the province. This was not only because the Punjab had been acquired as late as 1849, it was also because it was felt that it needed a government of men much more than a government of laws. British historians pointed out with pride to their achievements in the Punjab where the administration was not bound—as it was in other other parts of British India—even by Rules, Regulations and Acts of their own. This tendency was well illustrated in the twenties by the submission of the Government Advocate to the High Court that it was usual for the Deputy Commissioner—District Magistrate in the Punjab—to discuss the cases pending in their courts with magistrates in the district before they pronounced judgement?

Punjab had a Chief Court as the highest court in the province. Its judges were appointed by the Governor-General; members of the Indian Civil Services predominated on the bench. . .Howsoever impartial between litigants the Chief Court might be, in cases between the citizens and the State, its members could not easily forget that they were passing judgement on fellow administrators and that must not let the prestige of the government suffer.

People of the province were associated with the work of the administration in municipalities and district boards. Lumbardars and Zaildars assisted local officials and the police. But this did not present any attempt at 'local self-government.' Much more than elsewhere, municipalities and District Boards formed a machinery by which 'government' could get things done, rather than a machinery for training Indians in governing themselves as Lord Ripon had intended them to be. The Deputy Commissioners kept as tight a rein on them as on the rest of the government. This tradition was so firmly rooted that even in 1937 some District Boards in the Punjab still functioned under Deputy Commissioners as their presidents. Lumbardars and Zaildars held hereditary offices and were a part of the British policy to keep little big men attached to themselves.

Land still formed the most visible symbol of status in the Punjab. Settlement and collection of land revenue was still the main pre-occupation of the government. The head of the district was 'collector' of land revenue and, therefore, also a 'district magistrate'. The two functions were inseparably connected.

When the century opened, of the ten Divisions of the Indian Army, four were stationed in the Punjab, two of them stationed in what soon came to be known as the North-Western Frontier Province. . .

Education

In the Punjab as elsewhere, literacy was very low; 6.4 per cent of the males and 3 per cent of the females were found literate in the census in 1901. The Panjab University had been established in 1882. There was a government College at Lahore and a Government High School at every district headquarter. The primary and middle schools were maintained by the municipalities and district boards under the supervision and control of government inspectors. The Chritstian missionaries were the first non-official agency in the field of education. But beginning with the establishment of the D.A.V. High School in Lahore in 1886, during the last 15 years some educational institutions had come to be established by Indians themselves. Of these the D. A. V. College at Lahore was founded in 1889. . .In its wake a Khalsa College had followed at Amritsar, and an Islamia College at Lahore. The Missionaries had four Colleges, the F. C. College, Lahore; the Murray College, Sialkot; the Edwards College, Peshawar and Gordon College at Rawalpindi.

For professional education, there were the University Law College, the Central Training College, and the Medical College, all at Lahore There were some 'Normal Schools' for the training of primary teachers.

Press

The Punjab, like the Presidencies, had an 'Anglo-Indian' exponent and defender of the British policy in English, the *Civil and Military Gazette* Lahore. The Tribune had come to be established in 1881 as an English weekly by Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia. . .There were several 'vernacular' weekly newspapers, most of them being published from Lahore, Ludhiana and Delhi. . .

Business

Though Punjab had not yet modernised its bussiness organisation, the Punjab National Bank established in 1895 was the first purely Indian bank to be established in India. When Har Krishan Lal who had taken a leading part in its foundation, found his fellow directors orthodox and cautious for him, he launched his People's Bank of Northern India. This was followed by the Bharat Bima Company, one of the first Indian Insurance companies in India. The Hindu Mutual Relief Fund followed soon after.

Peshawar, Amritsar and Delhi were three thriving centres of business in the Punjab when the century opened. At Peshawar and Amritsar exports to and imports from Kabul were in the hands of Punjabi merchants. Elsewhere, the bulk of the work was carried on by British firms.

Punjab at the opening of the century formed one of the two Indian provinces in India where the Muslims formed a majority of the population. Hindu-Muslim relations in the Punjab had become...strained by the assassination in 1897 of Pandit Lekh Ram by a Muslim who had been staying in his house prior to his conversion to Hinduism.

Means of Communications

Means of communication and transport were not much developed. The North-Western Railway generally followed the grand trunk road. Its Karachi section made the export of Punjab's cotton and wheat to England possible. But not even all the District headquarters were served by the railway. All weather roads were scarce. Travelling on horseback, in a tonga or a cart formed a luxury which only the rich could afford. When officers went on tours of inspection, providing means of conveyance for their entourage and the luggage was a problem which had made 'Begar'—pressing of men and beasts in service of 'officials'—a normal feature of life in the Punjab for certain classes. Camel drivers, owners of mules, horses and carts and men living by carrying luggage might find their services requisitioned at a moment's notice and for prolonged periods at rates which had been probably settled when the last settlement of land revenue was made, and which had been unreasonable after the recent ravages of plague and famine.

Land Settlement

Punjab was not permanently 'settled'. Here the land revenue after having been hastily fixed in the wake of its acquisition by the British, had come to be fixed by land-revenue settlements for a fairly long period of 30 years. Every settlement saw an increase in the state demand in money; that was their only justification, to keep up the land revenue fairly fixed to a share of the average total produce as valued in cash. In the canal colonies irrigation dues were also charged which were liable to be increased any time so as to keep the provision of irrigation a profitable venture."[1]

The main characteristics of the British Policy in the Punjab after 1857

"On account of certain historical reasons, the British found in the Punjab well-preserved joint village communities consisting of peasant proprietors; and being fully conscious of the political advantages of maintaining the existing framework of society, and of keeping the land in the hands of those whose hereditary occupation is tillage, they successfully prevented the growth of large landowners. It has been the ideal of the Punjab administrators to keep the peasant proprietors of the province in possession of their land and moderately content... The Punjab peasant has a relatively large holding as compared with his brother elsewhere in India. The expropriation of the peasant proprietor has been, to a large extent, prevented by law. State assistance was provided to save the peasant proprietor from the money-lender, and he was also helped by making available for him through canal irrigation large tracts of land which hitherto had been lying barren. In short, the policy of government ever since the annexation of the Punjab, has been to maintain the Punjab, for purely political reasons, primarily as an agricultural province comprising of peasant proprietors attached to their land, and thereby prevent the development of a commercial and an industrial middle class and a landless proletariat which would provide, as it did in Bengal and Bihar, recruits for the political life of the country. All that happened in the Punjab was that, with the breaking up of the feudal economy and the British exploitation of the Indian market by way of construction of public buildings, roads, bridges, railways, irrigation works, there grew up a wealthy Indian 'go-between' contractor class, but they were closely allied with the British by economic interests, and could not be expected to adopt an independent line of action in political matters. This class was so small that it could

1. Sharma, S.R. : op. cit., pp. 1—8.

not take the initiative in industrial development, such as would give the Punjab an enterprising middle class interested in politics. On the other hand, the peasant proprietor has always been the bulwark of political conservatism and an inexhaustible source of manpower for the British Army.

Further, as a counterpoise to the educated classes, the policy of the Punjab Government was to encourage and to develop in rural areas, a landed gentry (including members of the old nobility) who would be strictly loyal to the British. The landed gentry were carefully nursed by being given jagirs, titles and land, and by being constantly brought before the public eye in various spheres of administration. The landed gentry consisted of 'Loyalists', as Government called them; 'moderates', as they called themselves; 'sycophants', as their opponents called them...

The Punjab was the last province to be annexed by the British, and this fact is not without significance. Annexation at a single stroke afforded a clearer and a wider field for administrative effort, of which full advantage was taken by a select body of exceptionally able officers. These officers, decided from the very beginning to rule the province firmly, and, if necessary, ruthlessly. In the rest of India the population retained their arms, matchlocks, swords and spears long after these became unnecessary for the protection of their persons and property, whereas in the Punjab there was a general disarmament after the annexation.[1] The Punjab was administered by a famous school of district officers who were purposely left by the Government a large degree of freedom and initiative. Their relations with the people were personal and intimate, and as long as their methods were justified by success, they suffered little interference from Calcutta or Simla.[2] The Punjab has been the province that most young men entering the Indian Civil Service have wished to go to—the place where 'a Saheb is a Saheb'. It began as a frontier province, the shield of India, with a military role which gave its administration, the severity and the ruthlessness of the camp and the field.

Constitutional Development

The levelling process of the Rule of Law, the most significant feature of the Pax Britannica, was introduced in the Punjab with important limi-

1. O'Malley, L.S.S.: Modern India and the West, 1941, p. 56.
2. History of India, Roberts, p. 517.

tations. Customary law, largely tribal in origin, had here an authority unknown in the rest of India. Similarly, in consonance with its general policy, Government attempted with success to keep the Punjab behind other provinces in India in the matter of constitutional development. The Indian Councils Act, 1861, established Legislative Councils in Bombay and Madras, and authorised the establishment of similar councils in other provinces. The Bengal and the United Provinces councils were constituted in 1863 and 1866 respectively, but in the Punjab a similar council did not come into existence till 1897, thrity-six years after the Act which authorised its creation. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 authorised an increase in the membership of the Councils, and allowed reserved seats to be filled by indirect election from public associations and municipal and other bodies. Although every other province in India took advantage of these provisions, none of them were ever extended to the Punjab. . ."[1]

The Punjab Legislative Council of 1897

"It was not, however, till 1897 that a Council of nine members was actually established in the Punjab and "as the system of election was still looked on with suspicion by the majority of the population it was entirely nominated."[1] The powers of the Punjab Council so constituted were purely legislative and were exercised subject to the control of the Governor-General-in-Council, to whom all bills containing penal clauses were submitted for previous sanction and to whom also every project of law forwarded for transmission to the Secretary of State before it was introduced into Council. Before any measure carried through the Council could become law, it required the assent of the Lieutenant-Governor and of the Governor-General-in-Council."[2]

"Western contacts and influences not only reached the Punjab later than in Madras, Bombay and Bengal, but had been considerably modified by the time they came to be felt in the Punjab. The British came to the Presidencies as traders and equals but they came to the Punjab as successful conquerors of practically the whole of India. When the British had just assumed authority in India, in the Presidencies they were looked upon as usurpers; while in the Punjab, they were considered conquerors and deliverers from the anarchy and oppression of Sikh rule. The people of the Presidencies resented the assumption of powers by the British, while

1. Hussain, Azim, op.cit., pp. 72—75.
2. Trevaskis, H.K., op.cit., p. 141.

the Punjabis felt overawed by the majesty and strength of their new Government. The influence of the Indian renaissance and the new education began much later in the Punjab than in the rest of India. Educationally, the Punjab was the most backward province in India. The first graduate from the Lahore College passed in 1870, and the Punjab University did not come into existence till 1882. Primary education continued to be neglected till the close of the 19th century.

The year 1877 may be taken as a convenient starting point for tracing the development of political events in the Punjab. The year 1877 was in a way an important one in the history of the Punjab. Surrendera Nath Banerjee came to the Punjab and founded the Lahore Indian Association, the first political organisation of importance in the Punjab. Political progress was slow and it rested with the Bengali immigrants to struggle against the traditions peculiar to the peasant proprietor and the landed gentry, to oppose the pre-dominance of the Punjab administration, and to play a part in the Punjab politics which the Punjabis at that time could not play. For want of local talent, Government recruited Bengalis for Government service. At the same time, the Bar was monopolized by the Bengalis. The Indian Association was run by the initiative of two Bengalis. Inspite, however, of Bengali efforts, the Indian Association was for a long time an inactive body.

A Branch of the Indian National Congress was formed in the Punjab in 1885 but its activities did not amount to anything more than annual gatherings in which a few interested in the movement participated. The organisation had no contact with the people and did not function for the greater part of the year. The only movement in the Punjab of any consequence, was the Arya Samaj, which by 1889 developed an attitude of confirmed hostility towards the Congress.[1] Further, when the Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900 was passed, the Hindus expected the Congress to join hands with them in protest, but when they found that the Congress, solicitous for the welfare of the peasant, could not do so, their sympathies with the Congress became lukewarm. As Duni Chand, a veteran congressman, has remarked: "The Congress from 1885 to 1905 was nothing but a gathering of a few holiday makers out for intellectual entertainment[2]".[3]

1. The Story of my life, Lajpat Rai.
2. The Ulster of India, Duni Chand, 1936, p.2.
3. Hussain, Azim: op. cit., pp. 76-77.

"The Morley-Minto Reforms maintained the traditional discrimination against the Punjab. The Punjab, like Assam, was allowed only thirty members inspite of the fact that the population of the Punjab was twenty millions while that of Assam was only seven millions. Similarly, while the proportion of elected members to the total strength was 53 per cent in Bengal, 48 per cent in Bombay, Madras and Eastern Bengal, 42 per cent in U. P., the Punjab had only 19 per cent elected members. Although Assam and C. P. were merely Chief Commissionerships they had as compared with the Punjab, a greater proportion of elected members; while other provinces were represented in the Imperial Legislative Council by elected members, the Punjab was represented by a majority of nominated members. Inspite of the fact that the Muslims were in a majority in the Punjab, the Muslim representative to the Imperial Legislative Council was, unlike his colleagues from all other provinces, always nominated. In the same way, while the representative of the landlords in other provinces always elected, the Punjab sent one nominated by the Lt.-Governor."[1]

Punjab in Ferment

"In such a placid Punjab material for ferment was not lacking. As events soon proved it was not difficult for strong feelings to arise even among the most loyalist section of the people.

The first rude shock was delivered by the administration itself, and primarily to a section of the administration. Howsoever justifiable the creation of a North-Western Frontier Province in 1901 might have been, Lord Curzon's manner of separating it from the Punjab shook the Punjab Government to its foundation. 'Never again' cried the Punjab officials, 'would they allow themselves be caught napping by the Government of India.'

Nature followed suit. The death of Queen Victoria in 1902 seemed to the peasantry in the Punjab to herald the end of an old era. When the entire province remained in mourning for ten days—schools were closed, business was at a standstill, officials seemed to be enjoying a holiday—it was natural for the people to ask what would follow this much advertised loss.

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1. *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.

Curzon had earned some little fame in the Punjab when he had shown his resentment by cancelling all leave of two British regiments at Sialkot who had baulked an enquiry into the death of an Indian from an assault by a British soldier in 1902.

The Arya Samajists had espoused 'Swedeshi'—use of articles made in India—long before the word had been coined. This had had a curious result, a strike by the students in the premier educational institution in the Punjab, the Government College, Lahore, when the Principal had ordered that his students should wear 'blazers' in College made up of English cloth only. They had returned to the classes only when the Principal had withdrawn his orders. . .

The blazer-strike in the Government College, Lahore, had led to a curious sequel, adding some more fermenting material. Some students of the Government College, Lahore, had addressed a letter of protest to the editor of the Tribune. This had been published without revealing the names of the writers. The British Principal of the College deputed an Indian member of the College staff to find out from the editor of the Tribune who the writers of the letter were. Against all journalistic etiquettes, the editor showed the original letter to the patient enquirer. The students concerned had never made a secret of their protest but this proved too much for some of them and their sympathizers. Enough funds were forth-coming for another English newspaper, the bi-weekly Punjabee. It soon replaced the Tribune as the exponent of the advanced views in the Punjab.

Among the educated classes in the Punjab, the Government Resolution of 24th May, 1904, about the restrictions on the employment of Indians, which Mr. Gokhale had brought to light in the Imperial Legislative Council, had some effect in adding to the dissatisfaction felt by them by their unsatisfactory status in the government service.

The agitation against the partition of Bengal fed on all these factors. . .

As things stood, Government had given some other cause of dissatisfaction to the Hindus in the Punjab. The Punjab Alienation of Land Act had originally been passed ostensibly to prevent land in the hands of the agriculturists passing to non-agriculturists.

The village community in the Punjab had adopted a Muslim custom for preserving its entity. No one in the village could sell land to a stranger if another villager was willing to buy it at the same price. The law of pre-emption was also now changed radically excluding villages, not members of one of the agricultural tribes, from 'pre-empting' land of a member of an agricultural tribe when he decided to sell it. This again lowered the value of land and injured the credit of the agriculturists. It made Hindus owning land in a village strangers so far as the buying of land from agricultural tribes was concerned.[1]

Together these two measures attempted to perpetuate caste distinctions and created, like the zamindars in Bengal, a class of people owing their favoured status to the British rulers and who would, it was expected, be loyal to the British interests in India, particularly in the Punjab.

The British rulers of the Punjab, however, soon discovered that they could not count on the loyalty of these classes, once they were convinced their own interests were at stake. A new settlement of land revenue was coming to a close in Rawalpindi. Naturally the settlement officer felt that he could justify all the labour and money spent on the settlement operations by proposing some increase in land revenue in the district. But the increase suggested (25 per cent) was much more than the normal increase. When this leaked out, there was resentment among the landed interests. It was claimed that the proposed increase was more than they could bear.

Stricter or more careful making of accounts on the irrigation works seemed to have persuaded the government that some increase in water rates in the Bari Doab Canal Colony was due. The Government was also anxious to claim a share in the money yield of commercial crops, mainly sugar and cotton, in the area. Again the 'colonists' and old settlers living in canal colonies objected. They seemed to have argued that they had been persuaded to use canal water at rates which they thought were permanent. Any increase, howsoever small, seemed unjustified to them.

The British in India, much less in the Punjab were not accustomed to arguing matters with their Indian 'subjects'. Whatever they thought

1. This is obviously an extremely pro-Hindu interpretation. The actual facts were that the land was rapidly passing into the hands of money-lenders, when the zamindars failed to clear their debts. Since the money-lenders were predominantly Hindus, they were therefore deadly opposed to the new law. Ed.

was in the interest of their subjects was in their interest. 'The mutiny' had long been forgotten and along with it, the warning that it was not always wise to introduce 'reforms' which the people had not been educated upto. The fragmentation of land holdings certainly called for investigation but when the Punjab Government proposed that in the new Chenab Canal Colonies, land would pass from father to the eldest son, even the Government of India was shocked a little at first. But the Punjab Government stuck to its guns, pointed out to the Descent of Jagir Act, 1900, which had introduced the law of primogeniture in the Jagirs. The Government of Lord Minto allowed it to be persuaded and gave the Punjab Government permission to introduce the measure in the Punjab Legislative Council towards the end of the year 1906. The Punjab Government seemed to have argued that the modifications proposed were 'directed not to the benefit of the Government but to uniformity of tenure and better administration of the Colony where the colonists had suddenly risen from poverty to oppulence'. The Government had, however, held that the colonists would swallow the proposals, lock, stock and barrel, and would accept the social revolution, the measure was intended to bring about. They were soon to find themselves sadly mistaken.

In its issue of April 4, 1906, the Punjabee brought to light the shocking sequel to the system of Begar as it then prevailed in the Punjab. 'The Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi was on tour. Two woe-begone human beings were impressed to carry some of the impediments belonging to the officer. The two forlorn men were overpowered by the inclemency of the night and fell down in a dead faint in the middle of the road. The officers squared the relatives of the deceased by a munificent gift of Rs. 50 for each dead Begari'.

The next week The Punjabee brought to light the death by shooting of a Muslim orderly who refused to carry on his saddle, the dead carcass of a pig shot by a Sahib out for sport. . . .More than five months after the appearance of the two articles in print, the editor and the proprietor of the Punjabee were prosecuted for spreading hatred among various races, in this case between the British and the Muslims. The case was launched in the court of the District Magistrate, Lahore, on 26th October, 1906.

Agha Haider, Ajit Singh and Sufi Amba Prashad, roused by the political agitation following in the wake of the Partition of Bengal and taking a lesson from the activities of extremist and the revolutionary group in Bengal, organized the Anjuman-i-Muhibban-i-Watan (Association of lovers of the country) and Bharat Mata. The Canal Colonies Bill offered them an admirable opportunity to rouse not only the agriculturists in the colony but in the areas from which they had come. The proposed increase in land revenue in Rawalpindi settlement and in water rates in Bari Doab Canal Colony played into their hands. 'The Bharat Mata' with its officers in the Bharat Buildings began to plan a gigantic mass agitation against the government. The prosecution of the editor and the proprietor of the Punjabee.. . further played into their hands.

But the cause of the Chenab Canal Colonists was a cause of the agriculturists and land-owners at large. A Zamindara League was organised of which prominent members were big Muslim and Sikh landlords whose loyalty had never been in doubt. Prominent Muslim lawyers. . .were now taking a leading part in the agitation, not only sending memorials to the Governor-General but also organizing public meetings to protest against the measures.

Taking advantage of the Begar incidents unearthed by the Punjabee, Lala Lajpat Rai,. . .sent a circular letter to the Bar Association and eminent lawyers in the province suggesting that they should protest against the Begar system and organise, if possible, protest meetings as well.

Gopal Krishan Gokhale, decided to visit various cities in northern India, to put the moderate point of view before the public. . .He was invited to include Lahore in his programme. He did so and reached Lahore on 15 February, 1907.

Gokhale's stirring speeches did not deal with any of the local problems but he put new heart into the liberal thought in Lahore when he declared in one of these meetings that he set no limits to the ambitions of his countrymen; they must occupy in their own country the place which others did in theirs. . .

Meanwhile meetings had been held and were being held in different parts of the province, at Lahore, Amritsar, Ferozepur, Lyallpur, Sialkot, Multan and Rawalpindi.

Ajit Singh had been moving from place to place and addressing gatherings everywhere. In panic, the District Magistrate wrongly assumed powers which he did not possess and rather than prosecute Ajit Singh, on 30th April he issued notice to five prominent lawyers whose names had appeared among the organisers or who had spoken at the meetings to show cause on May 2 in his court why their licences to practice should not be cancelled or action taken against them for organizing the meeting. Lala Hans Raj Sahwney and Lala Amolak Ram. . .were among those to whom this notice had been given. . .

Rawalpindi did not take this highhandedness quietly. A complete cessation of business in the city on May 2 when the show-cause notice was to come up for hearing in the District Magistrate's court, followed. The notice was to be heard at 10 A.M. By that time, the entire compound of the District Court was thronged with people. . .Their number was swelled on account of the fact that the labourers in the Railway Workshop and the arsenal had gone on strike. The District Magistrate, on arrival, sent for the pleaders and their counsels; he announced that under the instructions from the local government, the proceedings had been 'stayed'. He had in fact been overruled by the local government. . .

The mob received the news with cheers. So far so good, but then it got out of hand and followed the Lahore pattern of violence against European officials, Europeans in general and against some Indians as well who were reputed to be pro-government. The army was called out but not before the mob had inflicted considerable damage.

This was not, however, the end of the matter. The next day Lala Hans Raj Sahwney, Lala Gurdas Ram, Lala Amolak Ram, Pandit Janki Nath and Malik Khazan Singh were arrested for sedition, arson, incitement to violence and abetment of these offences.

Lala Lajpat Rai hastened to Lahore to present an application for bail to the Chief Court. This was done on May 4. . .the application was placed before a bench of two judges, the Chief Justice being one of them. The Government again opposed the bail but could not satisfy the bench. . . Strangely however, rather than pass orders on the application, the Government was given further time to state its case against the grant of bail. When the case came up for hearing again, the District Magistrate who had ordered the arrest appeared personally and handed confidential letter

to the judges from the Officer Commanding, Rawalpindi, probably re-inforcing the District Magistrate's estimate of the danger to law and order if the accused were let on bail, and adding that their release might result in the open rebellion of troops. . .The application was therefore rejected by the Chief Court. . .

In fact the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab had in a Minute to the Governor-General-in-Council written on 30 April, 1907 described the situation in the Punjab as threatening the security of British dominion (in India) from internal commotion, rendering judicial proceedings in-advisable and improper. 'The present political situation in the Punjab,' he declared is 'extremely serious and extremely dangerous', 'urgently demanding a remedy'. 'In the towns of Rawalpindi, Sialkot and Lyall-pur, an active anti-English propaganda is being openly and sedulously preached.' 'A feeling of discontent undoubtedly exists throughout the central districts of the province and is more or less acute in Lahore, Lyall-pur, Sialkot and Ferozepur. 'The general anti-English feeling among the villagers is growing in intensity'. 'Special efforts have been made to procure the attendance of the Sikhs at the meetings'. The immediate object of all agitation seems to be to make our government of the coun-try impossible.

In the face of all this, he asked for extensive powers which, however, he knew he could not immediately get. He asked for the powers to use Regulation III of 1818 for deporting such mal-contents as he might think necessary.

Further exchange of views between Punjab and Calcutta followed Rawalpindi riots. The Governor-General-in-Council considered Ibbet-son's Memorandum of 30th April and the information supplied by him on May 7. Two members did not view the Punjab situation as the local government had done it and were not in favour of issuing the order for the deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh. But the majority support-ed the local government. Lord Minto backed the Punjab Government. Warrants for deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were issued by the Governor-General-in-Council on May 7.

Such was the appreciation of the situation by the Punjab Government that British forces were ordered into Lahore against apprehension of mob violence. Elsewhere, it is said, most of the Europeans sent their

families to nearby cantonments for fear of disturbances which the authorities feared might break out as the news of Lala Lajpat Rai's deportation spread through the province wide protest against the last step taken by the Government was feared.

Some of the Europeans believed that fifty years after 'the mutiny' the British were again likely to face a similar occurrance. They seemed inclined to interpret incidents, where they had not been shown the respect 'due' to them, as presaging hard times ahead.

The extent of panic in the Punjab can be further gauged by the fact that Europeans were 'arming everywhere, British soldiers were sleeping with rifles by their side', and Commanding Officers 'issuing' army rifles and ammunition to (British) civilians wherewith to defend themselves'. It seems to have been suggested by Ibbetson that loyalty of Indian troops had been tampered with, and it was this that had caused the panic among the Europeans.

News of happenings in the Punjab were exaggerated in the British press. Lord Curzon, probably, in a moment of pique against his successor rushed to *the Time* to bewail what was happening in India now that he was not there.

Local gossip had it that Lala Lajpat Rai had approached the Amir of Kabul during his recent visit to India seeking his help against the British and that the Amir had passed on the letter to the Government of India. The Daily Express of London suggested that, as the reason for Lala Lajpat Rai's deportation, Punjab was certainly in ferment."[1]

1. Sharma, S.R. : Op. cit., pp. 9-22.

CHAPTER X

Beginnings of Communal Tension*

"One of the most controversial interpretation of recent Indian history is that the British governed the sub-continent through a strategy of divide and rule which led to Hindu-Muslim conflict and ultimately the 1947 Partition. *Divide et impera* has often been portrayed in vernacular tracts, Congress publications, and scholarly works as a fundamental cause of communal tension.[1]

The similar assumptions, methodology, and sources upon which these assessments rest, however, have resulted in a clouding of key issues and a misreading of the historical record. The studies generally focus upon twentieth-century developments such as Hindu and Muslims political parties or communal riots and then project their findings backward to earlier periods. Because British attempts to play Hindu and Muslim against one another apparently intensified antagonism following the Morley-Minto reforms, it is argued that similar policies prior to 1900 helped create the initial estrangement between the two communities.[2]

A second assumption is that British policy was put into effect by a monolithic bureaucracy. Government of India's attitudes toward the 1906 Muslim Deputation and communal electorates, for example, have

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* This has been taken from N. G. Barrier's article ' The Punjab Government and Communal Politics, 1870-1908', published in the *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. XXVII, Number 3, 1968.

1. The voluminous tract literature includes Duni Chand: Divide and Rule (Lahore, n.d); Nand Gopal: Sada-i-Hind (Lahore, 1909); V.C. Joshi (ed.), Lala Lajpat Rai Writings and Speeches (2 Vols. New Delhi, 1966), II, 159-60. The clearest illustration of the Congress position is 'A History of the Hindu-Muslim Problem in India from the Earliest Contacts up to Its Present Phase with Suggestions for its Solutions' (Allahabad, 1933). Three recent scholarly studies perpetuating this outlook are Ram Gopal: Indian Muslims (Bombay, 1964); Wilfred Cantwell Smith: Modern Islam in India (2nd ed. rev. Lahore, 1963), M.N. Dass: India under Morley and Minto (London, 1964).

2. Hindu-Muslim Problem, pp. 113—44, 153; Duni Chand: Divide and Rule, p. 34; Khutba Sadarat (Ambala, 1921), p. 3. The Congress interpretation, as reflected in its above-mentioned study of the 1931 Cawnpore Riots, claimed that there had been a 'national synthesis' of Hindus and Muslims before the British split them apart.

been judged accurate pictures of how provincial governments and individual officers handled Hindu-Muslim problems.[1] Although the British preferred to present a united policy front, mounting evidence suggests that in fact decision-making was often decentralized. Subordinate governments made many crucial decisions concerning local politicians[2]. . .

Finally, both tracts and scholarly works rely on secondary sources rather than on archieval material. Unrelated incidents or chance references to 'divide and rule' in biographies are patched together to show that the government consistently used the tactic.[3] The result of this questionable methodology has been over simplification and even mistaken judgements of British intentions. A cursory examination of British records in state depositories or the National Archieves of India indicates that on numerous occasions the government desparately avoided heating communal relations—in fact, the British feared Hindu-Muslim outbreaks and tried to minimize violence. At the same time, it is equally clear that the British unintentionally contributed to rivalry by adopting programmes and transferring institutions which created new arenas of competition and conflict.

This paper examines the British role in Punjab communal politics prior to the 1909 Morley-Minto reforms. The Punjab is an appropriate case study because during the latter half of the nineteenth-century, Hindu-Muslim antagonism was probably more intense in the Punjab than in Bengal and the United Provinces. The Punjab is also significant because the policy of the provincial government underwent radical change. The Punjab school of administration initially defended religious impartiality

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1. Evidenced particularly in Das's assessment of communalism and the Bengal partition. Often Das discusses provincial policy and then immediately moves to Indian government policy without noting that often the two administrations were in conflict. Similar in Hindu-Muslim Problem, pp. 151-53.

2. The inner maneuvering discussed in Anthony Low, "The Government of India and the First Non-Cooperation Movement, 1920—22", JAS, XXV (1966), 241—59. Also John H. Broomfield, "Politics and the Bengal Legislative Council, 1912—1926" (unpub. Ph.D. diss., Aust. Nat.U., 1963) P.D. Reeves, "The Land-Lord's Response to Political Change in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, India, 1921—1937" (unpub. Ph.D., diss., Aust., Nat. U., 1963).

3. A favorite quote is Ellenborough's suggestion in 1943 that the British should side with one community and forget the other, Smith, Islam, p. 179; Gopal, Muslims, p. 46; Hindu-Muslim Problem, pp. 121-22; Ghulam Sadiq, Muslaman Ki Iltimas (Amritsar, 1893) p. 15. Smith also goes into the economic roots of communalism, but he presents little analysis on the pre-1900 period and apparently accepts the version of British policy given in nationalist studies.

as a means of maintaining order, but when confronted with an explosive communal situation in the eighteen eighties, it adopted a new strategy of balancing the claims of Hindus and Muslims. . .

The founders of the Punjab school of administration, John and Henry Lawrence, considered three principles of government essential for political control. First, personal rule by all-powerful district officers was thought necessary for the pacification of warlike Punjabi tribes. Second, the Punjab school saw rural contentment as a pre-requisite to peace and order. Active defence of peasant cultivators, the village community, and the small class of landed aristocrats supposedly insured continuing British rule. . .The third principle was that the British must never identify with any of the three Punjabi religions—Islam, Hinduism, and Sikhism—a policy aptly summarized by Henry Lawrence's orders following annexation; "My men are expected to extend equal rights to all native religions and to align with none."[1]

Conditions inherited from Sikh rule and the background of the first Punjab commission influenced the decision to remain impartial in dealing with Punjabi sects. The Punjab was traditionally a centre of religious ferment and controversy, the home of Sikhism, and the heartland of the Muslim Wali-Ullahi movement. Sikh administration, Mughal rule in the south, and constant warfare with overtones of religious fanaticism had further aggravated communal relations, particularly in urban areas. Sikh kardars, officials, often exerted economic pressure on Muslim merchants, while fighting between Hindu and Muslim factions had produced longstanding quarrels in at least five cities.[2] Suspicion lay just below the surface of daily life and erupted sporadically in riots and boycott. The dethroned Sikhs generally sided with Hindus and compensated for numerical inferiority with religious zeal. Punjabis, one officer noted, were "a bundle of sticks, each stick driven by the desire to belabour the others, and all held together in external unanimity by the British flag."[3]

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1. Confidential circular by John Lawrence, 22S, Keep with (KW) Punjab Government File (PGG), Oct. 9, 1858, 63—63½ (the 1858 circular contains excerpts from the earlier one) Punjab School discussed in the following: Richard Temple: Men and Events of My Time in India (London, 1882), pp. 47—96; S.S. Thorburn: the Punjab in Peace and War (London, 1904), pp. 165—76; R.N. Cust, Memoirs of Past Years of a Septaugenarian (London, 1899), pp. 25—87. Unless otherwise noted, PG proceedings are from the West Pakistan Record Office, Lahore.

2. Despite the paucity of studies on the Sikh period, British proceedings contain discussions of Sikh policy and its consequences. For example, Edwardes' minute, Feb. 2, 1849, PGG (KW), Oct. 9, 1858, 63-63½.

3. Edwardes' minute, Feb. 2, 1849, Also marginal notes by John Lawrence.

This legacy posed signfiicant problems for the new rulers. The least sign of favoritism towards Sikhs or the heretofore subjugated Muslims might drive the other communities into rebellion. The virtual balance between Muslims and the Hindu-Sikh population also meant that mishandling of local unrest might generate widespread out-breaks.[1] Finally, religious disorder threatened not only the Punjab but also the security of the entire British raj because the Punjab quickly became the chief recruiting ground for the Indian army. If unrest spread among Punjabis, who eventually composed two-fifths of the army, the resulting military revolt could cost the British India.[2]

The background and attitudes of Punjab officers reinforced political necessity. Many of the Lawrences' associates were former frontier agents who appreciated the efficacy of non-interference in religious and social matters. Others had been trained in the Delhi system of administration which valued working through indigenous structures and minimal interference in the lives of the people.[3] Officers' views of British rule also supported a policy of impartiality. Over two-thirds of the first commission were evangelicals, men driven by deep conviction and a belief that Christianity was the only true religion. While their fervor was often expressed in defence, generally unofficial, of Punjab missions, it strengthened the officers' self-image as patriarchal rulers, with the duty to bring peace and order to a pagan race. Christian civil servants in their eyes must stand above controversy and deal justly with all men.[4] At the same time, the Punjab school believed that Punjabis desired such firm, unbiased government. Even when Punjabis disliked a decision detrimen-

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1. Sec. note, undated, PG confidential (C) File 121. The Punjab tended to be divided into a western, predominately Muslim area and a Sikh-Hindu area to the east. In 1881 there were10,336,150 Muslims (52.4 per cent of the total population,18,850,437) 7,130,528 Hindus (38.2 per cent) and 1,121,100 Sikhs (6 per cent). Punjab Census, 1881, II Table III.

2. Report on Indian Army (Parliamentary Branch collection 142, India Office), pp. 58—60, 184-85. By 1906 there were over 30,000 Sikhs in the army (24 per cent of the total) as well as 17,000 Punjabi Muslims (13 per cent). Compiled from 1907 Indian Army List (Calcutta, 1907).

3. Generalization based on material concerning the first Punjab Commission. Charles Aitchison: Lord Lawrence (Oxford, 1892), pp. 59—61; George Campbell: Memoirs of My Indian Career (2 Vols.: Lond., 1893), I, pp. 81-82, 95-96; Cust: Memoirs, pp. 29-30.

4. Bosworth Smith: Life of Lord Lawrence (2 Vols. London, 1883), II, 317; Cust: Memoirs, p. 33. For evangelical and utilitarian influence, Eric Stockes: The English Utilitarians and India (London, 1959) pp. 245—48, 274—77, 307—309.

tal to their community, the Lawrences argued, they respected the "just righteousness" of the British and obeyed their commands.[1]

The first Punjab administration thus responded to a communal problem with religious impartiality. Public notices promised that all sects would be treated equal—each could practice its customs unless they infringed on the rights of others.[2] The Lawrences, however, did not limit themselves to passive neutrality but actively sought to protect minority interests by encouraging each community to appeal to the government for redress. Sikh bans on Muslim prayers and cow slaughter were revoked, and minorities in the east and west were "guaranteed", the right to practice their religion.[3] The government stood ready to deal with outbreaks arising from these measures for impartiality did not mean that the Punjab school refused to interfere in controversy to prevent bloodshed. On the contrary, officers were determined to contain religious disorder. They had two weapons for such occasions, personal intervention as arbiter and force. While the former was preferred, officers seldom hesitated to call in troops.[4]

Impartiality was also a keynote in two institutions transferred to the Punjab, the bureaucracy and municipal committees. The government designed an education system to produce literate employees and then set stringent requirements for admission to the public services. With one exception, recruitment was based on educational qualifications, and promotion, on ability and departmental tests. That exception, posts reserved for aristocrates, underlines the degree to which political considerations influenced policy. The Punjab school stressed the role of the rural population and the aristocracy in maintaining order. If the "natural leaders of the community,"—the aristocrats, could be integrated into the administrative system, it was believed that the raj would never be shaken.[5] The government, on the other hand, saw no reason to distribute patronage along religious lines. Competition was supposedly fair to all, while help for one sect might intensify differences and spark dissaffection.[6] Similarly, the primary official concern in appointing Punjabis to municipal

1. Joint minute, John and Henry Lawrence, Jan. 2, 1851, loose in PGG bundle, 1872.
2. Proclamation, March 29, 1849, PGG 121.
3. Circular 83, May 5, 1849, PGG 121.
4. PG to Govt. of India (GI) 3A, PGG 121, Also, Aitchison: Lawrence, pp. 49-50
5. "History of Extra Assistant Commissioners, June 30, 1884" (printed sec. note), PGG, July, 1885, 43-44A. For reqiurements Circular secretariat, July 28, 1876, PG Home (H), Oct. 1879, 1A PG Resolution 3829, Oct. 23, 1879 Punjab Gazette 1, 1879, 605—16.
6. Mcleod minute, April 8, 1866, PG Education (C), June 1884, 1-3A.

committees was representation of leading aristocrats or "titled gentlemen," not religion or the proportion of Hindus and Muslims in local government. The issue of religious affiliation remained dormant when the 1882 Ripon reforms extended the power of committees and replaced nomination with election. A few officers opposed elections on the grounds that they might stir communal feeling, but the Punjab secretariat dismissed the warning. The real debate centered rather on the place of aristocrats in the modified committees.[1]

Official policy toward Punjabi religions and decisive action to quell disturbances were apparently successful during the first decades of British rule in the Punjab. On rare occasions when religious zeal threatened public order, district officers localized the conflict and summarily punished leaders of offending sects.[2] The government particularly felt that the province's weathering of the 1857 mutiny justified a continuation of neutrality. According to John Lawrence and his associates, Punjabis generally backed the British because of their tolerance and sense of fair play.[3] By the eighteen eighties, however, strengthening of communal tendencies in the Punjab had produced major religious controversy and intensified Hindu-Muslim tension.

A striking characteristic of newly educated Punjabis was their tendency to indentify with a religious community rather than with the Western educated class as a whole. Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims responded to a number of diverse pressures after annexation by organizing and joining communal associations. Hindus frequently affiliated with the Arya Samaj, a revivalist movement stressing social reform and education; Muslims formed societies or anjumans which sponsored cultural activities and social improvement projects; and Sikhs belonged to Singh sabhas which denounced apostasy and championed Punjabi as an administrative language. Such patterns of participation reflected the degree of communal indentity already prevalent, but membership in the associations reinforced that identification. Militantly anti-Muslim, the Arya Samaj inculcated visions of a Hindu nation among its members and influenced generations

1. Ambala DC to PG, Aug. 24, 1882, and noting PGG(KW), Sept. 1882, 4A. The British officers were also concerned with the presidentships of the committee.
2. For example, the summary treatment of the Kukas, a revivalist Sikh sect. Pertinent documents in Nahar Singh, Gooroo Ram Singh and the Kuka Sikhs (Amritsar, 1964); Papers Relating to the Kuka Sect(Selections from the Records of the Government of the Punjab, Confidential Series A III; Lahore, 1872).
3. F. Cooper: The Crisis in the Punjab (London, 1858), pp. 22-23; John Lawrence minute, Dec. 19, 1859, PGG (KW), Oct. 9, 1858, 63-63½.

of Hindu students th ugh a network of educational institutions. The programme of the Mus anjumans had a similar effect on the small but growing Muslim educated lass, as did the efforts of the Singh Sabhas to purify their religions.[1]

Two additional elements supported the insularity of ruban Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. First, the Arya Samaj's systematic attack on Islam contributed to a more intense level of Hindu-Muslim antagonism and produced a regularised pattern of conflict. Borrowing agitation techniques from the West, Aryas founded newspapers, popularized street preaching, sent missionaries to the rural areas, and attacked Muslims with a flood of literature and posters. Muslims responded with defence organizations. . . . The result was a hardening of divisions and the institutionalization of old conflicts.[2] Singh sabhas tended to side with Hindus in controversies, but occasionally they opposed both Muslims and Aryas.[3]

An increase in communal rioting also tended to align Hindus and Sikhs on one side and widened the gulf between them and Muslims. The occurrence of fifteen major riots between 1883 and 1891 over kine slaughter or related issues was due primarily to three factors. First, cow protection societies, which Aryas and other Hindus had founded in many towns, made kine slaughter a burning issue and precipitated violence.[4] The spread o cow societies coincided with three years (1885—1887) in which a Hindu festival, Ramlila, fell in the same period as solemn days of Muslim mourning, Muharram. When the Muslim tazias and Hindu parades collided,

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1. The Arya Samaj, V.C. Joshi (ed): Lajpat Rai Autobiographical Writings (New Delhi, 1965) pp. 87-58; Prakash Tandon: Punjabi Century, 1857—1947 (London, 1961), pp. 32—34; Muslim Anjumans, Mian Shah Din: "Mohammedan Societies in the Punjab," The Indian Magazine, 1888, pp. 188-89; Singh Sabhas, Ganda Singh (ed): Bhagat Lakshman Singh Autobiography (Calcutta, 1965), pp. 110—74.

2. Kenneth Jones: "The Arya Samaj and Communal Tensions in the Punjab, 1877—1897" (unpub. mimeog. paper, 1965). Although important, comprehensive analysis of the Arya Samaj"s role, lies outside the scope of this paper.

3. C.L. Tupper: Memorandum on Muslim and Sikh societies, July 19, 1893, PGG (KW), Jan. 1887, 12-12a.

4. Thagi Department note on cow-killing agitation, Aug. 9. 1893, GI Public (P), Jan. 1894, 309—4148. An example of the Samaj effort was the campaign in Ferozepour to close all butcher shops. Correspondence and notes, PGG, Nov.1888, 2—6A,

or when sacrifice of cattle came to Hindu attention, riots often followed.[1] Mass communications spurred unrest. Rapid transmission of news and rumours concerning incidents charged the atmosphere and set off "sympathy demonstrations."[2] The riots subsided after 1892, but a scar of communal bitterness remained.

Although the unrest was partially a continuation of existing patterns of hostility, accentuated by the emergence of organization reinforcing identification with and commitment to the interests of the religious community, foreign rule made at least two significant contributions to the conflict. The British introduced new arenas of power and competition and inadvertantly created a political context which permitted and even invited open communal agitation.

Two institutions transferred to the Punjab, the bureaucracy and municipal committees, soon became foci of religious antagonism. Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims fought for control of the new structures. Victory meant prestige and patronage, defeat, loss of influence and face. Hindu commercial castes adjusted readily to the new circumstances and sustained an advanced position, while Muslims desperately tried to catch up. British neutrality accentuated unrest by indirectly favouring the Hindus and thus perpetuating growing cleavages among Punjabi religious communities.

Since the British were aware of the situation, why did they not anticipate the result and take steps to adjust the systems of recruitment ? It is apparent that administrative expediency placed some restraint on official maneuverability. The need for qualified employees, for example, partially determined recruitment policy. Willingness to reserve places for aristocrats and the debate over the consequences of elections, however, suggest that a more basic determinate was the political orientation of the government. Its perennial concern was the fate of the rural population and the aristocracy. Except in crisis such as the mutiny, urban politics were considered of secondary importance.[3] This rural bias, coupled with the Punjab schools' belief that patriarchal officers could handle

1. Delhi Com. to PG, 8C, Oct. 30, 1886 and enclosures, PGG (KW), Jan. 1887, 12-12A.

2. Lahore Com. to PG Oct. 27, 1885; PG to GI, 598, March 26, 1886, PGG, March 1886, 11—26A.

3. In fact the mutiny experience strengthened the official feeling that the educated classes were hostile to Western rule and could not be counted upon as a positive political force, Punjab Government Records: Mutiny Reports (2 Vols: Lahore 1911), pp. 81-54, 95-96, 195-96, 252-53.

any disturbance, tended to blind the government to the potential dangers inherent in job or municipal competition. Instead of analyzing the impact of elections and extended powers on the urban class, official debate, therefore, centerd on the aristocracy and ways to maintain the prestige of British civil servants.

The second contribution to communal politics was the creation of a political ethos which incited agitation and encouraged minority groups to assert their rights. Mobilization of public opinion to influence official decisions would have been futile under Ranjit Singh or the Mughals because although those rulers often used audiences to remedy individual grievances, their administration tended to be autocratic. That the order of the ruler must be obeyed was especially true in matters affecting the relations between divergent religions. Despite Ranjit Singh's general forebearance toward Muslims, many of his broad measures, such as ban on cow-slaughter, Muslim festivals, and proselytization, openly favoured Hindus and Sikhs. Muslim rulers had similarly interfered with Hindu practices in the west and south-east districts. The community with official support dominated the religious life of an area—there was no talk of equality and little appeal. The British changed this. Contrary to the claims of Indian nationalists and the wishes of many officers, British rule in India did not rest solely upon authoritarianism. The decision-making process often included assessment of Indian sentiments by private talks or public commissions of inquiry. Even though the evidence sometimes played little part in final decision, the act of collecting information reinforced the prevalent idea that the British were receptive to Indian opinion and helped create a climate conducive to agitation on popular issues.

Although the Punjab government disliked public discussion of policy and favoured a more autocratic process of reaching decisions, the ideas and techniques of political demonstration slowly took root in the Punjab. The local government generally opposed commissions on the grounds that they stirred "rabble-rousing" and brought "professional agitators to the fore", but because inquiries were planned in Calcutta or London, Punjab authorities could only accept the ruling and minimize repercussions.[1] At the same time the Punjab school was altering the political climate as much or more than were decisions of the Indian

1. Mackworth Young minute, June 23, 1887, ICI (KW), July 1888, 41-88A.

government and the India Office. Support of religious equality was a radical innovation which upset long standing arrangements and encouraged hitherto subjugated sects to demand equal rights. The government realized that its actions might cause trouble among peoples accustomed to dominance and lead minorities to demand further concessions, but it self-assuredly assumed that the Punjab Commission could handle any unrest. As in the past, Punjabis would accept the hukm, the order, of their ma-bap, the district officer. . .

Continued outbreaks in the eighteen eighties nevertheless questioned the validity of the government's assumptions. Recruitment controversy and frequently violent attempts to control local committees underlined the mistake of minimizing urban politics. In addition to disrupting life in the cities, the ensuing agitation showed signs of spreading into the countryside. Unrest also challenged the Punjab school's reliance upon personal power and the influence of officers in handling problems of order. Unitary functions of the Punjab civil servant had been weakened by 1880. The creation of separate civil judiciary limited his authority, while mounting paperwork left him less time for close contact with the people. Bureaucratization precluded the ideal of an officer riding among the peasants and dealing out simple justice from horseback. As officers lost a measure of their power and prestige . . . Punjabis were loosing their awe of the British and beginning to question executive decisions. This process was evident especially among the urban classes.[1] Violence, the ascendant political significance of the cities, and erosion of patriarchal influence drove the government to re-assess its policies, to look for new techniques and tactics for controlling disturbances generated by communal competition.

One disquieting result of British rule for Punjabi Muslims had been their poor showing in the race for education and employment which began during the eighteen sixties. Unlike Muslims, who generally were handicapped by their poverty and attitude towards Western education, the Hindu commercial castes and Brahmins readily adapted to the new demands and tended to dominate the professional class employed in law,

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1. An informative analysis, is in a minute by Denzil Ibbetson, appended to N.G. Barrier, The Punjab Alienation of Land Bill of 1900 (Durham, 1966), pp. 107—109.

medicine, and government service.[1] Muslim dissatisfaction at the disparity between themselves and Hindus had been mounting since the mutiny, but the government of India itself initiated the first major discussion of Muslim employment in 1870 ! The Governor-General Lord Mayo, and a Bengal officer, W. W. Hunter, attributed the revolutionary activities of several Muslim groups to the declining economic condition of their community, and the Indian secretariat, therefore, addressed the Punjab and Bengal governments on whether Muslims were adequately represented in education and administration.[2] While Punjab authorities gathered information, a Muslim organization, the Lahore Anjuman-e-Islamia, heard of the inquiry and demanded special posts for Muslims. The Anjuman claimed that Hindus controlled all avenues of advancement and deliberately kept out Muslim candidates.[3] The Punjab government denied the charge and refused to reserve Muslim positions. Impartial recruitment was to be continued.[4]

This discussion reflected several elements which continually appeared in later employment debates. Official investigations, often opposed by the Punjab government, raised the question of favourtism, and then Hindu and Muslim organizations agitated. The reaction of the provincial government was always the same. Every Punjabi had equal opportunities, it argued, and if Muslims could not compete they must "go to the wall".[5] A restatement of policy in turn had a temporary dampening effect on Muslim efforts to win advantages. As an editor told the government, "There is no use constantly preparing memorials if you will not listen."[6] After an official pronouncement, agitation diminished until a fresh inquiry or controversy arose.

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1. Hindus and Muslims were almost equally represented in lower posts requiring minimal literacy and paying less than Rs. 15, but Brahmins and the Commercial class monopolized the middle and upper salary range. Generalizations based on data in PGH, Jan. 1876, 6A; establishment tables, PGH, Nov. 1872, 11A. The following discuss the reasons for Muslim lack of adaptation; Note by Rahim, PGH, April, 1872, 37A; Bashir Ahmad, Justice Shah Din (Lahore, 1962), pp. 197—262; Syed Hashim Shah Bukhari Neshanal Kangras se Musalmanon Ko Bachna Chahiye (Ferozepur 1888), pp. 14—16.
2. Correspondence on Employment of Muhammadan Community (Calcutta, 1886), pp. 88—92; Zafurul-Islam and Raymond Jenson, "Indian Muslims and the Public Services, 1871—1915", Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan IV (1964) 85—93.
3. Memorial appended to PGG, May 1877, 11A.
4. PG to GI, 683, Feb. 21, 1873, PGG (KW). May 1877, 11A.
5. Fitzpatrick's minute, GI Public (P), Oct. 1894, 102—106-A. GI files rom National Archives of India, New Delhi.
6. Printed interview with Mahbub Alam, editor of Paisa Akhbar FGG (KW), Feb. 1889, 14—22A.

In 1876, for example, a semi-confidential survey of Muslim employment by the Punjab Director of Public Instruction sparked a recruitment debate. The Delhi Anjuman-e-Islamia sent a request that the British implement the "known" policy of equally distributing Hindus and Muslims in all agencies. The government curtly replied that it had no such intention: "The application to enforce a rule which has no existence, and an order which had never been passed, cannot be entertained . . . the appointments to the offices under Government are made on the ground of fitness, and not on account of the candidate professing any particular form of religious belief. If the Muhammadans of Delhi desire to obtain a larger share of appointments, they can easily do so by educating their sons more completely and giving them an intellectual training, which, along with the energy and force of character which so many of them possess, would ensure their obtaining much of the appointments which now are gained by Hindus and others".[1]

The refusal to balance Hindus and Muslims generated a storm in the Muslim press, but interest in the issue declined after a few months.[2]

The appointment of the Hunter Education Commission in 1881 led to further agitation over instruction and the public services. Muslims hoped that the Commission would recommend special scholarships and other concessions for their community. Punjabi Hindus opposed this, but they wanted the Commission to recommend the official vernacular in Punjab courts and secondary education Urdu, be replaced with Hindi, a language considered the *lingua franca* of Indian Hindus. Muslims fought the change because they felt that Hindi gave Hindus additional employment advantages. Each community, therefore, circulated petitions and held meetings to influence the government. Muslim anjumans sponsored Muslim rallies, while Hindus reform societies were behind the effort to focus Hindu and Sikh opinion.[3] Despite the heated campaign, the government did not alter its policies on education and language. Lieutenant-Governor Charles Aitchison conferred with his officers, who almost uniformly resisted special aid to Muslims. Once again the government reiterated that self-help alone would help those who had fallen behind in the race for employment :

1. PG to Anjuman-i-Islamia, Delhi, 2076. May, 10 18/7, PGG, May, 1877, 11A.
2. Sec. note on Muslim societies, Jan. 8, Jan. 1887, PGG (KW) Feb. 1889, 14-22A.
3. Commission discussed in Islam and Jensen, "Indian Muslims", pp. 85.93; documents on agitation in Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society, XV (Jan. 1963) 1-82

> It is not for the Government to confer special privileges upon any one class of its subjects when they have failed to avail themselves of the opportunities freely offered to all . . . If they (the Muslims) have failed to do so, the blame must lie at their own door, and for the future, the remedy lies in their own hands.[1]

Between 1882 and the next inquiry in 1886, employment received considerable attention in the Punjab press. Exposes of Punjabi officials misusing their authority kept the problem in the lime light. Hindu editors, for example, publicized exorbitant taxes levelled on Hindu merchants by a Muslim inspector in Rawalpindi.[2] Moreover, nepotism had permeated the lower bureaucracy. Hindus and Muslims openly reserved positions for their families and co-religionists. The most flagrant case was the domination of five district offices by the Chopra sub-caste of the Khatri trading community. The Hindus refused to let Muslims rise above clerks and charged subordinates with "incompetency" because of religion.[3] Such incidents exasperated both communities and accentuated the defense of communal interests. "Bigotry in the public services", one editor remarked, meant that unless "our community makes every effort to help and defend co-religionists, we shall be lost".[4]

Competition, fanned by fresh rioting, had reached a new level of intensity when the Aitchison Commission gathered evidence on the public services in 1886. Three questions stimulated Hindu-Muslim rivalry—simultaneous examinations in India and England, the method of recruitment for subordinate cadres, and reservation of posts for minorities. It was commonly acknowledged that if simultaneous civil service tests were held, the increased number of Indians would be primarily Hindus; similarly, Hindus would probably be predominant in the lower services.[5] Growing concern among Punjabi Muslims and the exertions of an outside Muslim organization, the Central National Mohamedan Association

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1. PG to GI, 916, April 19, 1884, PGG (KW) Feb. 1889, 14—22A.
2. Rawalpindi DC to PG 102, Jan. 8, 1885, PGG (KW) Feb. 1889, 14—22A.
3. Undated Memo on "Relationship of District Officials," PGG (KW) Dec. 1896, 49—1141A.
4. Rafiq-i-Hind, Jan. 26, 1886, clipping in PGC 183. The Editor, Muharram Ali Chishti, devoted an essay to the issue in Jawab Mazmun Ka Risala Mussamma Ka Muraqqa-i-Tahsib (Lahore, n.d.), pp. 23—28.
5. Aitchison Commission Report (Calcutta, 1887), I, 17—19. Also, Islam and Jensen, "Indian Muslims"., pp. 95—112.

of Calcutta, made the Aitchison Commission agitation far more hotly contested than previous demonstrations. Punjab branches of the Association held large meetings, counselled prospective witnesses, and publicized Hindu misdeeds. Hindus countered with equally large meetings, tracts, and a thousand petitions.[1] Antagonism reached a climax when the cases were presented to the Commission in December, of 1886, but after the body left Lahore, Muslims continued to demand special consideration.

The cumulative threat to order and the inflamed feelings following the Lahore hearing led to a reassessment of recruitment policy. In January of 1887, the Punjab government asked officers for opinions and information on the communal problem. The circular evoked a variety of responses. A few officers warned that should the British give way to Muslim pressure, it would only weaken the 'izzat' of the government and spark new "clamour". This view was frequently buttressed with a claim that despite current unrest, urban politics were insignificant and must not influence decisions.[2] Most officers, however, urged a shift toward communal representation in the bureaucracy as an effective means of maintaining peace. Suggestions for increasing Muslim employment came from both the eastern and western districts . . . Eastern officers generally felt that oppression of Muslims by Hindus had caused many of the religious outbreaks. Hindus reportedly utilized bureaucratic posts to persecute Muslims, who retaliated with acts offensive to Hindus such as the sacrificing of cattle. The officers suggested that more Muslims be brought into administration to prevent total Hindu domination. A balance, it was argued, would reduce Muslim militancy and create circumstances in which Hindus and Muslims could constantly observe and check each other's actions.[3] Western officials proposed communal representation for different reasons. Their leading spokesman, S. S. Thorburn, warned that western Muslims were a warlike people who would be loyal only if they received considerate treatment. These Muslims were about to rebel because of domination by men considered 'inferior', Hindu bureaucrats and money-lenders.[4] Thorburn accordingly supported

1. Tribune, Dec. 15, 1886; Triennial Report of the Central National Mohamedan Association of India (Calcutta, 1886), pp. 4—6; Chishti, Jawab, pp. 33-34.
2. For example, Rawalpindi DC to PG, 83S/C, Feb. 1887, PGG (KW), Feb. 1889, 14—22A.
3. Sec. noting on opinion of Delhi officers, PGG (KW), Feb. 1889, 14—22A.
4. Thorburn to PG undated, PGG (KW), Feb. 1889, 14—22A. For his views, Bannu Settlement Report (Lahore 1876), p. 50; Punjab in Peace and War, chps. IV-V.

the Muslim claim for posts as a method of insuring the loyalty of western tribes.

While discounting the arguments concerning Muslim rebellion and sole Hindu responsibility for riots, the government weighed a policy change because of three dangerous aspects of the problem. First, Lieutenant-Governor James Lyall realized that subordinate powers were often misused. British officers tried to remove flagrant offenders, but thorough policing of the large bureaucracy was almost impossible. Nepotism and religious favouritism were thus certain to remain a source of irritation unless misconduct was somehow controlled. Second, Lyall and his secretariat believed that while current agitation along constitutional lines did not pose immediate dangers, accumulation of grievances might subsequently cause serious outbreaks. This tendency to anticipate future developments was also responsible for concomitant discussion within the secretariat on the dangers of rural debt and land transfer. In both cases, debt and communal unrest, the government analyzed current information in order to prevent impending or projected crises. The final considerations also involved the rural population and long-range plans. Lyall feared that disturbances would eventually infect the warlike Punjabi agriculturists. Few instances of this had occurred by 1886, but the government committed to preventing future trouble in the rural areas.[1]

Lyall weighed the opinion of his advisors and then took two steps to eliminate recruitment as a source of friction. A confidential circular instructing officers to break up cliques was calculated to deal with the pressing problem of nepotism.[2] Lyall also broke decisively with impartiality by suggesting that future vacancies be filled with "qualified Muslims" until the Hindu-Muslim ratio bore 'some relation' to 'their proportions among the upper and middle classes of the population in the district.'[3] The shift was not premised on Muslim loyalty or on a theory of divide and rule. Rather, Lyall issued the rules because he believed that inclusion of more Muslims would gradually quiet one area of conflict. Muslims would supposedly quit agitating as their lot improved, while a Hindu-Muslim balance would check gross mal-administration. As announcement of the policy might be interpreted as a major concession

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1. Lyall minute, July 1, 1887, PGG, Feb. 1889, 14—22A.
2. PG to DCs XI(C), Aug. 2, 1887, PGG (KW), Feb. 1889, 14—22A.
3. *Ibid.*

to Muslims, however, Lyall kept the instructions secret and ordered officers to use tact and caution in balancing the two communities.[1]

The break with neutrality paved the way for the ascendancy of a new balancing strategy. Subsequent circulars reinforced Lyall's instructions. When S.S. Thorburn became Financial Commissioner in 1899, he extended the principle of religious representation to teachers' college and secured a program for raising the number of Muslims in executive and judicial posts until it equalled that of Hindus.[2] Although Thorburn distrusted Hindu politicians, like his predecessors he helped Muslims primarily because of fear that they would become discontented at exclusion from lucrative jobs, not because he wished to cultivate Muslims as a counterpoise to politically active Hindus.

Reaction to unrest and anticipation of future developments had therefore, influenced policy. At the same time the Punjab Government adopted the strategy of communal representation in dealing with a more immediate and volatile crisis, disturbances over municipal committees.

The revised constitution and enlarged functions of committees furnished incentive for Hindu and Muslim efforts to control local self-government. Interest in the committees had lagged prior to 1883 because of severe limitations on their authority. An official, nominated majority controlled the bodies and a British civil servant took the initiative in hiring, spending money, and discussing issues. Even in Lahore and Amritsar, where approximately a third of the posts were elective, the high tax and property franchise excluded all but a few aristocrats and wealthy businessmen.[3] In the new committees, however, elected majorities sat astride vast channels of patronage and power. Committees hired employees, influenced educational policy, and had the final word on local improvements. The extended franchise accompanying the new functions also helped set the stage for bitter contests between Hindus and Muslims.

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1. Lyall minute, July 1, 1887, PGG (KW), Feb. 1889, 14—22A, Also, Fitzpatrick minute, Sept. 23, 1893, and PG to GI 930S, Sept. 28, 1893, PGE (KW), July, 1885, 43-44A.
2. Thorburn minute, undated, attached to circular 443(C), April, 10, 1900, loose in PGG bundle, April 1900.
3. Rules in PG Agriculture, Revenue, and Committees, March, 1872, 9A. The debate and new legislation contained in the following: GIP, May 1883, 130-45A: June, 1883, 134-36A; April 1884, 39-50A. For a general discussion, S. Gopal: The Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, 1880—1884 (London), 1953), pp. 81—112.

who considered the committees ential tools for advancing the interests of their community.

The first elections under revise ule were held in 1883 and 1884. Election procedure and the constitu ons of agrarian boards kept rural contests from becoming communal encounters. Self-government by peasants was so controversial that the British kept policy-making and large expenditures in their own hands. Had incentive for competition been greater, voting arrangements would probably have limited serious controversy. Villages elected one or more representatives to local boards. Results were virtually never in doubt because one caste generally controlled a village and chose prominent leaders or headmen. The zail constituencies-revenue circles which named representatives to district boards, tended to elect landed aristocrats or zaildars (Punjabi revenue officials). British officers used their considerable influence with the classes prominent on the boards to prevent incidents. In fact, headmen and zaildars often asked civil servants to be president of rural boards.[1]

The urban classes, on the other hand, made elections a test of communal strength. Official descriptions of over a hundred contests indicate that Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs almost immediately developed or borrowed from the West, techniques for securing votes and manipulating committees. One method popular among Hindus was economic pressure on indebted Muslims. In several elections money-landers made clients vote for them or for favoured Hindu candidates.[2] Muslim and Hindu organizations also canvassed voters. In Delhi and Amritsar, for example, Hindu committees and Muslim anjumans hired clerks who went from house to house collecting petitions which charged opponents with illegal methods. Although Sikhs usually sided with Hindus, the Amritsar Singh Sabha supported a Sikh slate and tried unsuccessfully to gain a majority on the local council.[3] Violence was a final technique in smaller municipalities. Rich Punjabis hired thugs to guards voting booths and prevent enemies from casting ballots. A few candidates even tried to steal ballot boxes before counting. Forged registration and voting papers were common.[4]

Hindus won a majority of the contests because they composed the large middle class population in the central and eastern towns. With

1. Reports on rural elections, PG, to GI, 570S, Sept. 29,1884, GIP Dec. 1884, 38—54A.
2. For example, report on Gujrat, PG Commission (COM) Sept. 1884, 4—9A.
3. On Amritsar, PGE, July 1884, 108—10A; Delhi PG Municipal (M), Oct. 1884, 31—36A.
4. Examples in PGCOM, June 1884, 7—18A; July 1884, 39—54A.

superior education, Hindus were also better equipped to handle electioneering. In 96 reported elections, Hindus won a majority on 72 committees, Muslims, a majority on 12 committees, Sikhs, a majority on one minor body (Tarn Taran), and there were 11 Hindu-Muslim ties.[1]

Elections were only a prelude to prolonged controversy. Majority often favoured their community, a process examplified by the proceedings of the Hoshiarpur committees. On two separate occasions, the Hindu majority supported actions detrimental to Muslims. An influential Hindu trader, Hamir Chand, provoked the first incident by building a wall around a public well. Although the wall blocked the street and made the well inaccessible to the Muslims of the area, Hindu committee members prevented an inquiry on the ground that the wall was merely an extension of a religious shrine. Besides protecting Hamir Chand, the Hindus also tried to ban beef-shops bordering Hoshiarpur. The district officer blocked their effort but the action, nevertheless, intensified antagonism and sparked a riot.[2] Similar instances were reported in other towns. The government quickly concluded that the experiment had contributed to communal tension, a view summarized in this comment by the Commissioner of Amritsar :

> The broad lines of party division in local politics are those of religion, and while this is so, municipal elections must always require careful watching. The danger in the Punjab is that religious bigotry may at any time supervene and greatly intensify the excitement of the struggle for office and power . . . in many Punjab cities that process has already occurred and threatens to turn election days into days of combat.[3]

Lieutenant-Governor, Lyall immediately acted to quiet the unrest. Officers were deputed to conduct fresh elections in towns with voting irregularities, and in four cities, committees were expelled from office because of graft and vote-buying. The British also curtailed elections in particularly excited towns such as Hoshiarpur and put civil servants in charge of committees known for mismanagement.[4]

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1. Based on statistics from 1883 and 1884 PGM files.
2. Correspondence, PGM, Sept. 1885, 18-21A; PGCOM' May, 1887, 3-8A.
3. Report of Amritsar Com. undated, appended to PGCOM, Oct. 1896, 73-74A.
4. Opinion of other officers reflected in the following proceedings: GIM, Jan., 1891, 10—19A; Jan. 1893, 1—3A.
   On Hoshiarpur, PGCOM, May 1887, 3—8A; bribery rules and investigations, PGCOM, Oct. 1894, 73-74A; Feb. 1897, 15—27A.

When it became evident that stopgap measures were not enough to maintain order, Punjab authorities again assessed the wisdom of strict religious impartiality. To Lyall and his associates, the pressing problem seemed to be how Hindu-Muslim collisions could be prevented during elections and in later committee activities. The determination of the Indian government to continue municipal elections barred one solution, return to nomination and the old constitutions. The reluctance of urban Punjabis to accept arbitration and personal intervention by officers also undermined a tactic long employed in communal situations.[1] Lyall accordingly turned to a third policy only recently adopted in recruitment, communal representation. Arrangements varied with each town, but the key tenet was that separating Hindus and Muslims at election time and balancing them on councils would limit conflict. After 1886, the government nominated enough members to weaken the dominance of religious cliques. In the west, where elections had only been tried on a limited basis, balancing of Hindus and Muslims became a general practice. In the central and eastern districts, either enlarged Muslim memberships kept Hindus in check or small European groups held the balance between Punjabi factions and mediated on controversial issues[2]. Voting procedure was also changed. In Delhi, for example, the government gerrymandered wards so that Muslims had an advantage in almost half the precincts.[3] In Amritsar, it was decreed that the ten Hindus and eight Muslims receiving the largest number of votes would be elected, irregardless of comparative ranking. To fill vacancies created by death or illness, Hindus were to vote for Hindu replacements, and Muslims for Muslim replacements. Although the presidency could be contested, the committee was directed to elect two Vice-Presidents, one Hindu and one Muslim.[4] Three additional towns were given separate electorates, a system whereby one community could vote only for vacancies filled by co-religionists. When elections were resumed in Hoshiarpur in 1891, Hindus had six reserved seats, Muslims, four seats. In Lahore, Hindus and Muslims each had eight seats, and in Multan six seats.[5]

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1. Lyall minute, Oct. 1, 1887, PGCOM, Nov. 1887, 3—6A.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Plans in Delhi and other municipalities had been prepared after the initial elections. Delhi Com. to PG, 2152A. Oct. 8, 1884, and noting PGM (KW) Oct. 1884, 31—36A.
4. Reports in PGCOM, Aug. 1888, 9—12A.
5. Reports in PGCOM, June, 1890, 12—16A; Aug. 1892, 1—23A.

In summary, the Punjab government responded to communal agitation and the threat of future disturbance by re-examining its political assumptions concerning Punjabi religious communities. For three decades it had presumed that impartiality and "just rule" by patriarchal officers would be effective in controlling religious controversy. The introduction of British rule helped create circumstances which challenged this philosophy. The transfer of new arenas of power and prestige spurred competition by urban Punjabis, while the creation of a different political ethos stimulated agitation and demands by minority groups. The British adjusted their policies to new circumstanes. Traditional goals remained constant—maintenance of order and British rule—but strategy shifted from impartiality to communal representation. In the case of unrest over employment and education, balancing Hindus and Muslims was intended as a long-range remedy for conflict. As the Muslim share of posts gradually approximated their percentage of the population, the government hoped that the issue would die down and threaten neither rural nor urban peace. Communal representation on committees was supposed to have a more immediate effect. It was hoped that separate electorates and a balance of interests would reduce tension. In neither case, did the British try to create a gulf between communities. Rather, responding to an existing gulf which threatened order, they pursued policies calculated to diminish conflict and eventually to improve communal relations.

Those policies and the hope of Hindu-Muslim accord unfortunately ended in failure. Although a full assessment of the new approach to the communal politics would be a review of the issues and decisions leading to partition, several implications and consequences should be highlighted. First, the effort to end conflict over self-government was at least temporarily successful. After the eighteen nineties, elections and municipal affairs infrequently stirred communal dust in the Punjab. Educated Punjabis appreciated official intensions and applauded the new arrangements as wise and beneficial. Hindu and Muslim organizations in fact often requested the establishment of separate electorates in their towns to prevent violence.[1] The long-term result of communal representation, however, was the further institutionalization of differences among urban

1. Tribune, June 7, 1884, March 15, 1893. Also, Amritsar Com. to PG 132, April 7, 1888, PGCOM, May 1888, 7—12A.

Punjabis. Separate electorates minimized cooperation across religious lines and reinforced separatist tendencies. Moreover, the gradual extension of the representative policy into new institutions which were *loci* of greater power than local committees—the Panjab University and the Punjab Legislative Council—contributed to fresh rounds of controversy. The provincial government had initially employed religious representation to minimize violent encounters, but from the Morley-Minto reforms onward, use of that tactic was confirmed and widely publicized by the Government of India's determination to help Muslims. In the following decades, Muslims expected favouritism and protection, while Hindus became increasingly embittered by official efforts to maintain equal representation. Each time communal representation was extended, Hindus tended to forget the circumstances in the eighteen eighties and charged the British with using "divide and rule", from the start to create friction within the 'unified educated class".[1]

Quiet efforts to combat nepotism and redress a Hindu-Muslim imbalance in the bureaucracy met with less success. Manipulation of posts continued despite official scrutiny, and the issue remained a favourite of newspapermen and politicians.[2] In addition, persistent Muslim backwardness in education kept the government from quickly adjusting the composition of the public services.[3] The British did not have the necessary decades to affect change, nor were they able to keep the plans secret. Disclosure of employment circulars after 1904 intensified Muslim agitation for patronage and widened the rift between Hindus and Muslims. Divulgence of the new British policy also helped foster an important shift in Hindu-Muslim political organization. The circulars indicated that the British could be influenced by communal agitation, and thereby paved the way for the multiplication of Hindu Muslim, and Sikh demands. Agitation which formerly had been spordic and tied to specific events now became regularized. As Penderal Moon notes, this process began as soon as the communities realized that the "clamouring paid".[4] Awareness

1. Harkishen Lal minute June 23, 1907, PGH (VKW), 11A, loose in PGP bundle, 1907.
2. Punjabee, Nov. 7, 1904, Nov. 14, 1904, Film copies of the Punjabee (1904—1908) are in the National Achives of India.
3. The Muslim proportion of superior posts. (Rs. 75 and over) held by Punjabis rose slowly from 25 per cent in 1887 (295 of 1,145) to 31 per cent in 1903 (532 of 1,714). 'Proportions of Europeans and Natives in the Public Services' Calcutta 1904), pp. 39—41, 128—32.
4. Penderal Moon, Strangers in India (London, 1904), p. 101.

of official sensitivity to communal considerations, coupled with Hindu-Muslim conflict stirred by the Morely-Minto announcements and a resurgence of cow protection, precipitated the formation of the Punjab Hindu Sabha and the .... branch of the Punjab Muslim League. Muslims thought their efforts had forced the policy changes and were determined to win new concessions, while the Hindu Sabha defended Hindu interests. By 1909 the Chief Khalsa Diwan also agitated for special Sikh privileges. . .[1]

A final implication of communal representation was the case with which a tactic devised to limit conflict could be converted into a tool for playing Hindus and Muslims against each other for British gain. Having abandoned the principle of impartiality, Punjab authorities were prepared to bolster their position in new crises by manipulating patronage. In addition to attempts at splitting Hindus and Muslims during scattered emergencies such as the 1907 and 1919 disturbances, the government frequently relied upon the tactic of 'divide and rule' as constitutional changes transferred increasing power to Punjabis.[1] Always mindful of the dangers inherent in arousing communalism, the government cautiously manipulated parties within the legislature to maintain its authority. Those actions aggravated the fears and tension which became pronounced when the British lost control of the political system in the nineteen forties."[2]

1. Discussion of Hindus Sabhas and the League in N.G. Barrier, "Punjab Politics and the Disturbances of 1907". (unpub. diss. Duke U., 1966) pp. 278—318. On the Khalsa Diwan, "Recent Developments in Sikhs Politics" (conf. CID note, pub. 1911), GI Home Political, Dec. 2D.

2. Barrier N.G. : op cit. pp. 523—539.

باب یازدھم

مسلمانانِ پنجاب کی سیاسی و دیگر سرگرمیاں ۱۹۰۶ تا ۱۹۱۸*

مسلمانانِ پنجاب کے لیے ایک سیاسی جماعت کی ضرورت

"مسلمانانِ پنجاب کی موجودہ پولٹیکل حالت کا موازنہ کرتے ہوئے اس امر کو تسلیم کرنا پڑتا ہے کہ ہمسایہ اقوام کے مقابل ہماری پس ماندہ قوم کی حالت ہرگز ایسی نہیں کہ بہی خواہانِ قوم کے دلوں کے لیے تسلی بخش ہو۔ جس پہلو سے ان کی حالت پر ہمدردانہ نظر ڈالی جاوے آنکھوں کے سامنے ایک ایسی تصویر کھنچ جاتی ہے جو دلوں کو مایوسانہ خیالات سے بھرتی اور ہمدردانِ قوم کی رگوں میں سچے قومی جوش کو موجزن کرتی ہے۔ اس میں کلام نہیں کہ مسلمانان پنجاب کی گذشتہ سی سالہ تاریخ پر نظر ڈالنے سے یہ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ انہوں نے اس عرصہ میں کسی قدر ترقی ضرور کی ہے۔ مگر ساتھ ہی جب اس کامیابی کا خیال دل میں آتا ہے جو اس عرصہ میں ہمارے دیگر ہم وطنوں نے اپنی مساعی جمیلہ سے اپنے پولٹیکل حالات کو سدھارنے میں حاصل کی ہے تو یہ امر تسلیم کرنا پڑتا ہے کہ اسلامی ترقی کی رفتار گذشتہ سالوں میں سست واقع ہوئی ... ملک کی حالت کو مدنظر رکھ کر اب وہ وقت آ گیا ہے کہ سربرآوردگان قوم موجودہ کمزوری کی اصل وجوہات کی درست تشخیص کریں اور اس تشخیص کے بعد اول بواعث کو جو اس ضعف کا باعث ہو رہے ہیں، دور کرنے میں صداقت کے ساتھ کوشاں ہوں .... کیا پولٹیکل کمزوری اس وجہ سے ہے کہ صوبہ پنجاب میں ہماری قوم بمقابلہ ہمسایہ قوم کے تعداد میں کم ہے؟ اس سوال کا جواب ایک طفلِ مکتب بھی بآسانی دے سکتا ہے۔ یہ مسلم امر ہے کہ ہمارے صوبے میں مسلمان بہ نسبت دیگر اقوام کے تعداد میں بہت زیادہ ہیں .... کیا شخصی و قومی حیثیت و وقعت کے لحاظ سے مسلمانان پنجاب اپنی ہمسایہ اقوام کے مقابل اس قدر کمزور ہیں

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* اس باب کے لیے مواد روزنامہ پیسہ اخبار لاہور سے اخذ کیا گیا ہے۔

کہ یہ کمزوری ان کے قومی ضعف کا باعث ہو رہی ہے ؟ میری رائے ناقص میں اس سوال کا جواب بھی وثوق کے ساتھ نفی میں دیا جا سکتا ہے ۔ ذرا اٹک ، راولپنڈی ، جہلم ، شاہپور ، جھنگ ، میانوالی ، ڈیرہ غازی خاں ، مظفر گڑھ ، ملتان اور منٹگمری کی طرف نظر ڈالیے تو بلا شبہ ظاہر ہو گا کہ ان اضلاع میں کیا شخصی اور کیا مجموعی حیثیت و وجاہت کے لحاظ سے ہمارے مسلمان بھائیوں کا پلہ بہت بھاری ہے . . . . ہاں شہروں میں دیگر اقوام کے مقابل مسلمان حیثیت کے لحاظ سے بیشک کمزور ہیں ۔ مگر یہ کمزوری ہرگز نہیں ہے کہ جس کے باعث ہم پر مایوسی کی حالت طاری ہو ۔ اور اگر شخصی وقعت کو محفوظ رکھا جاوے تو شہروں میں بھی مسلمان اپنی وجاہت اور انفلوئینس میں کسی سے کم نہیں . . . . عربی ، فارسی ، اردو لٹریچر، تاریخ مشرقی فلسفہ وغیرہ میں مسلمان اپنے دیگر ہم وطنوں سے بڑھے ہوئے ہیں ۔ مگر جہاں تک مغربی علوم کا تعلق ہے ۔ اس بات کو تسلیم کرنا پڑتا ہے کہ ابتدائی عملداری سرکار انگلشیہ میں وجوہات چند در چند جن کا یہاں اعادہ غیر ضروری ہے ۔ مسلمانان پنجاب مدت تک خواب غفلت میں پڑے رہے اور انہوں نے علوم مغربیہ کی تحصیل کی طرف توجہ نہ کی ۔ یہی وجہ ہے کہ اس میدان میں ہمارے ہندو بھائی نے ہم سے مدتوں پہلے قدم رکھا جس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ وہ ہم سے بہت آگے بڑھ گئے . . . . ہندوستان کی موجودہ حالت کو مدنظر رکھکر قوم کا لیڈر وہی شخص ہوسکتا ہے جس کا گورنمنٹ میں رسوخ ہو ۔ اپنی قوم اس کو عزت کی نگاہ سے دیکھتی ہو۔ اور اس میں بوجہ اپنی اعلیٰ تعلیم اور لیاقت کے زمانے کی چال جانچنے کی ضروریات ، قوم کو سمجھنے اور قوم کو سیدھا راستہ دکھلانے کی قابلیت موجود ہو . . . . جب ہم صوبہ پنجاب کے مختلف اضلاع پر نظر ڈالتے ہیں تو ایسے مسلمان بھائی نظر آتے ہیں جن میں یہ اوصاف کسی حد تک موجود ہیں ہاں اگر کمی ہے تو اس بات کی کہ خود قوم میں یہ مادہ موجود نہیں . . . . ہر ایک تجربہ کار نوجوان جو ہندوستان یا انگلستان میں کوئی امتحان پاس کر کے اس امر کی قابلیت پیدا کر لیتا ہے کہ پلیٹ فارم پر کھڑے ہو کر لیکچر دے

سکے یا اخبار میں مضمون نویسی کر سکے قوم کی لیڈری کا دعویٰ کرنے لگ جاتا ہے - ہر ایک شخص جو بوجہ پروفیشن یا تجارت کے کچھ دولت جمع کرلیتا ہے وہی خیال کرنے لگ جاتا ہے کہ اسے قوم کی لیڈری کا حق حاصل ہو گیا ہے --- مگر خود قوم میں اس بات کی کمی ہے کہ وہ اپنے سچے بہی خواہوں اور محض رہبری کے جھوٹے دعویداروں میں تمیز نہیں کر سکتی --- ورنیکولر پریس میں ہمارا پلہ صریحاً بھاری ہے - لاہور میں ''پیسہ اخبار''، ''وطن''، امرتسر میں اخبار ''وکیل'' ایسے معزز اخبارات ہیں جو اس صوبہ کے اردو اخبارات میں اپنا ثانی نہیں رکھتے - علاوہ ان کے اور بہت سے اردو اخبار بھی ایسے ہیں جن کے مالک و ایڈیٹر مسلمان ہیں اور انگریزی اخبارات کی طرف خیال کیا جاوے تو وہاں بھی ہمارا قومی اخبار آبزرور ہر وقت ہمارے حقوق کی حفاظت میں کوشاں اور قوم کو اس کی موجودہ ضروریات کی طرف توجہ دلاتا ہے - ہاں اگر ضرورت ہے تو اس بات کی کہ بجائے ہفتہ میں دو بار شائع ہونے کے ہمارا قومی انگریزی اخبار روزنامہ بنایا جاوے --- جہاں تک میری عقل ناقص کا تعلق ہے --- پورے غور کے بعد میں نے یہ نتیجہ نکالا ہے کہ مسلمانان پنجاب کی پولٹیکل کمزوری کا اصلی باعث ان کی تعلیمی کوشش منتشر، ان کی تجارت اور ان کا سرمایہ بالکل بے طریقہ - اپنے حقوق کے حصول کے لیے ان کی سب کوششیں مختلف اور غیر متحد - الغرض کسی ایک پہلو میں بھی مناسب اصولوں پر قوم کا آرگنائزیشن نہیں ہے - قومی قوتوں کے انتشار، قوم کی سینکڑوں مختلف جاعتوں میں تقسیم، قومی انجمنوں اور اخبارات کے اختلاف، کسی ایک قومی پالیسی کی عدم موجودگی قومی، کمزوری کے اسباب ہیں - میری ناقص رائے میں ایک باضابطہ آرگنائزیشن کے نہ ہونے کے نتیجے میں ایک ایک شہر میں کئی کئی جاعتیں بن گئی ہیں - جن کے باہمی حسد اور اختلاف رائے کی وجہ سے قوم کی یہ حالت ہو رہی ہے کہ ناگفتہ بہ ہے --- ایک ایسے ملک میں جہاں ایسی مختلف اقوام آباد ہوں کہ ان کی تعداد میں فرق، ان کے

مذہب میں اختلاف، ان کے لٹریچر الگ ، ان کی گذشتہ تاریخ علیحدہ اور اسی باعث سے ان کے انٹریسٹ ہر حال کسی عرصے تک مختلف ہوں، ہر ایک قوم کی پولٹیکل طاقت کا انحصار بہت کچھ اس امر پر منحصر ہوتا ہے کہ ملک کی پبلک سروس میں اس قوم کا پورا حصہ ہو۔ اگر یہ نہیں تو ظاہر ہے کہ قوم بمقابلہ اپنی ہمسایہ اقوام کے یقیناً کمزور ہو گی اور اس کی یہ کمزوری قومی زندگی کے دیگر پہلوؤں پر نامناسب اثر ڈالے گی۔۔۔۔ صوبہ پنجاب میں آبادی کے لحاظ سے مسلمان تعداد میں زیادہ ۔ قومی وجاہت میں اگر زیادہ نہیں تو اپنے ہم وطنوں کے برابر اور تعلیم میں مناسب ترقی کر چکے اور کر رہے ہیں . باوجود اس کے کیا وجہ ہے کہ اس صوبہ کی پبلک سروس کے ہر صیغے میں وہ تعداد اور حیثیت میں اس قدر کم ہیں ۔۔۔ میری رائے ناقص میں اس کی وجہ صرف یہی ہے کہ مسلمانان پنجاب کی کوئی باضابطہ آرگنائزیشن نہیں ہے۔ جس کے ذریعے مناسب طور پر گورنمنٹ عالیہ کے حضور میں ان کے حقوق کی عرضداشت پہنچائی جا سکے ۔۔۔ میں مؤدبانہ التماس کرتا ہوں کہ اگر وہ تسلیم کرتے ہیں کہ قومی ترقی کے لیے ان ذرائع کی جن کا میں نے ذکر کیا ہے فی‌زماننا‌اللہ ضروریات ہے تو ان ذرایع کو بہم پہنچانے میں صداقت کے ساتھ کوشاں ہوں ۔ مجھے تو اس بات کا صدق دل سے یقین ہے کہ اگر میرے بھائی مغربی تہذیب سے کماحقہ بہرہ ور ہونا چاہتے ہیں تو جب تک وہ اپنی قومی طاقتوں اور اپنے قومی وسائل کو باضابطہ اور مناسب طور پر آرگنائز نہ کریں گے تب تک منزل مقصود تک پہنچنا ناممکن ہے۔۔۔۔" [1]

پنجاب پراونشل مسلم لیگ کا قیام

"گذشتہ ہفتہ اور اتوار کے روز (۲۹ ، ۳۰ نومبر ۱۹۰۷ء) لاہور میں آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کے متعلق پنجاب کی پراونشل شاخ بہت اہتمام و عمدگی سے قائم کی گئی ہے۔۔۔۔

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۱ - تقریر میاں محمد شفیع بحوالہ "پیسہ اخبار" ۲ ، ۳ اکتوبر ۱۹۰۷ء

۳۰ نومبر کی صبح کو پنجاب کے کئی اضلاع کے نامور و با اثر بزرگ اس جلسہ کی شمولیت کے لیے تشریف لائے۔ جو مسٹر شفیع بیرسٹر ایٹ لا کی کوٹھی متصل چیف کورٹ کے صحن میں منعقد ہوا۔ خان بہادر آنریبل میاں محمد شاہدین صاحب میر مجلس قرار پائے اور مسٹر محمد شفیع صاحب نے بحیثیت سکریٹری ابتدائی کمیٹی کی رپورٹ پڑھی ۔۔۔ یہ لیگ پنجاب میں اپنی قسم کی پہلی پولیٹیکل مجلس ہے جو ایک طرف تو آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کی پراونشل شاخ ہے اور دوسری جانب پنجاب کے تمام اضلاع کے مسلمان قائم مقاموں سے اس طریق پر مرتب کی گئی ہے کہ اپنی ایک جداگانہ، مستقل و شاندار حیثیت رکھتی ہے۔ جس کے نمونے کی اس سے پہلے صوبہ میں کوئی ایسی ریپریزنٹیٹو (نمایندہ) مجلس موجود نہیں کیونکہ اس کے افتتاحی و ابتدائی جلسہ میں بھی دس بارہ اضلاع سے باضابطہ منتخب شدہ قائم مقام شامل ہوئے۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ جہاں لیگ کی اس کامیابی پر خوشی کا اظہار کیا جاتا ہے۔ وہاں اس کے ساتھ ہی دلی افسوس میں بھی ناظرین کو شامل کرنا پڑتا ہے جس کی مختصر کیفیت ذیل میں درج کی جاتی ہے۔ ناظرین سے مخفی نہ ہوگا کہ ڈیڑھ دو سال قبل لاہور میں مسلم لیگ کے نام سے مسلمانوں کی ایک پولیٹیکل ایسوسی ایشن پہلے بھی قائم ہو چکی ہے۔ جس کے سکریٹری مسٹر فضل حسین بیرسٹر اور پریذیڈنٹ شیخ عمر بخش صاحب بی۔ اے پلیڈر تھے۔ مگر افسوس ہے کہ بعض وجوہ سے مسلمانوں نے اس لیگ سے بہت کم دلچسپی ظاہر کی اور اسی طرح اس لیگ نے کوئی ایسا عملی کام نہیں کیا ۔ ۔ ۔ لیکن دوسرے روز پرانے لیگ نے بھی اپنا نام پراونشل لیگ لکھ کر اپنے جلسہ کا اشتہار چھاپ دیا اور اس میں لاہور کے ہاؤس ٹیکس کا معاملہ پیش کیا حالانکہ سکریٹری میونسپلٹی لاہور کے اعلان کے مطابق ضروری تھا کہ ۲۸ نومبر تک ہاؤس ٹیکس کے خلاف تمام عذرداریاں اور اعتراض کمیٹی میں پہنچا دیں یا پہنچا دیے جاتے مگر اتنے عرصے تک یہ لیگ سوتا رہا۔

اور اب جب کہ پنجاب پراونشل لیگ نے اپنا کام شروع کیا تو

اس نے بھی گھبرا کر ایک جلسہ کرنا ضروری سمجھا اور رات بھر میں اشتہار چھپوایا اور تقسیم بھی کیا اور دوسرے روز جلسہ کر دیا ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ بالفضل اس کے متعلق صرف اسی قدر کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ناظرین دونوں لیگوں کے حاضرین کے ناموں سے اندازہ لگا سکتے ہیں کہ ان میں سے کون سا قابل لحاظ ہے ۔"[1]

پنجاب مسلم لیگ کے مقاصد

"اس نئی سوسائٹی کے مقاصد حسب ذیل ہیں :-

(۱) مسلمانان پنجاب کے پولیٹیکل حقوق کی ترقی اور بہبودی کی حفاظت کرنا اور انہیں ترقی دینا اور مسلمانوں میں محبت قوم و وطن کی روح پھیلانا ۔

(۲) مسلمانان ہندوستان کے تمام مختلف فرقوں اور نیز مسلمانوں اور اس ملک کی غیر مسلم اقوام کے درمیان رشتۂ اتحاد و اخوت قائم رکھنا اور بڑھانا ۔

(۳) مسلمانان ہندوستان کی ترقی اور بہبودی کے لیے آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ اور دیگر شاخوں سے مل کر کام کرنا ۔

(۴) مسلمانوں کے درمیان برٹش گورنمنٹ کی نسبت سچی وفاداری کا خیال قائم رکھنا اور بڑھانا ۔ ملک معظم کی رعایا سے ہندوستان کے متعلقہ قوانین و احکام کی نسبت مسلمانوں کے خیالات کا اظہار کرنا ۔"[2]

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۱ ۔ رپورٹ پیسہ اخبار ۳ دسمبر ۱۹۰۷ء ۔

۲ ۔ خطبہ صدارت میاں محمد شاہ دین اجلاس برائے انعقاد پنجاب مسلم لیگ بحوالہ پیسہ اخبار ۳ دسمبر ۱۹۰۷ء ۔

پنجاب مسلم لیگ کے قیام کا پس منظر

"ڈھاکہ ۱۹۰۶ء کے جلسہ کے بعد نواب وقار الملک بہادر کے ساتھ میری خط و کتابت پنجاب پراونشل مسلم لیگ قائم کیے جانے کے متعلق شروع ہوئی - جس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ بتاریخ ۲۴ مارچ ۱۹۰۷ء ایک مختصر جلسہ لاہور میں اس امر پر غور کرنے کی غرض سے اس جگہ منعقد ہوا - جہاں آج آپ سب جمع ہیں - اس جلسہ میں پراونشل مسلم لیگ کے قیام کا کام ہاتھ میں لینے کی غرض سے ۹ ممبران کی ایک ابتدائی کمیٹی اس غرض سے مقرر کی گئی کہ وہ ابتدائی مرحلوں کا بندوبست کرے اور حاضرین نے مہربانی سے مجھے اس کمیٹی کا سکریٹری منتخب کیا - گذشتہ چھ ماہ میں اس کمیٹی کے وقتاً فوقتاً متعدد اجلاس ہوئے -

جن میں اول اغراض و مقاصد لیگ تجویز کر کے ان کو پنجاب کے لیے جملہ سر برآوردگان کی خدمت میں ارسال کیا گیا اور ایک سرکار چٹھی سر برآوردگان کو اس کام کی طرف توجہ دلانے کے لیے جاری کی گئی - اس چٹھی کے جو جواب پنجاب کے مختلف شہروں سے آئے انہوں نے ابتدائی کمیٹی کو اس تجویز کی کامیابی کی کما حقہ امید دلائی ہے - پنجاب کے پچیس شہروں سے آئے ہوئے قریباً یکصد مسلمان سر برآوردگان نے تحریری اور زبانی اظہار مسرت کیا اور مسلم لیگ کے قیام کرنے میں امدادی وعدے فرمائے، علاوہ ازیں بہت سی انجمنوں نے جلسے کر کے اس تجویز کی تائید میں ریزولیوشن پاس کیے بعد ازاں ابتدائی کمیٹی لیگ کی کارروائی کے متعلق چند قواعد تجویز کیے جو اس نیازمند نے چھپوا کر تمام ضلعوں میں تقسیم کیے اور جو تقریباً سب حاضرین کی خدمت میں ارسال ہو چکے ہیں - اس کے بعد یہ تجویز ہوئی کہ ماہ نومبر کے آئندہ ہفتے میں چیدہ احباب کا ایک خاص جلسہ لیگ کے اغراض و قواعد پاس کرانے اور دو تین قومی ضرورتوں کے متعلق مشورہ کے لیے منعقد کیا جاوے - لیگ کے اغراض اور حالات کو مد نظر

رکھ کر سب احباب کی متفقہ رائے ہوئی کہ اس پہلے مجمع میں باہر کے مقامات سے چیدہ چیدہ قائم مقاموں کو مدعو کیا جاوے اور لاہور سے ان صاحبان کو انتخاب کیا جاوے جن کی نسبت ہمیں یقین ہے کہ وہ اس قومی کام کے متعلق خاص مذاق رکھتے ہیں اور مسلمانوں کی اس عام پالیسی کے جو لیڈران قوم نے قوم کے لیے قرار دے رکھی ہے نہ صرف موئید ہی ہیں بلکہ اس نئے کام کو پورے شوق کے ساتھ شروع کریں گے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ علاوہ ازیں ملک کے موجودہ حالات میں ایک عام کانفرانس یا جلسے کا پولیٹکل آرگنائزیشن کے لیے جمع کرنا مناسب نہیں تھا ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ اس لیے ابتدائی کمیٹی کے فیصلہ کے مطابق میں نے بیرونجات میں جو خطوط جاری کیے ان میں اپنے دوستوں سے استدعا کی کہ وہ اپنے اپنے شہروں سے ایک یا دو قائم مقام اس جلسہ میں شمولیت کے لیے منتخب فرماویں البتہ امرتسر کے بزرگان کی خواہش کے مطابق ان کو اس عام قاعدے سے مستثنیٰ قرار دیا گیا ۔"[1]

دیگر کارروائی

شیخ عبدالقادر بی ۔ اے بیرسٹر دہلی نے پہلا ریزولیوشن پیش کیا جو حسب ذیل ہے ۔

"یہ جلسہ آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کی ضرورت پہچانتا ہے اور اس کے قیام کو مسلمانان ہند کے واسطے مفید سمجھتا ہے اور پنجاب میں اس کی شاخ قائم کرنے کی اشد ضرورت سے واقف ہو کر پراونشل مسلم لیگ صوبہ پنجاب میں قائم کرتا ہے ۔ اس کے متعلق شیخ صاحب نے ایک تقریر کر کے آرگنائزیشن کے قواعد بیان کیے ۔ مسٹر محمد عمر امرتسری، خواجہ گل محمد فیروز پوری کی تائید مزید اور حاضرین جلسہ کے اتفاق رائے سے ریزولیوشن منظور ہوا ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

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۱ ۔ تقریر میاں محمد شفیع اجلاس برائے انعقاد پنجاب مسلم لیگ بحوالہ پیسہ اخبار ۳ دسمبر ۱۹۰۷ء ۔

اس کے بعد ابتدائی کمیٹی کے وضع کردہ قواعد و ضوابط جلسہ کے سامنے پیش ہوئے اور سب کمیٹی جس کے میمبر شیخ عبدالقادر و شیخ عبدالعزیز و منشی محبوب عالم - مولوی احمد دین و مولوی کمال الدین میاں گل محمد اور میاں غلام محمد ، مولوی اعجاز حسین - سید محمد - مولوی انشااللہ خان اور میاں محمد شفیع بیرسٹر ایٹ لا مقرر ہوئے تاکہ وہ قواعد پر غور کر کے دوسرے روز کے جلسے کے روبرو پیش کریں - اتوار کے جلسہ کے صاحب صدر نشین میاں شاہ دین تھے - سب کمیٹی کی رپورٹ پیش ہوئی ایک ایک قاعدہ پر بحث کی گئی - حاضرین جلسہ نے بہت دلچسپی ظاہر کی - ترمیم کے بعد قواعد منظور ہو گئے - - - - - - میاں محمد شفیع کی تحریک اور میاں گل محمد کی تائید سے یہ قرار پایا کہ کونسلوں کی اصلاحات کی اسکیم کے متعلق مسلمانان پنجاب کی رائے ایک عرضداشت میں قلم بند کر کے گورنمنٹ کے پاس بھیجی جاوے - عرضداشت تیار ہو کر ایگزیکٹو کمیٹی کے روبرو پیش ہوگی اور بعد میں پنجاب گورنمنٹ کے پاس بھیجی جائے گی - - - میاں محمد شفیع نے ملازمت کے متعلق حاضرین جلسہ کی توجہ منعطف کی کہ صوبہ کے مختلف صیغوں میں مسلمانوں کی تعداد بہت کم ہے - اس لیے یہ قرار پایا کہ ایک قائم مقام ڈیپوٹیشن لفٹیننٹ گورنر کی خدمت میں حاضر ہو کر ایک عرضداشت مسلمان ملازموں کی قلت تناسب کے متعلق پیش کرے -

عہدیداروں کا انتخاب

اس کے بعد حسب ذیل اصحاب لیگ کے عہدہ دار قرار پائے - پریذیڈنٹ میاں شاہدین خان بہادر ، جنرل سیکرٹری میاں شفیع صاحب بیرسٹر ، جائینٹ سیکرٹری شیخ عبدالعزیز ایڈیٹر آبزرور اور مولوی محبوب عالم ایڈیٹر پیسہ اخبار ، فنانشل سیکرٹری شیخ گلاب دین پلیڈر ، اسسٹنٹ سیکرٹری مرزا جلال الدین بیرسٹر - یہ بھی قرار پایا کہ وائس پریذیڈنٹ اور اسسٹنٹ سیکرٹری کا عہدہ خالی رکھا جائے - قرار پایا کہ

اورینٹ بنک آف انڈیا کو لیگ کا خزانچی قرار دیا جائے ۔"[1]

وائسرائے لارڈ منٹو کی خدمت میں پنجاب مسلم لیگ کا ایڈریس

"ہم پنجاب پراونشل مسلم لیگ اور اس کی سترہ ڈسٹرکٹ برانچوں کے عہدہ دار و ممبر اس امر کی اجازت چاہتے ہیں کہ یور اکسیلینسی اور لیڈی منٹو کو مسلمانان پنجاب کی طرف سے اس صوبے کے دارالخلافہ میں یور اکسیلینسی کی پہلی تشریف آوری کے موقع پر مودبانہ اور وفادارانہ طور پر خوش آمدید کہیں ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ہماری جماعت انگریزی تاج سے مستقل محبت اور وفاداری رکھتی ہے اور ہماری یہ سچی خواہش ہے کہ حتی الامکان اس برٹش ڈیپینڈنسی میں امن اور عمدہ گورنمنٹ کے قیام میں مدد دیں ۔

ہم اس موقع کو زور کے ساتھ یہ عرض کیے بغیر گزر جانے دینا نہیں چاہتے کہ بعض انقلاب پسندوں نے جو انارکزم کا رویہ اختیار کیا ہے ۔ اس سے نہ صرف مسلمانان پنجاب کو بلکہ کل ہندوستان کی ساری اسلامی جماعت کو دلی نفرت ہے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ سڈیشن و انارکزم کے استعمال کے لیے یور اکسیلینسی کی گورنمنٹ جو قانونی و انتظامی کارروائی عمل میں لائی ہے ۔ اس کو مسلمانان پنجاب کامل اطمینان کی نظر سے دیکھتے ہیں ۔

ہم خصوصیت سے اس لیے نہایت شکر گزار ہیں کہ یور اکسیلینسی کی گورنمنٹ نے مسلمانان ہند کی خاص پوزیشن اور ضروریات کا مجوزہ اسکیم میں بہت کچھ خیال رکھا ہے اور ہمیں یہ دیکھ کر بدرجہ غایت اطمینان حاصل ہے کہ یور اکسیلینسی کی با اثر سفارش کی بنا پر رائٹ آنریبل سیکرٹری آف سٹیٹ (وزیر ہند) نے نہایت فیاضی سے مسلمانوں کی توسیع شدہ لیجسلیٹو کونسلوں میں جداگانہ قائم مقامی کی درخواست منظور فرمائی ہے ۔"[2]

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۱ ۔ پیسہ اخبار ۶ دسمبر ۱۹۰۷ء ۔
۲ ۔ پیسہ اخبار ۵ اپریل ۱۹۰۹ء ۔

پنجاب پراونشل لیگ کی توسیع

"پنجاب پراونشل مسلم لیگ ہی پنجاب بھر میں ایک ایسی ایسوسی ایشن ہے کہ جس کی صوبہ کے مختلف شہروں میں بالضابطہ سترہ شاخیں اب تک قائم ہو چکی ہیں اور خود سنٹرل لیگ سمیت پنجاب میں اٹھارہ شاخیں لیگ کی اس وقت تک قائم ہو چکی ہیں، جن میں سے سب سے آخری شاخ گورداس پور میں قائم ہوئی ہے۔ امید ہے کہ اگلے ہفتہ میں ایک دو اور شاخیں بھی قائم ہو جائیں گی۔"[1]

ریفارم سکیم سے متعلق اپنی سفارشات بھیجنے کے لیے پنجاب مسلم لیگ کا جلسہ

"گذشتہ یکشنبہ کو لیگ مذکور کا جو جلسہ بہ صدارت آنریبل نواب حاجی فتح علی خان صاحب بہادر قزلباش سی۔ آئی۔ ای منعقد ہوا۔ اس میں ریفارم سکیم کے متعلق گورنمنٹ پنجاب کو عرضداشت بھیجنے کی غرض سے ایک سب کمیٹی قائم ہوئی۔"[2]

پنجاب پراونشل مسلم لیگ کے پہلے سالانہ اجلاس میں بحث کے لیے ایجنڈا

"تعطیلات دسہرہ میں پنجاب پراونشل مسلم لیگ کا جو سالانہ اجلاس لاہور میں منعقد ہونے والا ہے قرار پایا ہے کہ اس میں مندرجہ ذیل مضامین پر بحث ہوگی۔

(۱) مسلمانان پنجاب اور ریفارم سکیم۔

(۲) میونسپل اور ڈسٹرکٹ بورڈوں میں مسلمانوں کی علیحدہ قائم مقامی۔

۱۔ پیسہ اخبار ۸ مئی ۱۹۰۹ء۔

۲۔ پیسہ اخبار ۲۲ مئی ۱۹۰۹ء۔

(۳) مسلمان اور سرکاری ملازمت ۔

(۴) بندوبست اراضی کا جلدی ہوتے رہنا ۔

(۵) ایکٹ ہائے انتقال اراضی اور حق شفع ۔

(۶) مسلمانان کشمیر کی حالت ۔

(۷) یونیورسٹی میں مسلمانوں کی قائم مقامی ۔

(۸) مسلمان اور ٹیکسٹ بک کمیٹی ۔

(۹) مسلمانوں میں اتحاد اور انتظام کی ضرورت ۔

(۱۰) اردو اور پنجابی کا مسئلہ ۔

(۱۱) عام اسلامی لٹریچر کو ترقی دے کر قومیت پیدا کرنا اور قائم رکھنا ۔

(۱۲) جنوبی افریقہ میں ہندوستانی ۔

(۱۳) وقف علی‌الاولاد ۔

(۱۴) مسلمان اور انڈین ایگزیکٹو کونسل ۔

(۱۵) ایگزیکٹو اور جوڈیشل سروس کی علیحدگی ۔

(۱۶) مسلمانوں میں تجارت اور تعلیم کو ترقی دینا ۔''[۱]

مجوزہ ریفارم سکیم میں مسلمانان پنجاب کی نمائندگی

''امروز ، فردا یا چند روز کے اندر ریفارم سکیم کے تحت آخری قواعد انتخاب ممبران کونسل اور تقرر طریقہ انتخاب ممبران ۔ انتخاب کنندگان وغیرہ مرتب ہو کر حضور وائسرے صاحب وزیر ہند کی منظوری کے لیے بھیج دیں گے ، کیونکہ تمام لوکل گورنمنٹوں نے اپنے اپنے صوبہ جات کے لیے قواعد منضبط کر لیے ہیں ۔

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۱ ۔ ایضاً ۹ اکتوبر ۱۹۰۹ء ۔

لیکن پنجاب کی نسبت اب تک جو کچھ معلوم ہوا ہے اس سے واضع ہوتا ہے کہ مسلمانان پنجاب کی اس بارے میں نہایت حق تلفی کی گئی ہے کیونکہ سر لوئیس ڈین بہادر نے باوجود مسلمانوں کی تمام شور، پکار اور غیر معمولی متحد آواز اور کوشش کے بھی مناسب نہیں سمجھا کہ انہیں علیحدہ انتخاب کا حق دیا جائے۔ بمبئی، مدراس وغیرہ صوبہ جات میں جہاں مسلمانوں کی آبادی بہت کم ہے۔ یہ اندیشہ ہو سکتا تھا کہ مسلمانوں کو علیحدہ حق انتخاب عطا کرنے میں گورنمنٹ تامل کرے۔ لیکن پنجاب میں جہاں کہ مسانوں کی آبادی بہت زیادہ ہے اور جہاں کہ بوجہ آریا سماج کی غیر معمولی بیداری اور ہندو سبھا کے تمام زور شور کے مسلمانوں کی حالت نہایت نازک ہو رہی ہے وہاں نہ تو مسلمانوں کو علیحدہ انتخاب کا حق عطا کرنا مناسب سمجھا گیا ہے اور نہ ان کے ممبر انتخاب کیے جائیں گے۔ بلکہ جیسا کہ ناظرین واقف ہیں غالباً صرف پانچ مسلمانوں کو گورنمنٹ ممبری کونسل کے لیے نامزد کردے گی۔ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ صاحب لفٹیننٹ گورنر بہادر پنجاب کا منشا کل پچیس ممبران مقرر کرنے کا ہے۔ ان میں سے دس تو سرکاری افسر ہوں گے جن میں کسی مسلمان کے ہونے کی توقع نہیں ہو سکتی باقی پندرہ میں سے پانچ بذریعہ مشترک انتخاب ہوں گے، ایک دہلی چمبر آف کامرس منتخب کرے گا جس میں ہندو ممبروں کی تعداد انگریز ممبروں سے زیادہ ہے۔ اور مسلمان دو تین ہی ہوں گے۔

دوسرا ممبر پنجاب میونسپلٹی مقرر کرے گی جس میں ہندوؤں کی تعداد مسلمانوں سے بہت زیادہ ہے اس لیے کوئی انگریز یا ہندو ہی ممبر منتخب ہو سکتا ہے باقی تین آسامیاں پنجاب کی میونسپلٹیوں کے تین حصے منتخب کریں گے ان میں دو حصوں میں مسلمان ممبر ہندو کے برابر یا ان سے دو ایک زیادہ ہیں۔ اور اگر سب مسلمان ممبران میونسپلٹیوں کے متحد ہوکر اپنا اپنا مسلمان ممبر منتخب کریں تو مسلمانوں کا منتخب ہو جانا ممکن ہے لیکن افسوس ہے کہ مسلمانوں میں ابھی یہ قابلیت نظر نہیں آتی۔ اس لیے اندیشہ ہے کہ ان پانچ آسامیوں کے

لیے کوئی مسلمان ممبر منتخب نہ ہوگا باقی دس آسامیوں میں سے انگریز انہیں پانچ کے لیے مسلمان ممبر نامزد کردیں گے تو گویا پچیس کس کی کونسل میں تخمیناً دس انگریز، دس ہندو اور پانچ مسلمان ہوں گے۔"[1]

پنجاب پراونشل مسلم لیگ کے سالانہ اجلاس کی کارروائی

"پنجاب پراونشل مسلم لیگ کے اس جلسہ کی صدارت جناب آنریبل نواب حاجی فتح علی خاں قزلباش سی۔آئی۔ای نے کی۔ جس میں پنجاب کے مختلف مقامات کے سربرآوردہ مسلمان اور روؤساء اور مختلف ڈسٹرکٹ لیگوں کے قائم مقام شریک تھے۔

(اس جلسہ میں مندرجہ ذیل اہم قراردادیں منظور کی گئیں)

(۱) (پہلی قرارداد میاں شفیع نے پیش کی)

"یہ جلسہ اپنا پختہ یقین ظاہر کرتا ہے کہ توسیع یافتہ لیجس لیٹو کونسل میں مسلمانوں کے لیے خاص الیکٹوریٹوں کے ذریعے سے ایک تعداد ممبروں کی بہم پہنچانے کے بغیر جو بالکل اور خالص مسلمان انتخاب کنندوں پر مشتمل ہوں۔ جیسا کہ ہز ایکسی لینسی حضور وائسرائے ہند اور انگلستان کے ذمے دار وزرا وعدہ کر چکے ہیں۔ اور جس کی بنیاد نہ صرف مسلمانوں کی تعداد کے تناسب پر ہو بلکہ ان کی پولیٹیکل اہمیت کے مطابق بھی ہو، ہندوستان کے مسلمانوں کو مکمل مناسب اور کار آمد نیابت حاصل نہیں ہو سکتی یہ جلسہ۔۔۔ زور کے ساتھ کسی ایسی اسکیم کے اختیار کیے جانے کے خلاف اعتراض کرتا ہے جو قدرے جدا گانہ اور قدرے مخلوط الیکٹوریٹوں پر مبنی ہو اور یہ کہ جلسے کو کامل یقین ہے کہ کوئی ایسی اسکیم نہ صرف مسلمانوں کے بہترین فوائد کے لیے یقیناً نقصان دہ ہوگی۔ بلکہ آخرکار خود گورنمنٹ کے حق میں بھی بیحد مضر ثابت ہوگی۔

۱۔ اداریہ پیسہ اخبار ۱۱ اکتوبر ۱۹۰۹ء

(۲) "یہ جلسہ اس طریقے کی نسبت اپنی دلی مایوسی کے خیال کا اظہار کرتا ہے جس کے ذریعے سے پنجاب میں میونسپلٹیوں و دیگر باڈیوں کی طرف سے پراونشل کونسل کے لیے تین ممبروں کے منتخب کرنے کی بابت جیسا خیال ہے ، قواعد بنائے گئے ہیں - اس جلسے کو کامل یقین ہے کہ مخلوط الیکٹوریٹوں کے قائم کرنے سے بڑے بڑے شہروں میں سکونت رکھنے والے مسلمانوں کی اصلی نیابت کی وہ تعداد حاصل کرنے میں کامیابی نہیں ہوگی - - - - جو ان کا واجبی حق ہے - اس لیے یہ جلسہ نہایت زور کے ساتھ اس وعدے سے انحراف کرنے کے متعلق اعتراض کرتا ہے جو ہاؤس آف کامنز میں ہندوستانی کونسلوں کے مشورہ قانون کی رپورٹ پیش کئے جانے کے موقع پر کیا گیا تھا کہ جہاں کہیں انتخاب ناممکن معلوم ہوں گے - وہاں ان کو مسلمانوں کی جداگانہ نیابت کی طریق عمل پر لایا جائے گا -

(۳) اس جلسہ کی یہ رائے ہے کہ خالص فریقانہ (فرقہ وار) نیابت کے طریق کو جملہ میونسپل اور ڈسٹرکٹ بورڈوں میں عام طور پر رواج دینا مقامی معاملات کے مناسب انتظامات کے لیے خاص طور پر ضروری و لازمی ہے - اور اس نمایاں کامیابی کے اعتبار کے ذریعہ سے کونسل نیابت کو پنجاب کے بہت سے شہروں میں رواج دیا گیا ہے - یہ جلسہ لوکل گورنمنٹ کو لوکل بورڈوں میں اس طریقے کو وسعت دینے کی خواہش اور ضرورت کے لیے ادب کے ساتھ توجہ دلاتا ہے -

(۴) اس صوبے کی موجودہ حالتوں کے مطابق صوبے کے انتظامی معاملات میں ہر قوم واجبی نیابت موجود ہونے کی اہمیت اور ضرورت کے لحاظ سے اور پراونشل سروس کے مختلف صیغوں میں مسلمانوں کی ناکافی نمائندگی کے اعتبار سے یہ جلسہ لوکل گورنمنٹ کو مسلمانوں کو پبلک سروس (سرکاری ملازمت) میں وہ حصہ عطا کیے جانے کی

طرف جس کے کہ وہ اس صوبہ میں اپنی تعدادی تناسب اور اہمیت کے اعتبار سے مستحق ہیں . . . . . توجہ دلاتا ہے۔

(۵) یہ تازہ واقعات (انگریز افسروں پر بموں سے حملہ کرنے) سے متعلق تھا۔ لب لباب یہ ہے کہ جب کبھی انارکزم کا کوئی واقعہ ہو تو اسے فوج کے ذریعے سے دبایا جائے۔

(۶) یہ ریزولیوشن بندوبست سے متعلق تھا اس کی نقل حسب ذیل ہے۔ "اس ملک میں موجودہ پولیٹیکل حالتوں کے مطابق بندوبستوں کا اس قدر جلد جلد کیا جانا جیسا کہ گذشتہ زمانہ میں عمل میں آیا ہے اس کی نامناسبت کے لحاظ سے اور بندوبستوں سے جو تکلیف اور نقصان زراعت پیشہ اقوام کا عموماً ہوتا ہے۔ اس کے اعتبار سے اس جلسے کو یقین کامل ہے کہ محاصل اراضی سے متعلق بندوبست کا اس قدر جلد از جلد کیا جانا گورنمنٹ اور رعایا دونوں ہی کے بہترین مقاصد کے لیے نقصان دہ ہے۔ اس لیے یہ جلسہ استدعا کرتا ہے کہ بندوبست زیادہ طویل مدت کے بعد کیے جائیں۔

(۷) یہ جلسہ اپنے اس عمیق اور اطمینان کامل کا اظہار کرتا ہے کہ پنجاب میں قوانین انتقال اراضی و حق شفع کامیابی کے ساتھ عمل پذیر ہوا ہے جلسہ کی رائے ہے کہ قوانین موجودہ حالتوں کے مطابق اس صوبہ کے حق میں عموماً اور زراعتی اقوام کے حق میں جن کی تعداد اس صوبہ میں زیادہ ہے خصوصاً بے حد مفید ہیں۔ جلسہ حکام ہذا کو اطمینان دلاتا ہے کہ سوائے خاص محدود تجارتی اور صنعتی حلقوں کے صوبہ کی آبادی بلا لحاظ ذات پات مذہب ملت کے گورنمنٹ کی ان مفید قوانین کے وضع کرنے کے لیے ممنون ہے۔

(۸) یہ جلسہ جہاں اپنا اطمینان اور تدابیر کی بابت ظاہر کرتا ہے جو گورنمنٹ نے اس صوبہ میں اگزیکٹو اور جوڈیشل اختیارات کی قطعی

اور آخری علیحدگی کی بابت ظاہر کی ہے - وہاں زور سے یہ بھی رائے دیتا ہے کہ اب وقت آ گیا ہے کہ حصول انصاف کی غرض سے دونوں محکموں کو جس قدر جلد ممکن ہو سکے ایک دوسرے سے جدا کر دیا جائے -

(۹) پنجاب یونیورسٹی کی نسبت میں مسلمانوں کی غیر تسلی بخش نیابت کے اختیارات سے اور اس امر واقعہ کے اعتبار سے کہ جو جدید قواعد گریجوایٹوں کے ذریعہ صیغے کے منتخب کیے جانے کی بابت بنائے گئے ہیں ان کا ایسی نیابت پر نہایت مضر اثر پڑے گا - یہ جلسہ ادب کے ساتھ استدعا کرتا ہے کہ ہز اونر چانسلر یونیورسٹی براہ مہربانی ایسی شکایات کے دور کرنے اور ان کے برے نتائج کا علاج کرنے کے لیے جو بالا قواعد سے پیدا ہوں - مناسب کارروائی عمل میں لائیں گے -

(۱۰) اس جلسے کی رائے میں بعض وجوہات سے سرکار کی طرف سے پنجابی زبان کو اس قدر غیر ضروری اہمیت دی جا رہی ہے کہ اس سے اردو کے جائز رسوخ کو نقصان پہنچنے کا اندیشہ ہے اور چونکہ مسلمانان پنجاب اردو کو جو سرکاری عدالتوں کی اور سرکاری ابتدائی مدارس کی زبان ہے ملک کی ترقی اور بہبودی کے لیے مناسب اور کافی سمجھتے رہے ہیں اس لیے اس جلسہ کی رائے میں اسے محفوظ رکھنا اور ترقی وغیرہ دینا ضروری ہے -

(۱۱) یہ مسلمانان کشمیر کی بابت تھا جسے آنریبل خان بہادر میاں محمد شفیع صاحب نے پیش کیا -

”یہ جلسہ بڑے ادب کے ساتھ گورنمنٹ ہند اور ہزہائنس مہاراجہ صاحب کشمیر کو کشمیر کے مسلمانان کی قابل رحم حالت کی طرف توجہ دلاتا ہے - باوجود اس سچی بات کے کہ مسلمان کشمیر میں آبادی کے لحاظ سے تقریباً چورانوے فی صد ہیں - جلسہ درد اور افسوس کے ساتھ

ظاہر کرتا ہے کہ ریاست کشمیر میں سرکاری طور پر ان کو عملی صورت میں کوئی حصہ نہیں ملتا ۔ ان کی تعلیم کی طرف سے غفلت کی جاتی ہے اور ان کی عقلی اور مادی ترقی کی بابت کوئی توجہ نہیں دی جاتی ۔ یہ جلسہ اعتماد رکھتا ہے کہ ہزہائی نس مہاراجہ صاحب اور گورنمنٹ ہند براہ مہربانی اس بارے میں فوری تدابیر کریں گے کہ کشمیر میں مسلمانوں کو وہ حقوق اور استحقاق دے جائیں جن کے وہ از روئے انصاف مستحق ہیں ۔

(۱۲) یہ جلسہ جنوبی افریقہ کی برٹش نو آبادیوں اور خصوصاً ٹرانسوال میں جو قوانین ایشیائیوں کے خلاف ابھی حال ہی میں وضع کیے گئے ہیں اظہار تاسف کرتا ہے ۔

(۱۳) یہ ریزولیوشن تجارت سے متعلق تھا جس کا منشا یہ تھا کہ مسلمانوں کو تجارت کی طرف توجہ دلائی جائے اس کے پیش کرنے والے شیخ غلام صادق صاحب رئیس و کارخانہ دار امرتسر تھے ۔

(۱۴) یہ ریزولیوشن مسلمانوں کے اتفاق و اتحاد کی بابت تھا ۔ اسے آنریبل خان بہادر میاں محمد شفیع صاحب نے پیش کرتے ہوئے اس کے متعلق ایک تقریر بھی کی جس کا لب لباب یہ تھا کہ " فی زمانہ جب کہ آرگنائزیشن اور اتفاق کے باعث قوموں کے ترقی کرنے کی ضرورت تسلیم کرلی گئی ہے تو مجھے یہ کہنے کا حق حاصل ہے کہ اب سب صاحبان اس ریزولیوشن کو اتفاق رائے سے پاس کریں " ۔

(۱۵) مسلمان خاندانوں کے افراد کی پھوٹ کے باعث جو مسلمانوں کے خاندانی اوقاف سے قانون کی غلط تعبیر کا نتیجہ ہے ۔ اس کے لحاظ سے اور جو مصیبت افزا نتائج مسلمانوں کی بہبودی و خوشحالی کے حق میں رکھتے ہیں ۔ ان کے اعتبار سے یہ جلسہ سرکاری قوانین بنانے والوں سے استدعا کرتا ہے کہ کوئی ایسے قواعد وضع کرے جن سے مسلمانوں کا قانون وقف جائز و مضبوط ہو جائے تاکہ وقف

کرنے والا اپنے خاندان اور اپنی اولاد کے حق میں وقف کر سکے اور قانون کے ساتھ کوئی ایسی قید بھی لگائے جو حق وقف کے ارتکاب کے خلاف ضروری سمجھی جائے ۔"[1]

سکرٹری کی رپورٹ ۔

"لیگ نے جولائی ۱۹۰۸ء تک جو عملی کارروائیاں کیں اس کی مختصر رپورٹ ۲۵ جولائی ۱۹۰۸ء کو شائع کر کے عہدہ داران مختلف لیگ و انجمن ہائے پنجاب کی خدمت میں ارسال کی گئی تھی . . . . علاوہ لاہور کے مرکزی لیگ دہلی ۔ انبالہ ۔ لدھیانہ ۔ جالندھر ۔ ہوشیارپور ۔ قصور ۔ فیروزپور ۔ ملتان ۔ مظفر گڑھ ۔ جھنگ ۔ اٹک ۔ راولپنڈی گجرات ۔ گوجرانوالہ ۔ سیالکوٹ ۔ گورداسپور ۔ امرتسر ۔ لائل پور میں لیگ کی شاخیں قائم ہو چکی ہیں ۔ اور جن اضلاع میں ابھی تک ڈسٹرکٹ لیگ قائم نہیں ہوئیں وہاں کے بزرگان قوم نہ صرف مرکزی لیگ میں شامل ہو کر قومی حقوق کی حفاظت میں حصہ لے رہے ہیں بلکہ انشااللہ اُن کی کوشش سے بہت جلد ہی وہاں پر ڈسٹرکٹ لیگ قائم ہو جائیں گی ۔ علاوہ ازیں صوبہ پنجاب کی اسلامی انجمنیں آج تک برابر مسلم لیگ کے ساتھ بااتفاق کام کرتی رہی ہیں اور اِن میں متعدد انجمنوں نے لیگ کے ساتھ اتفاق اور ہمدردی کے ریزولیوشن پاس کئے ہیں ۔ حلقہ نظام المشائخ دہلی نے اپنے مقدس دائرے کے پولیٹیکل حقوق کی حفاظت کے لیے مسلم لیگ ہی کو اپنا قائم مقام مقرر کیا ہے . . . . ریفارم سکیم کے متعلق آج تک لیگ تین دفعہ حضور سیکرٹری آف سٹیٹ فار انڈیا کی خدمت میں بصرف تاریں دے چکی ہے جن میں مسلمانان پنجاب و ہندوستان کو علیحدہ قائمقامی کے حقوق ملنے کے لئے زور دیا گیا ۔ یکم جنوری سے آج تک آپ کے کارکنان نے مسلمانان لاہور کے عام اجلاس اور مجلس منتظمہ کے متعدد اجلاس منعقد کرکے قومی حقوق اور مسلمانوں کی علیحدہ قائمقامی کے متعلق ریزولیوشن پاس کیے اور ان کو بذریعہ تار و خطوط گورنمنٹ عالیہ کی خدمت میں ارسال کرنے کے علاوہ

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۱ ۔ پیسہ اخبار ۲۳ ، ۲۵ ، ۲۷ ، ۲۸ اکتوبر ۱۹۰۹ء

اخبارات ہندوستان و انگلستان میں شائع کیا گیا . . . . علاوہ ان سب کارروائیوں کے . . . . جنرل سیکرٹری نے مختلف مواقع پر متعدد تحریریں گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا اور پنجاب گورنمنٹ کی خدمت میں مسلمانان ہند اور پنجاب کے قومی حقوق کی تائید میں ارسال کیں اور آنریری سیکرٹری نے (شملہ میں وائسرے کی ایگزیکٹو کمیٹی سے ملاقات کے دوران) مسلمانان ہندوستان اور صوبہ پنجاب کی کافی اور علیحدہ قائمقامی پر پورا زور دیا . . . . اردو اور پنجابی کا جو نامناسب جھگڑا بعض اشخاص نے ہمارے صوبہ میں شروع کر دیا ہے ۔ اس کے متعلق آپ کی مجلس منتظمہ نے لاہور میں اور باہر کے اضلاع میں جو کارروائی کی وہ حاضرین جلسہ کو بخوبی معلوم ہے ۔ اگرچہ کسی حد تک ہماری ان کوششوں کو کامیابی حاصل ہوئی ۔ مگر ابھی بہت سا خدشہ باقی ہے اور چونکہ اردو نہ صرف سارے ملک کی زبان ہے بلکہ مسلمانوں کی قومی زندگی کا قدر بہت حد تک اس کے قیام اور ترقی کے ساتھ وابستہ ہے ۔ اس لیے امید کی جاتی ہے کہ بہی خواہان قوم اس بارے میں اپنی کوششوں کو برابر قائم رکھیں گے ۔ لیگ کی طرف سے اردو کی حفاظت کے لیے ایک مستقل سب کمیٹی قائم ہے جس کے سیکرٹری ہمارے لائق دوست ڈاکٹر شیخ محمد اقبال ایم ۔ اے بیرسٹرایٹ لا ہیں . . . . میونسپل کمیٹی و ڈسٹرکٹ بورڈہائے پنجاب پر مسلمانوں کی علیحدہ اور کافی قائمقامی کے متعلق آپ کی مجلس منتظمہ نے سربرآوردگان اضلاع کی سعی اور امداد سے کافی واقعات جمع کر لیے ہیں اور انشااللہ بہت جلد گورنمنٹ پنجاب کی خدمت میں اس ضروری امر کے متعلق عرضداشت پیش کی جاوے گی . . . . (انتظامی شعبوں میں مسلمانوں کی مناسب نمائندگی کے بارے) میں بھی آپ کی مجلس منتظمہ غافل نہیں رہی ۔ سب محکمہ جات کے متعلق اعداد جمع کر لیے ہیں ۔ ایک خاص محکمے میں مسلمانوں کی طرف سے اوس محکمہ کے سب سے اعلیٰ افسر کی توجہ دلانے کے لیے ایک ڈیپوٹیشن آپ (صدر) کی سرپرستی میں جا چکا ہے ۔

اور علاوہ ازیں چند محکموں کے متعلق ریزولیوشن پاس کر کے گورنمنٹ پنجاب اور افسران بالا کی خدمت میں ارسال کئے جا چکے ہیں۔"[1]

پنجاب میں مسلمانوں کے لیے علیحدہ انتخاب کی ضرورت

"غنیمت ہے کہ مسلمانوں کو ہندوستان کے تمام صوبوں میں سوائے پنجاب کے علیحدہ انتخاب ممبران کونسل کو اجازت مل گئی ہے ورنہ مسلمانوں کی سب جگہ یہی حالت مایوسی ہوتی جو اس وقت پنجاب میں ہو رہی ہے۔ جس حالت میں کہ ووٹروں ہی میں مسلمانوں کی تعداد کم ہو تو پھر کس طرح یہ امید ہو سکتی ہے کہ مسلمان ممبر منتخب ہو جائیں گے۔ مثلاً پنجاب کی میونسپلٹیوں اور چھاؤنی کی کمیٹیوں کے تینوں حلقوں میں جو ایک ممبر منتخب کریں گی مسلمان ووٹروں کی کل تعداد کے مقابلہ میں ہندو ووٹروں کی تعداد زیادہ ہے۔ ہندو اور مسلمان ووٹروں کی تعداد کا مقابلہ اعداد ذیل سے ہو سکتا ہے۔

نام حلقہ	ہندو ووٹر	مسلمان ووٹر	سکھ ووٹر	عیسائی ووٹر	میزان ہندو سکھ ووٹران	ہندو سکھ کی مسلمانوں پر زیادتی
مشرقی حلقہ	۳۳	۳۱	۲	۸	۳۵	۴
وسطی حلقہ	۲۸	۳۱	۵	۸	۳۳	۲
مغربی حلقہ	۱۷	۲۳	۱۳	۶	۳	۷

یہ تو بدیہی بات ہے کہ ہندو سکھ ایک ہیں حالانکہ سرکار نے انہیں بعض اغراض کے لیے اب علیحدہ اعداد کے ذریعہ سے ظاہر کرنا شروع کر دیا ہے اس لیے جب کہ تینوں حلقوں میں ہندو ووٹروں کی تعداد مسلمان ووٹروں سے زیادہ ہے تو جب تک کہ عیسائی ووٹر سب

۱۔ رپورٹ جنرل سیکرٹری پنجاب پراونشل لیگ بحوالہ پیسہ اخبار ۲۵ اکتوبر ۱۹۰۹ء۔

مسلمانوں کے حق میں ووٹ نہ دیں ۔ تب تک کوئی وجہ مسلمانوں کی کامیابی کی نظر نہیں آتی ۔ اس کی بھی کوئی وجہ نہیں ہو سکتی کہ سب حلقوں کے ووٹر کیوں مسلمانوں ہی کو ووٹ دیں گے بلکہ کیوں سب ہندوؤں کو ووٹ نہ دیں گے جو زیادہ با رسوخ ، زیادہ دولت مند اورتعلیم یافتہ ہیں ۔ قطع نظر اس کے اندیشہ ہے کہ کئی مسلمان ووٹر ہندو امیدواروں کے حق میں ووٹ دیں گے ، حالانکہ یہ امر نہیں کہ ایک ہندو ووٹر بھی سارے صوبہ میں کسی مسلمان امیدوار کو ووٹ دے جیسی حالت کہ مندرجہ ذیل حلقوں کی بیان کی گئی ہے اس سے بھی بدتر یونیورسٹی کی اور اس سے بھی بدتر چیمبر آف کامرس کی ہے جہاں سوائے دو ایک کے اور کوئی مسلمان ممبر ہی نہیں ۔ پنجاب کے مسلمانوں کا یہ حق ہے کہ صوبہ کی کونسل میں ان کے ممبر زیادہ تعداد میں ہوں لیکن اس کے لیے دو امر ضروری ہیں ۔

(۱) ایک مسلمان ووٹروں کی تعداد

(۲) جداگانہ انتخاب کی اجازت

امر دوئم اشد ضروری ہے اس لیے گورنمنٹ پنجاب اور گورنمنٹ ہند کی توجہ سے ایک بار اور اپیل کی جاتی ہے کہ وہ اس شکایت کو جلد تر دور کریں ۔ ورنہ پنجاب میں مسلمانوں کی حالت نہایت مایوس انگیز اور قابل رحم ہوگی ۔''[۱]

کونسل کے انتخابات میں مسلمان امیدواروں کی غیر متوقع کامیابی

''پنجاب کی میونسپلٹیوں سے تینوں مسلمان ممبران منتخب ہو گئے۔ چنانچہ ووٹوں کی تعداد حسب ذیل ہے ۔

(۱) حلقہ آں رائے ستلج ۔ خواجہ احمد شاہ ۳۲ ووٹ کامیاب بذریعہ قرعہ اندازی ۔ رائے بہادر سری کریش داس رئیس دھلی ۳۲ ووٹ ناکام بذریعہ قرعہ اندازی۔

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۱ ۔ اداریہ پیسہ اخبار ۱۱ دسمبر ۱۹۰۹ء

(۲) حلقہ وسطی — خان بہادر خواجہ یوسف شاہ ۴۴ ووٹ کامیاب۔ رائے صاحب رام سرنداس رئیس لاہور ۲۳ ووٹ۔ رائے بہادر گوپال داس وکیل امرتسر ۱۵ ووٹ ۔ لالہ گنپت رائے بیرسٹر لاہور ۶ ووٹ ۔

(۳) حلقہ مغربی — خان بہادر سیٹھ آدم جی ۲۷ ووٹ کامیاب۔ رائے بہادر ہری چند پلیڈر ملتان ۲۶ ووٹ۔

- - - - پنجاب مسلم لیگ نے جو تینوں امید وار تینوں حلقوں میں کھڑے کیے تھے ان کے سوائے اور کسی کو کھڑا نہ ہونے دیا گیا ۔ ہندوؤں نے ہر حلقہ میں نیشنل کانگریس پارٹی کے ایک ایک امیدوار کے ساتھ ایک ایک امیدوار ہندو سبھا کا بھی کھڑا کر دیا حالانکہ بعد میں دو حلقوں میں ایک ایک ہندو امید وار ہی باقی رہ گیا تھا ۔"[1]

قیام پنجاب پراونشل کمیٹی تکمیل محمڈن یونیورسٹی

"پنجاب پراونشل کمیٹی مسلم یونیورسٹی کا ایک جلسہ ۲۲ جنوری ۱۹۱۱ء کو جناب آنریبل نواب حاجی فتح علی خان قزلباش سی - آئی - ای کے دولت خانہ پر منعقد ہوا ۔ آنریبل میاں محمد شفیع صاحب بیرسٹرایٹ لا نے ہزہائی نس سر آغا خان صاحب کے خطوط - - - - حاضرین کی خدمت میں پیش کیے ۔ ان خطوط میں ہزہائی نس نے اپنا ارادہ مسلم یونیورسٹی ڈیپوٹیشن کے ہمراہ لاہور تشریف لانے کا ظاہر فرمایا ہے اور دریافت کیا ہے کہ آیا ۱۱ فروری لاہور میں جلسہ کرنے کے لیے مناسب تاریخیں ہوں گی ۔ جلسہ میں بہ اتفاق رائے قرار پایا کہ ڈیپوٹیشن کو مدعو کیا جائے اور اس کی کامیابی کے لیے جہاں تک ممکن ہو انتہا درجے کی کوشش کی جائے۔

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۱ - پیسہ اخبار ۲۱ دسمبر ۱۹۰۹ء -

آنریبل میاں محمد شفیع نے کہا کہ آیا ۱۱ فروری اس قدر نزدیک کی تاریخیں ہیں کہ اس قلیل عرصے میں ڈیپوٹیشن کے متعلق مناسب انتظام کرنا بہت مشکل ہے - پس میری رائے میں مناسب ہے کہ آیا وہ فروری کے آخری ہفتہ اور اتوار یا ۱۹ فروری کو جو اتوار کے دن ہوگی ، آسانی سے لاہور تشریف لا سکیں گے یا نہیں - یہ تجویز بااتفاق رائے منظور ہوئی -

- - - - قرار پایا کہ فراہمی چندہ کے لیے لاہور میں ایک جنرل کمیٹی (قائم) کی جائے جس کا نام پنجاب پراونشنل کمیٹی تکمیل محمڈن یونیورسٹی ہو - اس کے ممبروں کی تعداد بالفصل ایک سو ہو اور اس میں اضافہ کرنے کا اختیار اسے دیا جائے - پراونشل کمیٹی کے ماتحت ہر ضلع میں ڈسٹرکٹ کمیٹیاں قائم کی جائیں اور ان کو فراہمی چندہ کا اختیار دیا جائے -

قرار پایا کہ پراونشل کمیٹی کی ایک ایگزیکٹو یعنی کارکن کمیٹی بنائی جائے - ،،[1]

لاهور میں سر آغا خاں کا شاندار استقبال

جو شاندار و موثر نظارہ آج ۲۴ فروری کی صبح شاہی گداگر قومی ہز ہائی نس سر آغا خاں بہادر کے استقبال میں دارالامارت پنجاب کے اسلامی حصہ نے کیا وہ یقیناً قابل قدر و لایق یادگار ہے اور ریلوے سٹیشن پر حاضرین کا انبوہ عظیم ہونے ، ٹرین کی آمد پر ہزارہا آدمیوں کی آنکھیں لگی رہنے ، اس کی اتفاق تاخیر پر سب کے بے چین ہونے اور آمد ٹرین کے وقت کا اعلان کمال اشتیاق سے پڑھنے ، پھر سپیشل ٹرین کے داخلے پر ٹوٹ کر گرنے اور اپنی چاہت اور شان کی پرواہ نہ کرتے ہوئے ہزہائی نس گاڑی سے باہر قدم رکھتے ہیں - متواتر نعرہ ہائے شادمانی سے سٹیشن کے گونج اٹھنے اور امیر سے لے کر غریب تک ہر شخص کے ان کی قدم بوسی کے شوق میں دیوانہ وار دوڑنے اور

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۱ - پیسہ اخبار ۳۱ جنوری ۱۹۱۱ء -

ہاتھوں ہاتھ اُن کو گاڑی تک لانے اور سینکڑوں معزز اصحاب اور نوجوان نہایت شوق سے گاڑیاں کی رسیاں تھامے اور اسے پھول کی طرح آناً فاناً باہر کھینچ لائے ، بڑے بڑے جاگیرداروں اور رئیسوں کے نونہالوں کے گارڈ آف آنر میں داخل ہونے پر اور ہزار گریجوایٹ و طلبہ کالج کے جھنڈیاں ، جھنڈے اور ماٹوز وغیرہ لے کر جلوس کے آگے آگے چلنے ، ہز ہائی نس کی گاڑی کے پیچھے مختلف اقسام کی گاڑیوں کا ایک طویل جلوس اکابر معززین ، قوم سمیت نکلے ۔"[۱]

لارڈ ہارڈنگ وائسرائے ہند کی خدمت میں پنجاب پراونشل مسلم لیگ کا ایڈریس

"ہم پراونشل مسلم لیگ پنجاب اور اس کی ۱۹ ڈسٹرکٹ برانچوں کے اراکین و عہدیداران اس کی اجازت چاہتے ہیں کہ صوبہ ہذا کی اسلامی آبادی کی طرف سے یورایکسلینسی کے اول مرتبہ دارالامارتہ پنجاب میں تشریف لانے پر آپ کا نہایت مؤدبانہ و عقیدت مندانہ خیر مقدم کریں ۔۔۔ گذشتہ چند سال میں ہندوستان کا پولیٹکل مطلع اس صوبہ میں سڈیشن اور بے چینی کے بادلوں سے مکدر ہو رہا تھا ۔ مسلمانوں نے کبھی ایک لمحہ کے لیے اپنی برٹش گورنمنٹ کی مستحکم عقیدت میں پس و پیش نہیں کیا ۔ ہر میجسٹی کی رعایا کے دوسرے فرقوں کے ساتھ مسلمان بھی گورنمنٹ کے تہ دل سے ان اعلیٰ پولیٹکل مراعات کے واسطے جو کہ عظیم الشان اصلاحی سکیم کے متعلق جو حال میں اس کلب میں جاری کی گئی ہے تہ دل سے مشکور ہوں ۔ ہم اس موقع پر ایک بار پھر اپنی نفرت کا اظہار ان انارکسٹوں کی کارروائیوں پر کرتے ہیں ۔"[۲]

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۱ - پیسہ اخبار ۲۵ فروری ۱۹۱۱ء ۔
۲ - پیسہ اخبار ۳ اپریل ۱۹۱۱ء ۔

لاہور میونسپلٹی میں مسلمانوں کے صحیح نمایندوں کے انتخاب کی ضرورت

"چند روز قبل اخباری دنیا میں یہ خبر گشت لگا رہی تھی کہ آیندہ لاہور میونسپل الیکشن میں لالہ لاجپت رائے اور بعض دیگر سر برآوردہ ہندو لیڈروں نے حصہ لینے پر آمادگی ظاہر کی ہے اور سابق ممبروں نے ایک بہترین ایثار نفسی کا ثبوت دیتے ہوئے ان لیڈروں کا گرم جوشی سے خیر مقدم کیا ہے اور اپنی درخواستیں واپس لے لی ہیں -

لیکن سوال یہ ہے کہ کیا مسلمانوں کی طرف سے بھی کوئی باقاعدہ انتظام ہوا ہے ، اس سوال کا جواب نفی میں ملتا ہے - مسلمانوں کو اب ایسے کمشنروں کی ضرورت نہیں جن کو صرف ہاں میں ہاں ملانے سے کام رہے - - - - بلکہ اب اُن کو ایسے کمشنروں کی ضرورت ہے جو کام کر کے دکھائیں - لیکن کیا صرف آنریبل میاں صاحب کی موجودگی مسلمانوں کی تمام ضروریات پوری کر سکتی ہے جب آنریبل لالہ شادی لال ، ہرکشن لال ، اور لالہ لاجپت رائے جیسے ہندو لیڈر میونسپلٹی میں میں آ رہے ہیں -

میرے خیال میں یہ نا مناسب نہ ہوگا کہ اگر پنجاب پراونشل مسلم لیگ مسلمانوں کے اس ضروری کام کو اپنے ہاتھ میں لے اور ایک دستورالعمل بنائے جس کی رو سے پنجاب کی عموماً تمام میونسپلٹیوں اور خصوصاً لاہور میونسپلٹی میں مسلمانوں کے وہ قائم مقائم لیڈر جانے چاہئیں جو جد و جہد زمانہ کا بخوبی مقابلہ کر سکیں اور مسلمانوں کی ہر جائز خواہش پوری کرنے کی کافی سے زیادہ طاقت رکھتے ہوں -"۱

مسلمان طلبہ اور اساتذہ کو نماز پڑھنے کے لیے وقفہ کی اجازت

"ہمیں معتبر ذرائع سے معلوم ہوا ہے - - - کہ نماز ادا کرنے کے لیے اگرچہ پہلے بھی میونسپل بورڈ سکول کے مسلمان طلبہ و اساتذہ

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۱ - پیسہ اخبار ۲۳ جون ۱۹۱۱ء -

کو پینتیس منٹ کی چھٹی کی اجازت تھی مگر اب خاص طور پر یہ حکم بھیج دیا گیا ہے کہ موسم سرما میں پینتیس منٹ نماز ظہر کے ادا کرنے کے لیے مسلمان طلباء و معلمین کو دے جائیں اور اس میں کسی قسم کا اعتراض نہ کیا جائے،، ۔

پنجاب لیگ کے جنرل سیکرٹری کے استعفیٰ کی واپسی اور آن کے حق میں اعتماد کا ووٹ

''بتاریخ ۵ مئی ۱۹۱۲ء یکشنبہ کی شام کو ۵ بجے مجلس منتظمہ پنجاب مسلم لیگ کا اجلاس لیگ کے دفتر میں شروع ہوا ۔

جلسہ کا وقت ۵ بجے شام مقرر تھا لیکن ۲۵ منٹ حاضرین کا انتظار کر کے کارروائی شروع کی گئی اور خان بہادر شیخ غلام صادق صاحب باتفاق میر مجلس قرار پائے ۔ بابو نظام الدین صاحب نے خواہش ظاہر کی کہ چونکہ وہ سب سے پہلی گاڑی میں امرتسر جانا چاہتے ہیں اس لیے سب سے پہلے جنرل سیکرٹری صاحب کے استعفیٰ کا ایجنڈا جو کہ تیسرے نمبر پہ درج ہے پیش کیا جائے ۔ چنانچہ حاضرین کی خواہش کے مطابق جائنٹ سیکرٹری صاحب نے کیفیت بیان کی ، کہ کس طرح آنریبل میاں محمد شفیع صاحب نے جب کہ وہ امپیریل کونسل کی شرکت کے لیے کلکتہ تشریف لے گئے ۔ جناب فتح علی خاں صاحب پریذیڈنٹ کی خدمت میں استعفیٰ بذریعہ تار بہ عہدہ سیکرٹری شپ بھیج دیا ۔ مگر صاحب پریذیڈنٹ نے ان سے خواہش کی کہ وہ اپنا استعفیٰ واپس لے لیں ، اس کے بعد اب تک یہ معاملہ تعویق میں پڑا ہے ۔ چونکہ عنقریب لیگ کا جنرل اجلاس ہونے والا ہے جب کہ عہدہ‌داران کا نیا انتخاب ہوگا ، لیکن بہ لحاظ میاں صاحب کی بیش قیمت خدمات کے جو انہوں نے لیگ میں اور عموماً اپنی قوم کے لیے کی ہیں مناسب ہے کہ ان سے اس وقت یہ استعفیٰ واپس لینے کی یہ جلسہ بہ اتفاق درخواست کرے ، بلکہ اس جلسہ کو ان خدمات کے اعتراف کے لیے ایک اعتماد کا ووٹ پاس کرنا چاہیے ، چنانچہ تمام جلسے نے بہ اتفاق

بڑی گرم جوشی کے ساتھ میاں صاحب کے حق میں اعتماد کا ووٹ پاس کیا اور اصرار کیا کہ وہ اپنے استعفیٰ کو واپس لے لیں (جس کے بعد میاں صاحب جلسہ میں شریک ہو گئے)،،[1]

مسٹر مانٹیگو کے خلاف اظہار ناراضگی

"پنجاب مسلم لیگ نے اپنے ایگزیکٹو کمیٹی کے جلسہ میں آنریبل مسٹر مانٹیگو کی رائے پر جو مسلمانان بنگال کی نسبت انہوں نے حال ہی میں ظاہر کی ہے مندرجہ ذیل ریزولیوشن پاس کیا گیا۔

"پراونشل مسلم لیگ کی ایگزیکٹیو کمیٹی بہ حیثیت قائم مقام مسلمانان صوبہ، زور سے پروٹسٹ کرتی ہے کہ آنریبل مانٹیگو نے جو ریمارکس گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا بل کی دوسری ریڈنگ کے موقع پر ہاؤس آف کامنز میں کہے ہیں کہ مسلمانان ہند کی نسبت یہ کہنا کہ وہ ایک ہم جنس ہیں، محض غلطی ہے اور کہ مسلمانان مشرق بنگال بنگالہ سے باہر کے مسلمانوں سے قدرے قلیل یا قطعی تعلق نہیں رکھتے۔،،[2]

پنجاب مسلم لیگ کا اجلاس عام

۲۴ مئی ۱۹۱۲ء کو۔۔۔۔ پنجاب مسلم لیگ کا اجلاس عام بصدارت جناب نواب فتح علی خان صاحب قزلباش ٹاون ہال میں منعقد ہوا۔۔۔۔ پہلے لیگ کی گذشتہ ساڑھے چار سال کی کارگزاریوں کی رپورٹ پڑھی گئی جس نے حاضرین کو دنگ کر دیا۔۔۔۔ اس پر چند قدردانوں کی تقریریں ہوئیں۔ پھر نواب فتح علی خان صاحب پریذیڈنٹ، میاں محمد شفیع صاحب جنرل سیکرٹری، منشی محبوب عالم صاحب سیکرٹری، مرزا جلال الدین صاحب اسسٹنٹ سیکرٹری دوبارہ منتخب

۱۔ پیسہ اخبار ۷ مئی ۱۹۱۲ء۔

۲۔ پیسہ اخبار ۸ مئی ۱۹۱۲ء۔

ہوئے اور خان صاحب فقیر سید ظفرالدین صاحب از سرِ نو اسسٹنٹ سیکرٹری منتخب ہوئے۔''[1]

انجمن اصلاح تمدن مسلمانان کا قیام

''حسب ایمائے جناب نواب فتح علی خان قزلباش۔سی۔آئی۔ای نیز بمشورہ جناب آنریبل میاں محمد شفیع صاحب و دیگر احباب کے منشی محبوب عالم صاحب ایڈیٹر پیسہ اخبار نے گزشتہ منگل کو بعض مسلمان بزرگوں کی خدمت میں یہ اطلاع جاری کی تھی کہ وہ جمعہ کی شام کو نواب پیلس میں اہل اسلام کی سوشل ریفارم پر غور کرنے کے لیے جمع ہوں ۔۔۔۔ خان بہادر میاں محمد شفیع صاحب نے ایک عمدہ تقریر میں بیان کیا کہ اگر مسلمان اپنے تمدن کی اصلاح کر لیں اور رسوم باطلہ پر فضول خرچی نہ کریں تو اپنا بہت سا روپیہ اور وقت بچا سکتے ہیں ۔۔۔۔ منشی محبوب عالم صاحب نے بیان کیا کہ بخلاف دیگر اقوام کے مسلمانوں کی اصلاح تمدن کا حصہ بہ تمام ان کے دین کی پیروی پر ہے ۔۔۔۔ میاں محمد شفیع صاحب کی تجویز اور تائید حاضرین سے قرار دیا کہ ایک ایسوسی ایشن اصلاح تمدن کی لاہور میں قائم کی جاوے۔ جسکی شاخیں تمام صوبہ میں ہوں اور باالفضل منشی محبوب عالم صاحب سیکرٹری کا کام کریں اور نواب فتح علی خاں اس کے میر مجلس ہوں''[2]

پنجاب مسلم لیگ کا سالانہ اجلاس

''پراونشل مسلم لیگ کی سالانہ جنرل میٹنگ محمڈن ہال لاہور میں ۱۹ ماہ حال اکتوبر ۱۹۱۲ء کو ہفتہ کے دن منعقد ہوئی۔ نواب ابراہیم علی صاحب رئیس کنجپورہ ضلع کرنال زینت افروز کرسیِ صدارت ہوئے جنہوں نے اپنی افتتاحی تقریر میں گورنمنٹ انگریزی کی برکات گوناں گوں کا ذکر فرمایا اور متعدد اہم مسائل کی طرف توجہ دلائی جو جماعت

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۱ - پیسہ اخبار ۲۸ مئی ۱۹۱۲ء -
۲ - پیسہ اخبار ۱۸ جون ۱۹۱۲ء

اسلامی پر موثر ہیں اور مسلمانوں کے قومی حقوق میں اعتدال و اتفاق کی روح پیدا کرنے کی درخواست کی ۔ مندرجہ ذیل ریزولیوشن بااتفاق رائے پاس ہوئے

(۱) **پہلا ریزولیوشن** ۔ یہ جسلہ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ گورنمنٹ ہند کی خدمت میں اس کے جدید دارالسلطنت دہلی میں وارد فرمانے پر وفادارانہ اور تہہ دل سے خیر مقدم پیش کرتا ہے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

(۲) **دوسرا ریزولیوشن** ۔ یہ جلسہ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ بلقان میں قیام امن کی کوششوں کے لیے گورنمنٹ انگلشیہ کا شکریہ ادا کرنے کے ساتھ ہی نہایت زور سے اتحاد ریاستہائے بلقان کی غیر ضروری اور ظالمانہ روش کی مذمت کرتا ہے جنہوں نے ترکی کی حکومت کو جنگ پر مجبور کردیا ہے اور ترکی کے آلات حرب کی کامل فتح کی دلی آرزو رکھتا ہے ۔ نیز اس صوبہ میں سرمایہ امداد ترکی کے افتتاح کی تجویز کو منظور کرتا ہے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

(۳) **تیسرا ریزولیوشن** ۔ یہ جلسہ اس امر کو ضبط تحریر میں لانا ضروری سمجھتا ہے کہ جماعت اسلامی کے حقوق کی کافی حفاظت اس وقت تک نہیں ہو سکتی جب تک کہ صوبہ‌جات کی قانونی کونسلوں کے انتخاب سے پر ہونے والی نشستوں میں سے ایک خاص تعداد بہ لحاظ اوسط آبادی ان کے لیے محفوظ نہ کردی جاوے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

(۴) **چوتھا ریزولیوشن** ۔ یہ جلسہ خلوص دل سے گورنمنٹ سے استدعا کرتا ہے کہ جداگانہ حلقہ‌ہائے نیابت کے اصول کو صوبہ کی تمام میونسپل کمیٹیوں تک وسیع کرے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

(۵) **پانچواں ریزولیوشن** ۔ یہ جلسہ نہایت ادب کے ساتھ مختلف سرکاری محکمہ‌جات میں مسلمان ملازموں کی تعداد بڑھا کر صوبہ کے انتظامی صیغوں میں واجبی حصہ تک پہنچا دی جائے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

(۶) **چھٹا ریزولیوشن** ۔ یہ جلسہ پنجاب یونیورسٹی کی سینٹ میں نہایت زور کے ساتھ اسلامی جماعت کی واجبی نیابت کی ضرورت جتاتا

اور سینٹ کے موجودہ نظام ترتیبی کی طرف گورنمنٹ کی توجہ دلاتا ہے کہ اس میں مسلمانوں کی نیابت بہت ہی ناکافی ہے --

(۷) **ساتواں ریزولیوشن** - یہ جلسہ نہایت زور کے ساتھ مخالفت اردو کی جد و جہد جو بعض حلقوں میں کی جا رہی ہے ، ناجائز قرار دیتا ہے اور ملک کے تمام بہی خواہوں سے درخواست کرتا ہے کہ مستعدی کے ساتھ اردو کو ہندوستان کی مشترکہ زبان بنانے کے لیے مل کر کام کریں ---

(۸) **آٹھواں ریزولیوشن** - یہ جلسہ پنجاب کے قانون حق شفع کے عمل درآمد سے جو عظیم‌الشان فوائد حاصل ہوئے ہیں ان کے لیے اظہار مسرت کرتا ہے ----

(۹) **نواں ریزولیوشن** - یہ جلسہ ہزہائی نس مہاراجہ کشمیر کو مودبانہ توجہ دلاتا ہے کہ ان کی ریاست میں مسلمان آبادی کی تعلیمی حالت نہایت پست ہے اور کہ سررشتہ تعلیم اور دیگر محکمہ جات ریاست میں مسلمانوں کی کافی تعداد نہیں ہے ---

(۱۰) **دسواں ریزولیوشن** - اس جلسہ کی یہ زور دار رائے ہے کہ صوبہ پنجاب کی دماغی ترقی ، عام خوشحالی اور سیاسی اہمیت میں اضافہ ہونے کے لحاظ سے اب وقت آ گیا ہے کہ یہاں کی چیف کورٹ کو ہائی کورٹ کا درجہ دیا جائے ---

(۱۱) **گیارھواں ریزولیوشن** - یہ جلسہ قوم کو متوجہ کرتا ہے کہ عوام مسلمانان میں ابتدائی اور صنعتی تعلیم کو عام کرنے کی نہایت سخت ضرورت ہے اور لیڈران قوم سے درخواست کرتا ہے کہ اس نہایت ضروری مقصد کے لیے باقاعدہ تحریک شروع کر دیں ---

(۱۲) **بارھواں ریزولیوشن** - یہ جلسہ گورنمنٹ ہند سے بہ ادب ملتجی ہے کہ وہ ایک اعلان عام شائع کر کے مسلمان ملازموں کو

ہر جمعہ کے دن دو گھنٹہ کی چھٹی دیا کرے تا کہ وہ جمعہ کی نماز پڑھ سکیں ۔ ۔ ۔"[1]

انتخابات پنجاب کونسل میں مسلمان امیدواروں کی کامیابی کی توقعات

"جدید قانونی کونسل پنجاب کے متعلق ڈسٹرکٹ بورڈوں اور میونسپلٹیوں میں چھٹوں حلقہ ہائے انتخاب کی ووٹ شماری ۹ دسمبر گذشتہ کو مختلف اضلاع میں ڈسٹرکٹ مجسٹریٹوں کے رو برو عمل میں آئی ۔ اور ۱۶ دسمبر کے بعد ان کا نتیجہ شائع ہو جائے گا ۔ ووٹ لیے جانے کے دن ڈسٹرکٹ بورڈوں نے حلقہ آنروے ستلج کی طرف سے دو ہندو اور ایک مسلمان امیدوار چوہدری نجیب خان اور میونسپلٹیوں اور کنٹونمنٹ کمیٹیوں کے حلقہ آنروے ستلج کی طرف سے ایک ایک ہندو اور مسلمان مرزا اعجاز حسین صاحب باقی رہ گئے تھے ۔ اور وسطی حلقہ میونسپل کو ہندو بھائیوں کی دانشمندی اور خوش فہمی سے پانچوں ہندو امیدوار بحق لالہ رام سرن داس صاحب رئیس اعظم لاہور ریٹائر ہو گئے تھے ۔ لیکن مسلمانوں کی طرف سے امرتسر کے دو امیدوار (خان بہادر) شیخ غلام صادق صاحب بیرسٹرایٹ لا برابر مقابلہ کر رہے ہیں ۔ وسطی حلقہ ڈسٹرکٹ بورڈز میں ہندو مسلمانوں کی تعداد مساوی یعنی دو دو تھی ۔ حلقہ میونسپلٹی میں پہلے تین اور پھر دو ہندو امیدوار خان صاحب شیخ عبدالحق صاحب وکیل ملتان سے مقابلہ کر رہے ہیں مگر آخر وقت میں سردار گورمکھ سنگھ مصلحت و دور اندیشی و قومی ہمدردی سے بحق رائے بہادر آنریبل ہری چند صاحب ریٹائر ہو گئے ۔ نیز ہندوؤں نے اسی حلقہ کے ڈسٹرکٹ بورڈز سے صرف ایک ہندو پیش کیا اور مسلمانوں کے دو امیدوار ریٹائر ہونے پر بھی دو امیدوار باقی رہ گئے چونکہ اس حلقہ میں مسلمانوں کے ووٹوں کی تعداد ہندووں سے بہت زیادہ ہے اس لیے کسی مسلمان کی کامیابی کی امید لگائی جا سکتی ہے ۔ اس طرح ڈسٹرکٹ بورڈوں کے حلقہ آنروے ستلج میں ایک مسلمان امیدوار کو

۱- پیسہ اخبار ۲۲ اکتوبر ۱۹۱۲ء

دو ہندو امیدواروں کے مقابلہ میں فائدہ پہنچنے کی توقع ہے ۔ باقی حلقوں میں سے آنروے ستلج وسطی میونسپلٹی میں ہندوؤں کی کامیابی یقینی ہے ۔،،[1]

چونیاں میونسپلٹی میں ایک مسلمان اور گیارہ ہندو ممبر

''چونیاں ضلع لاہور میں ایک ایسا قصبہ ہے جس میں بہ لحاظ آبادی نصف سے زائد مسلمان ووٹر ہیں ۔ چونیاں ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ (کی میونسپلٹی) بارہ ممبروں پر مشتمل ہے جن میں سے آٹھ منتخب اور چار نامزد ہوتے ہیں ۔ ان میں سے تین تو بہ لحاظ عہدہ ملازمان سرکاری مثل تحصیلدار وغیرہ کے ہوتے ہیں اور صرف ایک غیر سرکاری ممبرمنجانب سرکار نامزد ہوتا ہے ۔ آج کل چونیاں کے تحصیلدار لالہ دیس راج ہیں ۔ سب ڈویژنل آفیسر لبھورام ہیں ۔ تھانیدار ہندو اور ڈاکٹر صاحب بھی ہندو ہیں ان تمام افراد کے ہندو ہونے کی وجہ سے اس مرتبہ کے آغاز ممبران میں آٹھ میں سے سات تو ہندو ممبر منتخب ہو گئے اور صرف ایک مسلمان ممبر منتخب ہوا ہے ۔ چونکہ انتخابات میں بہت سی پیچیدگیاں ہوئی تھیں اس لیے ممبروں نے اعتراضات کئے مگر منظور نہیں ہوئے ۔،،[2]

کونسل کے انتخابات میں مسلمان امیدواروں کو شکست

''پچھلی دفعہ انتخابات پراونشل کونسل کے متعلق جو غلطی ہنود سے ہوئی تھی ۔ وہ اب کے مسلمانوں سے بہت بری طرح سرزد ہوئی ہے کہ انہوں نے ایک ایک حلقہ میں دو بلکہ اس سے بھی زیادہ امیدوار انتخاب کیلئے کھڑے کر دیئے اور پنجاب مسلم لیگ نے جن امیدواروں کو کھڑا کیا تھا ان کے علاوہ دوسرے امیدوار بھی کھڑے ہو گئے اور اس کا نتیجہ وہی نکلا جو صاف نظر آتا تھا ۔ جبکہ پہلے ہی ڈسڑکٹ بورڈوں اور میونسپل کمیٹیوں کے چھ حلقہ ہائے انتخاب میں سے پانچ میں مسلمان ووٹروں کی تعداد بمقابلہ ہندو ووٹروں کے کم ہے ۔ اور مسلمان امیدواروں کا چانس اسی قدر ہے کہ

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۱ ۔ پیسہ اخبار ۔ ۱۳ دسمبر ۱۹۱۲ء

۲ ۔ پیسہ اخبار ۔ ۱۴ دسمبر ۱۹۱۲ء

وہ عیسائی یا پارسی ووٹروں کی امداد سے کامیاب ہوسکتے ہیں ۔ تو آن میں سے دو دو تین تین آمیدواروں کا کھڑا ہو کر اپنے ہم قوموں کی رایوں کو منتشر کر دینا محض اپنی تباہی اپنے ہاتھ سے لانا ہے ---- ایک دوسرا بڑا باعث مسلمانوں کا یہ ہے کہ بعض "مسلمان ووٹروں نے ہندو امیدواروں کو ووٹ دیئے،، حالانکہ جہاں تک مجھے تحقیق ہوسکا ہے ۔ اب تک ایک بھی ہندو ووٹر لاہور میں یا لاہور سے باہر سننے میں نہیں آیا جس نے کسی مسلمان آمیدوار کو ایک بھی ووٹ دیا ہو ۔ لیکن مسلمان بہت سے ایسے عاقبت نا اندیش یا قومی مصلحتوں سے ناواقف موجود ہیں ۔ جنہوں نے ہندو آمیدواروں کو ووٹ دے دیے ہیں اور لاہور کے گیارہ میونسپل کمشنروں میں سے سوائے چار کے معلوم ہوا ہے کہ سب نے اپنے ووٹ ہندو آمیدواروں کو دیے ہیں ۔ گویا ان میں سے صرف چار نے مسلمانوں کو ووٹ دیے ہیں"[1]

نئی پنجاب کونسل کی ترتیب میں اہل اسلام کی حق تلفی

"جدید پنجاب کونسل ہزآنر پریسیڈنٹ کے علاوہ نو سرکاری اور پندرہ غیر سرکاری اراکین پر مشتمل ہے اور ان پندرہ غیر سرکاری ممبروں میں پانچ ہندو ۔ پانچ مسلمان ، تین سکھ اور دو یورپین پائے جاتے ہیں ۔

اس طرح نان آفیشل میجارٹی کا نصف سے زیادہ حصہ ہندوؤں اور سکھوں پر مشتمل ہے ---- لیکن پنجاب میں ہند اور سکھوں کی مجموعی آبادی ۴۳ فیصدی سے زیادہ نہیں ہے اور مسلمان بفضل خدا صوبہ ہذا کی آبادی میں نصف سے زائد یعنی ۵۵ فیصدی حصہ رکھتے ہیں ۔ پھر یہ کس طرح قرین انصاف ہوسکتا ہے کہ اہل اسلام کو پراونشل کونسل کے غیر سرکاری عنصر کا $\frac{1}{3}$ یعنی ۱۵ میں سے ۵ ممبران کا حصہ ملا ہے"[2]۔

۱۔ اداریہ پیسہ اخبار ۱۹ دسمبر ۱۹۱۲ء

۲۔ اداریہ پیسہ اخبار ۷ جنوری ۱۹۱۳ء

پنجاب لیگ کے پانچوں ممبروں کا پنجاب کونسل کیلئے انتخاب

"امسال جیسا کہ ناظرین آگاہ ہیں ، پنجاب لیجسلیٹو کونسل میں ایک مسلمان انتخاب سے اور چار اصحاب سرکاری نامزدگی سے ممبر مقرر ہوئے ہیں اور اس امر کا معلوم کرنا دلچسپی سے خالی نہ ہوگا کہ پانچوں صاحبان پنجاب پراونشل مسلم لیگ کے عہدہ دار اراکین ہیں۔ چنانچہ

(۱) آنریبل میاں محمد شفیع صاحب لیگ کے جنرل سکرٹری
(۲) خان بہادر خواجہ یوسف شاہ صاحب وائیس پریذیڈنٹ
(۳) نوّاب ابراہیم علی خاں آف کنج پورہ وائیس پریذیڈنٹ اور
(۴) امین صاحب ممبر لیگ ہیں" [1]

ترکوں کی مدد کلیئے قرارداد

"لیگ کی ایگزیکٹو کمیٹی نے گزشتہ اتوار کے جلسے میں منجملہ دیگر امور کے گورنمنٹ ہند کی معرفت گورنمنٹ برطانیہ کی خدمت میں پر زور اپیل کی کہ وہ ایسے نازک وقت میں ترکوں کی منصفانہ امداد کریں۔ ۔ ۔ اور مسلمانوں و مسلمانان ہندوستان کی دلی خواہشات کو مد نظر رکھیں" [2]

مسلمانوں میں جوش کو فرو کرنے کے لیے پنجاب مسلم لیگ کا جلسہ

"پنجاب مسلم پراونشل لیگ کی ایگزیکٹو کمیٹی کا ایک غیرمعمولی جلسہ موجودہ حالت پر غور کرنے کیلئے ۸ ماہ حال اکتوبر ۱۹۱۳ء کو بروز بدھ آنریبل میاں محمد شفیع جنرل سیکرٹری مسلم لیگ کی کوٹھی پر منعقد ہوا ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ آنریبل میاں محمد شفیع نے جلسہ کو موجودہ حالت کی طرف خاص طور پر توجہ دلائی اور بتلایا کہ بعض حلقوں میں نامناسب جوش پیدا کیا جانے کی وجہ سے مسلمانوں کی سیاسی۔تعلیمی۔ تمدنی

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۱ - پیسہ اخبار - ۱۳ جنوری ۱۹۱۳ء (اخبار میں صرف ان چار اصحاب کے نام درج ہیں)

۲ - پیسہ اخبار ۲۵ جنوری ۱۹۱۳ء

اور ہر فنی ترقی پر گہرا اثر پڑ رہا ہے اور بعض اخبارات کے غیر معتدل رویہ سے نہ صرف ان کی اپنی ذات بلکہ عام اسلامی اغراض کو بھی سخت نقصان پہنچا ہے ---- اس لیے ضروری ہے کہ جو حلقے جوش سے متاثر ہوئے ہیں ان میں سکون بحال کرنے کے لئے منظم کاروائی سے کام لیا جائے ---۔ ذیل کے ریزولیوشن پاس کیے گئے۔

(۱) پنجاب مسلم لیگ کی ایگزیکٹو کمیٹی اسلامی اخبارات نیز تمام مسلم لیگیوں۔ انجمنوں اور اسلامی لیڈروں سے پر زور اپیل کرتی ہے کہ اپنے اپنے حلقہ اثر میں ان مسلمانوں کے جوش کو ٹھنڈا کریں جو موجودہ شورش سے متاثر ہوئے ہیں، جس کا جاری رہنا کمیٹی کی رائے میں مسلمانوں کی بہترین اغراض کے منافی ہے۔

(۲) کمیٹی کی رائے میں مسجد کانپور کے افسوس‌ناک معاملہ کی گتھی صرف اس طریق قابل اطمینان طور پر سلجھ سکتی ہے کہ یہ معاملہ بہت جلد ایسے طریق پر فیصل کیا جائے جو گورنمنٹ اور اہل اسلام دونوں کیلئے طمانیت بخش ہو۔ اور اس لیے حکام، گورنمنٹ اور اہل اسلام کی خدمت میں تہ دل سے اپیل کی جاتی ہے کہ اس معاملہ پر غور کرنے میں باہمی رضامندی اور روا داری کی اس سپرٹ سے کام لیا جائے جس سے نہ صرف اس افسوسناک واقعے کا تصفیہ ہو جائے بلکہ موجودہ جوش بھی کم ہو جائے۔"[1]

لیجسلیٹو کونسل میں مسلمانوں کی بے اثر نمایندگی

"پنجاب لیجسلیٹو کونسل کے تازہ اجلاس میں ہندو ممبران کے سوا کسی مسلمان ممبر کو کوئی سوال یا استفسار کرنے کی توفیق نہیں ہوئی۔ حالانکہ ہندو ممبران نے ۳۷ - ۳۸ سوالات کر کے اپنی ہستی کا ثبوت دیا"[2]

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۱ - پیسہ اخبار - ۱۲ اکتوبر ۱۹۱۳ء
۲ - پیسہ اخبار ۳۱ مارچ ۱۹۱۴ء

چندے کے متعلق کمیٹیوں کے قیام پر ناراضگی

''پنجاب پراونشل مسلم لیگ کی ایک ایگزیکٹو کمیٹی کا جلسہ گذشتہ اتوار کو خان بہادر میاں محمد شیفع کی کوٹھی پر منعقد ہوا۔ لاہور اور بیرونجات کے چودہ ممبر صاحبان موجود تھے ۔ خان بہادر شیخ صدر دین صاحب رئیس ملتان میر مجلس قرار پائے ۔ منجملہ دیگر امور کے آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ نے جو پانچ لاکھ روپے کا نیشنل فنڈ جمع کرنے کے لیے پراونشل لیگوں کی بلا رضامندی سب صوبہ جات میں چندہ جمع کرنے والی سب کمیٹیاں مقرر کر دی تھیں ۔ اور پنجاب میں بھی بلا مشورہ اس لیگ کی کمیٹی قائم کر دی گئی تھی ۔ اس پر جلسہ نے سخت اعترض کیا ''[1]

اتحاد کے لیے مسلم لیگ کی تجویز

''پنجاب پراونشل مسلم لیگ نے ہندو سبھا لاہور کو توجہ دلائی ہے کہ لیگ مسلمانوں کے چند قائم مقام منتخب کریگی اور ہندو سبھا ہندوؤں کے قائم مقام منتخب کرے ۔جو مسلمانوں کے قائم مقاموں کے ساتھ مل کر ہندو مسلمانوں کے مابین روزمرہ وسیع ہونے والے اختلافات کی خلیج کو پاٹ دینے کی کوشش کریں ''[2]

نواب ذوالفقار علی خاں کا کونسل کی ممبری کے لیے تقرر

''نواب ذوالفقار علی خاں سی ۔ آئی ۔ ای کو ہز آنر لفٹیننٹ گورنر بہادر نے سردار دلجیت سنگھ صاحب سی ۔ آئی ۔ ای کی خالی آسامی پر پنجاب لیجسلیٹو کونسل کا ممبر مقرر کر دیا ''[3]

امپیریل کونسل کے لیے میاں محمد شفیح کا انتخاب

- ''کل پنجاب لیجسلیٹو کونسل کے اجلاس کے خاتمے پر جبکہ لاٹ صاحب بہادر پریذیڈنٹ کونسل مع سرکاری ممبروں کے اٹھ گئے تو

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۱ - پیسہ اخبار - ۱۲ مئی ۱۹۱۴ء
۲ - پیسہ اخبار - ۱۳ مئی ۱۹۱۴ء
۳ - اداریہ پیسہ اخبار - ۱۸ اپریل ۱۹۱۵ء

غیرسرکاری ممبروں نے کنور رنجیت سنگھ صاحب سی ۔ آئی ۔ ای کی امپیریل کونسل کی خالی آسامی پر اپنا ایک قائم مقام منتخب کرنے پر کارروائی شروع کی ۔ پہلے کوشش کی گئی کہ جس امیدوار کے انتخاب ہو جانے کا یقین طالب ہے اسے بہ اتفاق منتخب کر لیا جائے تو کئی وجوہات سے بہتر ہوگا ۔ لیکن افسوس ہے کہ اس میں کوئی کامیابی نہ ہوئی ۔ کیونکہ معلوم ہوتا تھا کہ بعض ممبران کونسل نے اسے ہندو مسلمان کا سوال بنا رکھا تھا ۔ اس لیے ہندو ممبر صاحبان باوجود اس بات کا یقین ہونے کے کہ مسلمان انگریز اور سکھ میاں محمد شفیع کے انتخاب پر خوش ہیں اور کہ اس کے حق میں ابھی سے کثرت رائے موجود ہے اپنا ہندو امیدوار کھڑا کرنا ضروری سمجھا ۔۔۔ بہر حال اب اس طرح بہ اتفاق معاملہ طے کرنے کی طرف سے مایوسی ہو گئی تو نواب سر بہرام خاں مزاری نے میاں محمد شفیع کا نام باضابطہ پیش کیا اور سردار بہادر سندر سنگھ مجیٹھیہ نے اس کی تائید کی ۔ اس کے مقابلے میں رائے بہادر لالہ ہری چند صاحب نے سر پرتول چندر چیڑجی صاحب کا نام پیش کیا ۔۔۔ اس طرح امیدواروں نے اپنے اپنے وارثوں کے علاوہ خاں بہادر میاں محمد شفیع صاحب کو آٹھ ووٹ اور سرپرتول چندر صاحب کو پانچ ووٹ ملے ۔۔۔"[1]

پنجاب میں دو لیگیں

"حسب قرارداد گذشتہ اتوار کے روز ۱۳ فروری کو پنجاب مسلم لیگ کا ایک شاندار اجلاس دفتر لیگ یعنی آنریبل میاں محمد شفیع صاحب جنرل سیکرٹری کی کوٹھی پر منعقد ہوا ۔۔۔ ہر چند کہ بارش کی وجہ سے موسم بہت خراب ہو گیا تھا ۔ مگر پنجاب مسلم لیگ کے اجلاس کے حاضرین کی تعداد ثابت کر رہی ہے کہ پنجاب مسلم لیگ ایک زبردست مقناطیس ہے ۔۔۔ لاہور کے جن چند خودغرض نوجوانوں نے پچھلے دنوں ایک جلسہ کر کے لوگوں کو یہ دھوکا دیا تھا کہ پنجاب

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۱ ۔ پیسہ اخبار ۲۵ اپریل ۱۹۱۵ء

مسلم لیگ کا اب کوئی وجود نہیں رہا اور ایک فرضی لیگ الگ قائم کرلی تھی ۔ ان کے لیے اس سے بڑھ کر کوئی دندان شکن جواب نہیں ہو سکتا کہ پراونشل مسلم لیگ کے اجلاس کے حاضرین کی فہرست کو سرسری نظر سے دیکھ لیا جائے اور اس کے عہدہ داران کی فہرست پر نظر ڈال جائے جو ۱۳ فروری کے اجلاس میں منتخب ہوئے ہیں ۔ درحقیقت مسلم لیگ کا یہ اجلاس بجائے خود ایک زبردست دلیل اس بات کی ہے کہ پنجاب مسلم لیگ مسلمانان پنجاب کی نہایت زبردست اور قائمقام آرگنائزیشن ہے ''۔

پرانی پنجاب لیگ کے حق میں میاں محمد شفیع کے دلائل

''صوبہ پنجاب کے دونوں مسلمان ممبران امپیریل لیجسلیٹو کونسل لیگ کے عہدہ داران ہیں پانچوں مسلمان ممبران پراونشل لیجس لیٹو کونسل لیگ کے عہدہ داران اور مجلس منتظمہ کے ممبر ہیں ۔ مسلمانان پنجاب میں صرف ایک سی ۔ آئی ۔ ای ہے اور ایک نائب کمانڈر آف دی انڈین ایمپائیر اور یہ دونوں بزرگ لیگ کے عہدہ دار ہیں ۔ گورنمنٹ سروس کے باہر صرف تین سی ۔ آئی ۔ ای ہیں اور تینوں لیگ کے عہدہ داروں میں شامل ہیں ۔ برٹش پنجاب میں صرف ایک بزرگ کو خطاب نواب بہادر حاصل ہے جو لیگ کے وائیس پریذیڈنٹ ہیں ۔ علاوہ ازیں تین نواب، ایک شمس العلماء خان بہادر خانصاحب، ۵ آرڈینری اور ۲ فیلو ان پنجاب یونیورسٹی، ۳ آنریری اکسٹرا اسسٹنٹ کمشنر و آنریری مجسٹریٹ و سول جج ۔ ۵ آڈیٹران اخبار ۔ ۲۲ بیرسٹرایٹ لا ۔ ۲۵ پلیڈر ۔ ۴۱ گریجوایٹ ۳۶ میونسپل کمشنر ۔ ۱۹ ذیلدار ۔ ۱۸ نمبردار و سفیدپوش ۔ پنجاب کی مرکزی لیگ کے ممبروں میں شامل ہیں ۔

مرکزی لیگ کی حیثیت قائم مقام اس سے ظاہر ہے کہ اس کے ممبروں میں چالیس سے زیادہ اسلامی مجلس کے عہدہ دار شامل ہیں

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۱ ۲ پیسہ اخبار ۔ ۱۵ فروری ۱۹۱۶ء

جو لوگ عوام الناس کو اس بیان سے دھوکہ دینا چاہتے ہیں یا تھے کہ لیگ کا دروازہ عام مسلمانوں کے لیے بند کر دیا گیا ہے - معلوم نہیں میاں محمد شفیع کا یہ جواب سنکر ان پر کیا گزری ہوگی کہ لیگ کے ابتدا سے لے کر آج تک ایک شخص کی درخواست بھی مسترد نہیں کی گئی،،'

دونوں لیگوں میں ادغام کی ضرورت

''بزرگان ملت ! مجھے اخبار وکیل مورخہ ۵ فروری ۱۹۱۶ء میں یہ پڑھ کر سخت تعجب ہوا کہ بعض معزز اصحاب نے برکت علی محمڈن ہال لاہور میں جلسہ کر کے باوجود سابق مسلم لیگ کے موجود ہونے کے ایک جدید مسلم لیگ کی بنیاد ڈالی - اور پوری مستعدی سے باہم عہدے تقسیم کر کے قواعد و ضوابط ترتیب دینے شروع کر دیے ہیں - اور سابق مسلم لیگ جن کے سیکرٹری آنریبل میاں محمد شفیع صاحب بہادر ہیں اس کو ناکام اور غیر مقصد کرتے ہوئے بڑے زور شور سے بیان کیا ہے کہ اسی مسلم لیگ نے ۱۹۰۷ء میں جنم لیا اور ۹۰۹ ء میں سالگرہ منائی - ازاں بعد تو کچھ ہوا ہی نہیں - اگر ہوا تو سراسر لیگ کے مجوزہ قواعد کے خلاف - ۱۹۱۲ء میں چوہدری شہاب الدین صاحب نے اسی موضوع پر ایک کھلی چٹھی اخبارات میں شائع کرائی اور مئی ۱۹۱۳ء میں عہدہ داران لیگ کا جدید انتخاب ہوا جس میں بدستور میاں محمد شفیع سیکرٹری رہے - مگر مسلم لیگ کا فرض صوبہ ہذا کے مسلمانوں کی اسلامی و قومی اغراض کے متعلق اس سے ادا نہ ہو سکا یا اس نے ادا نہیں کیا - یا اگر کچھ کیا تومحض اپنی شخصیت کو نشوونما کے لیے کیا گیا - لہذا ضرورت محسوس ہوئی کہ قومی اغراض کے تحفظ کے لیے ایک جدید مسلم لیگ قائم کی جائے - - - قوم و ملک کے بہی خواہوں سے التجا ہے کہ وہ ایسے نازک وقت میں قومی تفرقہ کے اس عالم سوز شعلہ کے فرو

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۱ - پیسہ اخبار ۱۵ فروری ۱۹۱۶ء

کرنے میں اپنے خداداد اثر سے کام لے کر بجائے ان دو لیگ کے پنجاب میں ایک ہی مسلم لیگ کا انتظام فرمائیں ۔ ''[1]

آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ اور نئی پنجاب لیگ

''بعض اخبارات میں یہ بات شائع ہوئی تھی کہ لاہور میں جو ایک رقیب مسلم لیگ کچھ عرصہ سے بعض لوگوں نے محض ذاتی وجوہات سے قائم کرلی تھی ۔ آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ نے اسے بھی لکھا ہے کہ وہ بھی اپنے قائم مقام منتخب کر کے آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کو بھیجدے ۔ اس کی اس سے زیادہ وقعت نہیں کہ لاہور سے ایک شخص نے لکھنؤ جا کر لیگ کے اسسٹنٹ سیکرٹری کے دستخط سے ایک تار بھجوا دیا تھا کہ جس سے دراصل آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کے پریذیڈنٹ یا جنرل سیکرٹری کو اتفاق نہیں اور نہ لیگ نے کوئی باضابطہ ریزولیوشن اب تک اس مطلب کا پاس کیا ہے ''[2]

محمد یوسف خاں اسسٹنٹ سیکرٹری آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کا جواب

''آپ کا اخبار ۲۵ اپریل ۱۹۱۶ء میں بعنوان پنجاب مسلم لیگ و آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ میری نظر سے گذرا ۔ اس میں جناب نے جو کچھ تحریر فرمایا ہے اس کے متعلق اصل واقعہ یہ ہے کہ ایک صاحب پنجاب سے یہاں تشریف لائے اور ظاہر کیا کہ وہ جدید پنجاب لیگ کے رکن ہیں اور یہ بھی فرمایا کہ ان کو ایک تحریری اجازت دی جائے کہ وہ حسب دفعہ ۱۲ قاعدہ ۳ قانون آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کی کونسل کے واسطے ممبر منتخب کر کے بھیجیں، چنانچہ حسب ذیل تحریر ان کو بنام سیکرٹری دی گئی ۔ میں نے بہ حیثیت اسسٹنٹ سیکرٹری نہ ان کو کوئی خط بھیجا اور نہ تار دیا تھا جو تحریر ان کو دی گئی ہے اس

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۱ ۔ اپیل سید بڈھے شاہ مطبوعہ پیسہ اخبار ۲۵ فروری ۱۹۱۶ء

۲ ۔ پیسہ اخبار ۲۵ اپریل ۱۹۱۶ء

کا اردو ترجمہ و نقل انگریزی ارسال خدمت ہیں ۔

ترجمہ تحریر جو ان کو دیا گیا ہے ۔ حسب ذیل ہے ۔

"۱۲ مارچ ۱۹۱۶ء - جناب من - چونکہ وہ ایسوسی ایشن جن کے آپ آنریری سیکرٹری ہیں ۔ اس کا دعویٰ ہے کہ ایک باضابطہ تمام صوبہ کی طرف سے مسلم لیگ ہے ۔ چونکہ آپ نے مجھے باقاعدہ اطلاع ان کی نسبت دی ہے لہذا میں اسے آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کی کونسل کے اجلاس میں پیش کروں گا میں آپ کی توجہ دفعہ ۱۲ قاعدہ نمبر۳ قانون آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کی طرف مبذول کراتا ہوں اور آپ کو توجہ دلاتا ہوں کہ آپ آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کی کونسل کے لیے اپنے نمایندے منتخب کیجیے ۔ تا کہ جو دعویٰ ان کا ہے اگر وہ کونسل لیگ کی نگاہ میں صحیح پایا گیا تو اس وقت کونسل آپ کے نمایندوں کو شامل کر سکے" ۔ دستخط سید وزیر حسین آنریری سیکرٹری"[1]

ملک عمر حیات خاں صاحب کا پنجاب مسلم لیگ کی نائب صدارت سے استعفا

"کپتان ملک عمر حیات صاحب ٹوانہ جو چندہ کے لیے میدان جنگ سے اپنے وطن پنجاب میں تشریف لائے تھے دوبارہ میدان جنگ کو جاتے ہوئے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ پنجاب مسلم لیگ کے عہدہ وائیس پریذیڈنٹی سے علحیدگی کی ایک چٹھی بنام میاں محمد شفیع صاحب جنرل سیکرٹری لیگ کو بھیج دی ہے ---- اس میں ---- (وہ) کہتے ہیں کہ "انہیں لیگ کے متعلق کئی شکایات ملی ہیں اور ہندوستانی پریس کی نکتہ چینی نگاہ سے گذری ہے اور وہ افسوس کے ساتھ اس نتیجہ پر پہنچے ہیں کہ انہیں میں سے کئی شکایات بے بنیاد نہیں اس لیے وہ مسلم لیگ کی وائس پریذیڈنٹی سے مستعفی ہوتے ہیں"[2]

(نئی) پنجاب مسلم لیگ کا شریف مکہ کے خلاف جلسہ

"لاہور کی جس مسلم لیگ کے سیکرٹری پیر تاج الدین بیرسٹر اور پریسیڈنٹ خان بہادر عبدالرحمان صاحب آنریری مجسٹریٹ ہیں ، شریف مکہ

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۱ - پیسہ اخبار ۷ مئی ۱۹۱۶ء

۲ - پیسہ اخبار ۱۱ مئی ۱۹۱۶ء

کی بغاوت کے متعلق ۲ جولائی کے جلسہ میں حسب ذیل ریزولیوشن پاس کیا ہے کہ یہ جلسہ شریف مکہ اور اس کے ہمراہیوں کے اس خلاف مذہب فعل کو کہ انہوں نے اسلامی مقامات مقدسہ کا محاصرہ کر رکھا ہے اور اس طرح مکہ مدینہ کے مقدس اور سلامتی کو معرض خطرہ میں ڈالا ہے - نفرت کی نظر سے دیکھا ہے اور ان تمام مسلمانوں کو جنہوں نے اس فعل پر پسندیدگی ظاہر کی ہے - دشمن اسلام خیال کرتا ہے - اس ریزولیوشن کے شائع ہو جانے پر سردار عبدالرحمان صاحب نے - - - - لیگ سے علیحدہ اور اس کی صدارت کے عہدے سے مستعفی ہو جانے ہی میں اپنی بہتری سوچی ہے،،[1]

نئی پنجاب لیگ کے صدر کے استعفیٰ کے متعلق پیر تاج الدین کی وضاحت

"آپ کے اخبار مطبوعہ ۸ جولائی میں خان بہادر عبدالرحمان آنریری مجسٹریٹ درجہ اول - لاہور کا ایک خط شائع ہوا ہے - لیکن افسوس ہے کہ سردار صاحب نے وجوہات استعفیٰ بیان کرنے میں صریح غلط بیانی سے کام لیا ہے - اصل واقعہ یہ ہے کہ سردار صاحب دو مرتبہ نیاز مند کے مکان پر معہ ایک دو اور معزز دوست کے تشریف لائے کہ شریف مکہ کی حرکت پر اظہار ناپسندیدگی و نفرت کرنے کی غرض سے لیگ کی انتظامیہ کمیٹی کا جلسہ کیا جائے اور اس کا نوٹس فوراً لیا جائے -

چنانچہ سردار صاحب کی پر جوش تحریک کی وجہ سے چند مقامی ممبروں کو اطلاع دی گئی کہ ۴ جولائی کو سردار صاحب کے مکان پر لیگ کی کمیٹی کا جلسہ بوقت شام منعقد ہوگا - لیکن جس وقت جملہ ممبران کمیٹی سردار صاحب کے مکان پر حسب خواہش سردار صاحب حاضر ہوئے تو سردار صاحب نے دفعتاً التوا جلسہ کی تحریک کی جس کو حاضرین نے با اتفاق نامنظور کیا - اس لیے ضروری ہوا کہ

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۱ - پیسہ اخبار - ۹ جولائی ۱۹۱۶ء

کمیٹی کا جلسہ نیازمند کے مکان پر منعقد ہو ۔ سردار صاحب نے اپنی تجویز کمیٹی میں نامنظور ہو جانے کی وجہ سے جلسہ میں شامل ہونے سے انکار کیا "[1]

قانونی کونسل پنجاب کے جدید انتخابات میں نئے مسلمان ممبر

"منٹومارلے سکیم کے نفاذ کے بعد سے صوبہ ہذا کی کونسل کا یہ تیسرا انتخاب ہے ۔ مسلمان ممبروں کی تعداد کے لحاظ سے گذشتہ انتخاب کے مقابلہ میں اچھا ہے ۔ ممالک متحدہ کے صوبہ جات کے انتخابات مخلوط کو دیکھتے ہوئے پنجاب کا یہ تازہ انتخاب کیسا غنیمت ہے ۔ اول الذکر کونسل کے ۱۶ مشترکہ انتخابات میں کوئی مسلمان کامیاب نہیں ہوا ۔ محض جداگانہ انتخاب اور گورنمنٹ کی نامزدگی سے چار چار یعنی کل اٹھ مسلمانوں کی کونسل تک رسائی ہوئی ہے بخلاف ازیں پنجاب کی میونسپلٹیوں اور ڈسٹرکٹ بورڈوں سے آٹھ منتخب شدگان میں دونوں قوموں کے ممبروں کی تعداد مساوی یعنی چار چار ہے ۔ یونیورسٹی کی طرف سے اب کے پہلی مرتبہ ایک مسلمان مسٹر فضل حسین بلا مقابلہ ممبر منتخب ہوئے ہیں ۔ مسلمان ممبروں کی تعداد تو کافی ہے اور اس لحاظ سے تیسرا انتخاب بھی غالباً کونسل کے ابتدائی اور پہلے انتخاب کے مطابق ہے ۔ مگر دیکھنا تو یہ ہے کہ جو مسلمان ممبر منتخب ہوئے ہیں آیا وہ کونسل میں اپنے فرائض کی بجاآوری کی پوری قابلیت رکھتے ہیں یا نہیں ۔

. . . . لیکن اندیشہ ہے شاید دو آنریبل ممبر صاحبان انگریزی نہیں جانتے ۔ دارالصدر پنجاب لاہور کی میونسپلٹی میں گو ہندو مسلمان ممبروں کی تعداد مساوی ہے مگر دو تین موخرالذکر ممبروں کی انگریزی سے ناواقفی کی وجہ سے مسلمانوں کی پوزیشن بہت کمزور ہے ۔ این روئے ستلج کے میونسپل حلقہ سے باپو جواہر لال بھارگو کو کثرت رائے سے ممبرمنتخب کیا ہے ۔ دو اور امیدوار بھی جن میں سے ایک

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۱ - پیسہ اخبار - ۱۲ جولائی ۱۹۱۶ء

ہندو اور دوسرا مسلمان تھا اس حلقہ میں ممبری کے امیدوار تھے ۔ سینٹرل گروپ اے میں بھی تین ہندو اور ایک مسلمان شیخ غلام صادق صاحب بہادر امیدوار تھے ۔ رائے زادہ بھگت رام نے ۵۴ ۔ شیخ غلام صادق نے ۳۴ ووٹ حاصل کئے۔

سینٹرل گروپ بی میں سید راجن شاہ صاحب وائس پریذیڈنٹ ملتان میونسپلٹی اور وہیں کے ایک ہندو پلیڈر کے مابین مقابلہ تھا ۔ سید راجن شاہ کو پچاس اور دوسرے ہندو امیدوار نے ۴۶ ووٹ حاصل کئے۔۔۔۔نارتھ ویسٹرن گروپ میں سے دو ہندو اور دو مسلمان امیدواروں میں دیوان بہادر دولت رائے بیرسٹر و وائس پریذیڈنٹ راولپنڈی میونسپلٹی ۳۱ ووٹوں سے فائز المرام ہوئے ۔ اگر دونوں مسلمان امیدواروں میں سے ایک مقابلہ سے کنارہ کش ہو جاتا تو اس حلقہ سے بھی مسلمان کی کامیابی کی توقع ہو سکتی تھی ۔ ڈسٹرکٹ بورڈوں میں سے انبالہ ڈویژن کے چوہدری لال چند وکیل حصار ۹۵ ووٹوں سے بمقابلہ راؤ طبیر سنگھ کے کامیاب ہوئے ۔ جالندہر ڈویژن میں تین امیدوار تھے دو ہندو اور ایک مسلمان قاضی محبوب عالم تھے ۔ جن میں سے رائے بہادر بخشی سوہن لال ۳۵ ووٹوں سے منتخب ہوئے۔۔۔۔ لاہور ڈویژن میں رائے بہادر رام سرنداس پرانے ممبر کے علاوہ راجہ اکرام اللہ خاں اور سردار ہرنام سنگھ بھی امیدوار تھے راجہ صاحب ۵۷ ووٹوں سے بازی لے گئے ۔۔۔۔ ملتان میں دو امیدوار تھے اور دونوں مسلمان تھے ۔ سید مہدی شاہ کے ۶۵ اور شیخ غلام حسین صاحب وکیل جھنگ کے ۶۴ ووٹ تھے ۔ اول الذکر ایک ووٹ کی زیادتی سے کامیاب ہوئے۔

راولپنڈی ڈویژن کے سابق ممبر آنریبل خان بہادر محمد امین صاحب اب کے بھی بلا مقابلہ ممبر رہے ۔ لالہ جواہر لال ۔ سید راجن شاہ ۔ دیوان بہادر دولت رائے۔ چوہدری لال چند ۔ راجہ اکرام اللہ خان کونسل کے لئے نئے ممبر منتخب ہوئے ہیں اور سید مہدی شاہ خان بہادر بھی

ابتدائی کونسل میں نامزدگی سے ممبر رہ چکے ہیں - مسٹر فضل حسین ایم - اے جو یونیورسٹی کی طرف بلا مقابلہ منتخب ہوئے ہیں ، تعلیمی معاملات کا بہت بڑا تجربہ رکھتے ہیں اور انجمن حمایت اسلام اور لوکل اسلامیہ کالج میں نہایت دلچسپی رکھتے ہیں،،'

امپیریل کونسل میں پنجاب کے مسلمان امیدواروں کے لیے اسلامی انجمنوں کی سفارش

ہر تین سال کے بعد پنجاب سے دو ممبر امپیریل کونسل کے لیے نامزد کر کے بھیجے جاتے ہیں - ایک ان میں سے مسلمانان پنجاب کا قائم مقام سمجھا جاتا ہے - اور دوسرا پنجاب کے مالکان اراضی کا - گورنمنٹ پنجاب لاہور کے تینوں سر برآوردہ اسلامی انجمنوں سے تین تین نام اس لیے دریافت کرتی ہے کہ اگر وہ چاہے تو اس کے مشورہ سے فائدہ اٹھا سکے- ان تینوں کے علاوہ پنجاب چیفس ایسوسی ایشن کی بھی رائے دریافت کی جاتی ہے - چنانچہ امسال پنجاب کے ان چاروں سر برآوردہ انجمنوں اور ایسوسی ایشنوں نے جن صاحبان کے نام بغرض سفارش بھیجے ہیں ان کی تفصیل یہ ہے -

پنجاب مسلم لیگ لاہور نے فیصلہ کیا - (۱) آنریبل میاں محمد شفیع صاحب - (۲) آنریبل نواب ذوالفقار علی خان - (۳) خان بہادر شیخ غلام صادق صاحب -

انجمن اسلامیہ پنجاب لاہور نے فیصلہ کیا - (۱) آنریبل میاں محمد شفیع صاحب - (۲) آنریبل نواب ذوالفقار علی خان - (۳) خان بہادر شیخ غلام صادق صاحب -

انجمن حمایت اسلام لاہور نے فیصلہ کیا - (۱) آنریبل میاں محمد شفیع صاحب - (۲) آنریبل نواب ذوالفقار علی خان صاحب - (۳) ڈاکٹر محمد اقبال صاحب -

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۱- پیسہ اخبار ۸ مئی ۱۹۱۶ء

جس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ تینوں انجمنوں نے بااتفاق رائے میاں محمد شفیع اور نواب ذوالفقار علی خان صاحبان امپیریل کونسل کے لیے اپنے قائم مقام منتخب کئے ۔

چیفس ایسوسی ایشن نے جس کے ممبر صرف پنجاب چیفس ہیں نواب ذوالفقار علی خان صاحب ۔ آنریبل نواب صاحب کنج پورہ اور خان بہادر ملک محمد امین کی سفارش کی ۔"[1]

امپیریل کونسل کے لیے میاں محمد شفیع اور نواب ذوالفقار علی خان کی نامزدگی

"نہایت خوشی کی بات ہے کہ آخرکار گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا نے پنجاب گورنمنٹ کی سفارش پر امپیریل کونسل میں مسلمانان پنجاب کی قائم مقامی کے لیے خان بہادر میاں محمد شفیع صاحب سی ۔ آئی ۔ ای اور نواب ذوالفقار علی خان صاحب سی ۔ ایس ۔ ای کو ممبر منتخب کیا ہے ۔

میاں محمد شفیع صاحب مسلمانان پنجاب کے قائم مقام ہوں گے اور نواب ذوالفقار علی خان صاحب مالکان اراضی کے نمائیندے ہوں گے۔"[2]

پنجاب اور آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کے درمیان اختلافات

"ذاتی کدورت اور استبداد کا اس سے بہتر نمونہ زمانہ حال کی تاریخ میں ملنا مشکل ہے جیسا کہ سید وزیر حسن اور ان کے ہم خیال دوستوں نے لکھنؤ کے اجلاس لیگ میں پنجاب مسلم لیگ کی نسبت علیحدگی کا فتویٰ صادر کرنے اور لاہور کی کاغذی لیگ کو ملحق کرنے سے دکھایا ہے ۔

۲۶ دسمبر ۱۹۱۶ء کی شام کو آنریبل خواجہ یوسف شاہ صاحب ممبر پنجاب لیجس لیٹو کونسل نے علی گڑھ سے سید وزیر حسن صاحب

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۱ ۔ پیسہ اخبار ۱۳ مئی ۱۹۱۶ء

۲ ۔ پیسہ اخبار ٦ جولائی ۱۹۱۶ء

سیکرٹری لیگ کی خدمت میں مندرجہ ذیل تار اس استدعا کے ساتھ بھیجا کہ اسے لیگ کے سالانہ اجلاس میں پیش کریں ۔ مگر معلوم ہوا ہے کہ وہ تار لیگ کے سامنے پیش نہیں کیا گیا جو حسب ذیل ہے ۔

"آنریبل وزیرحسن لکھنؤ، خان بہادر عبدالرحمان پریذیڈنٹ، چودھری نبی بخش پلیڈر، خان بہادر ڈاکٹر سید امیر علی شاہ، احمد بخش بیرسٹر، بدرالدین قریشی بیرسٹر، اقبال علی سرور اسسٹنٹ سیکرٹریاں و دین محمد عزت وغیرہ ممبران کمیٹی کے صدر، مسلم لیگ سے مستعفی ہو چکے ہیں ۔ کاغذی لیگ بھی گم ہو گئی ہے ۔ اس تار کو میٹنگ کے سامنے پیش کر دیجیے۔

دستخط یوسف شاہ ممبر کونسل پنجاب لیگ

یہ برائے نام لیگ ہے کہ جس کے اتنے افسروں نے چند ماہ کے اندر اس سے استعفیٰ دے دیا ہے اور سید وزیر حسن صاحب آسے پنجاب میں آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ سے ملحق کرتے ہیں ۔ جب انھیں پنجاب کے حالات اتنے معلوم نہیں اور اگر معلوم ہیں تو وہ دیدہ دانستہ اتنی بڑی غلطی کا ارتکاب کر سکتے ہیں کہ ان کے ذہن میں پنجاب لیگ سے قطع تعلق کر کے لکھنؤ کی لیگ آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کہلا سکے تو وہ یقیناً لیگ کے سیکرٹری ہونے کے قابل نہیں ۔

لکھنؤ کی لیگ نے آخر یہ سوچ کر پنجاب مسلم لیگ سے قطع تعلق کیا ہے کہ پنجاب کے معتدل رفقا کے مسلمان لیڈر ان کی سی تیزگامی سے کبھی کام نہیں لیں گے اور اس طرح انھیں نیشنل کانگرس کی شریک کی عزت اور کامیابی سے باز رکھیں گے ۔ اس لیے پنجاب سے قطع تعلق کر لینا ہی بہتر ہے ۔"[1]

پنجاب مسلم لیگ (پرانی) کی کونسل کا اجلاس

پنجاب مسلم لیگ کا ماہوار اجلاس فروری کو آنریبل میاں محمد شفیع صاحب کی کوٹھی پر منعقد ہوا . . . .

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۱ ۔ اداریہ پیسہ اخبار ۱۳ جنوری ۱۹۱۷ء ۔

جنرل سیکرٹری صاحب نے بیان دیا کہ بنگال مسلم لیگ نے اپنے قائم مقامان نواب سید نواب علی صاحب - مسٹر فضل حق مسٹر رسول وغیرہ کو وہاں سے یہ اختیار دے کر بھیجا تھا کہ مسلم لیگ کانگرس سے صرف اس صورت میں سمجھوتا کرے کہ بنگال کے مسلمانوں کو نصف یعنی پچاس فی صدی حق انتخاب دیا جائے - لیکن جب کہ لکھنؤی حاملان مسلم لیگ نے صرف چالیس فی صدی بنگالہ کے لیے منظور کر لیا تو نواب صاحب سید نواب علی و چودھری صاحب نے اس پر سخت اعتراض کیا اور آخر دم تک راضی نہ ہوئے اور لیگ میں صرف بطور وزیٹر بیٹھے رہے - اس کے علاوہ بنگال کے اسلامی اخبارات مسلم ہتیشی اور مہدی کے اقتباس پڑھ کر سنائے کہ کس طرح مسلمانان بنگال کانگرس اور لیگ کے سمجھوتے پر بیزار ہیں -

جنرل سیکرٹری صاحب نے شیخ دین محمد ایم - اے کی چٹھی پڑھ کر سنائی کہ گوجرانوالہ میں ایک نئی ڈسٹرکٹ مسلم لیگ قائم کی گئی ہے جو آپ کی لیگ سے ملحق کیے جانے کی درخواست کرتی ہے - اس کے پریذیڈنٹ ، سیکرٹری اور دیگر تمام عہدہ داران اور ممبروں کے ناموں کی فہرست پڑھی گئی -

سید محسن شاہ صاحب نے تحریک کی کہ جس لیگ کو ہم صرف کاغذی لیگ کہا کرتے تھے اب اسے آل انڈیا لیگ نے تسلیم کر لیا ہے اور وہ اب لیگ بھی بعض اضلاع میں شاخیں قائم کرنے لگی ہے - نام دونوں کا پنجاب لیگ ہے پتہ نہیں لگ سکے گا کہ کس کس ضلع میں کس کس لیگ کی شاخ قائم ہوئی اور اختلاف دن بہ دن بڑھے گا - اس لیے بہتر ہے کہ ایک سب کمیٹی امور مصالحت پر غور کرنے کے لیے نامزد کی جائے - خان بہادر شیخ غلام صادق نے فرمایا ہمارا اس لیگ سے اصولی اختلاف ہے اس لیے جب تک وہ ہمارا اصول نہ مانیں گے ہم سواراج کو تسلیم نہ کریں گے - ہمارا کس طرح اتفاق ہو سکتا ہے ؟

میاں محمد شفیع صاحب نے کہا جب ہم نے سید وزیر حسن صاحب کی چٹھی کے جواب میں خوب سوچ سمجھ کر اور لیگ کی منظوری سے

پمفلٹ چھاپا تھا اور پھر انہی ریزولیوشنوں کو ہماری کانفرنس نے بھی منظور کیا تھا ۔ جو صوبہ کے تمام مسلمانوں کی رائے تھی اس وقت ہم اچھی طرح جانتے تھے کہ لکھنؤ کی مسلم لیگ ہمیں آئندہ اپنے ساتھ نہیں رکھ سکے گی کیوں کہ ہم نے ان بے ضابطگیوں کے بخیئے آدھیڑ دیے تھے اس لیے لکھنؤ لیگ سے علیحدہ ہو جانے کا ہمیں ذرا افسوس نہیں ہے ۔ آنریبل میاں فضل حسین صاحب کی چٹھی متعلق بیان استیعفا پڑھی گئی اور داخل دفتر کی گئی ۔،،۱

پنجاب مسلم لیگ (پرانی) کی سالانہ کارگزاری کی رپورٹ

،،گذشتہ یکشنبہ کے روز محمڈن ہال لاہور میں پنجاب مسلم لیگ کا جو سالانہ جلسہ منعقد ہوا تھا ۔ اس میں سال گذشتہ کے متعلق آنریبل میاں محمد شفیع صاحب جنرل سیکرٹری نے مندرجہ ذیل رپورٹ پیش کی تھی :
'جناب صدر جلسہ و حضرات ، گذشتہ سالانہ جنرل اجلاس بتاریخ ۱۳ ، ماہ فروری ۱۹۱۶ء منعقد ہوا۔ اگرچہ عالمگیر جنگ ابھی تک جاری ہے اور اس کی وجہ سے پولیٹیکل جماعتوں کے عملی کام کسی حد تک محدود ہو رہے ہیں مگر تاہم پنجاب مسلم لیگ نے سال ذیل رپورٹ میں ضروریات قومی کی طرف پوری توجہ دی ۔ آپ کی کونسل کے ماہواری اجلاس سوائے زمانہ تعطیلات کے برابر ہر ماہ ہوتے رہے ۔

علاوہ ازیں ۲۵ ، ۲٦ ماہ نومبر ۱۹۱٦ء کو ممبران پنجاب مسلم لیگ کی سالانہ کانفرنس محمڈن ہال میں منعقد ہوئی ۔ جس میں علاوہ معقول تعداد قائم مقامان مختلف اضلاع پنجاب کے مولوی رفیع الدین صاحب بیرسٹر ایٹ لا سیکرٹری بمبئی پریذیڈنسی اور متعدد وزیٹران بھی موجود تھے ۔

موسم گرما ۱۹۱٦ء میں ممبران پنجاب لیجسلیٹو کونسل کا انتخاب عمل میں آیا ۔ اس موقع پر مشرق ڈسٹرکٹ بورڈ کے حلقہ کے لیے کوئی مسلمان امیدوار نہ تھا ۔ اور مغربی حلقہ ڈسٹرکٹ بورڈ میں آپ کے وائس

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۱ ۔ اداریہ پیسہ اخبار ۱۳ فروری ۱۹۱۷ء ۔

پریذیڈنٹ آنریبل ملک محمد امین خان کے مقابلہ میں کوئی غیر مسلم امیدوار نہ تھا ۔ باقی حلقہ جات میں سے ایک حلقہ میں دونوں امیدوار مسلمان تھے۔ اس لیے لیگ کو اس حلقہ میں مداخلت کرنے کی ضرورت نہ پڑی ۔ باقی حلقہ جات کے متعلق جن میں یونیورسٹی بھی شامل تھی مقابلہ کی ضرورت پڑی ۔ آپ کی کونسل نے ان انتخابوں میں خاطر خواہ کوشش کی جس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ کل انتخابات کونسل میں نصف یعنی ۵ مسلمان کامیاب ہوئے ۔

اسی اثناء میں امپیریل کونسل پہ صوبہ پنجاب کے قائم مقام کی تقرری کا معاملہ پیش ہوا ۔ چونکہ تین ممبران میں سے زیر قواعد دو مسلمان ممبر گورنمنٹ کی طرف نامزد ہوتے تھے اس .لیے غیر سرکاری ممبران پنجاب لیجسلیٹو کونسل کے انتخابات میں سب سے زیادہ قابل لحاظ یہ امر تھا کہ آبادی صوبہ پنجاب کا زیادہ تر حصہ کاشتکار و مالکان اراضی ہونے کی وجہ سے کسی ایسے شخص کا انتخاب ہونا ناموزوں تھا جو ایکٹ انتقال اراضیات کا مخالف ہو ۔ اس سے اس مسلمہ پالیسی کو مدنظر رکھ کر اس انتخاب میں آنریبل سردار سندر سنگھ مجیٹھیہ کی امیدواری کو پسند کیا گیا ۔ اور ان کے کارکنوں نے اسی انتخاب میں ان کی مدد کی ۔

گذشتہ ماہ گرما میں اصلاحات بعد از جنگ کے متعلق اطراف ملک ہندوستان سے آوازیں بلند ہونا شروع ہوئیں اور مدراس میں مسز اینی بیسنٹ نے ہوم رول لیگ کی بنیاد رکھ دی ۔ ان حالات میں آپ کی کونسل نے مناسب سمجھا کہ بوجہ جنگ پولیٹکل بحث کے متعلق خاموشیانہ پالیسی کو ترک کر کے اصلاحات کے متعلق مناسب کارروائی کی جائے۔

چنانچہ کونسل نے اپنے اجلاس منعقدہ ۲۳ ماہ جولائی ۱۹۱۶ء میں بعد کمال غور ایک ریفارم سکیم تیار کی جو بعد ازاں آپ کی کانفرنس منعقدہ ماہ نومبر میں پیش ہوئی اور ایک سالم دن کی بحث کے بعد منظور ہو کر اس کا باضابطہ اعلان کیا گیا ۔ اس ریفارم سکیم میں حالات ملک کے مطابق بہت سی ضروری اصلاحات ترقی ملک کے لیے گورنمنٹ عالیہ کی خدمت

میں پیش کرتے ہوئے حقوق مسلمانان کی خاص طور پر حفاظت کی گئی اور ان کی طرف گورنمنٹ کی توجہ خاص طور پر مبذول کی گئی -

میونسپل ایکٹ صوبہ جات متحدہ آگرہ و اودھ میں مسلمانان صوبہ کی علیحدہ قائم مقامی کے متعلق جو بعض بیدار مغز ہندو ممبران و مسلمان ممبران کی باہمی قرار داد کا نتیجہ تھا ، آنریبل پنڈت مدن موہن مالویہ اور ان کے ہم خیال ہندو صاحبان نے اس صوبہ میں غوغا برپا کیا اور بعض ہندو ممبران نے مختلف میونسپلٹی ہائے پروٹسٹ کے طور پر اپنی ممبریوں سے استعفا دے دیا - اس ایجی ٹیشن سے ہندو اور مسلمان کے باہمی تعلقات اور نیز حقوق مسلمانان پر جو گہرے اثر کا خطرہ تھا - اس کو مد نظر رکھ کر آپ کی کونسل نے اپنے اجلاس منعقدہ ۲۷ جولائی ۱۹۱۶ء میں اظہار افسوس کا ایک خاص ریزولیوشن پاس کیا اور آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کی توجہ اس طرف دلائی کہ مسلمانان صوبہ کا ایک عام اجلاس کر کے اس ایجی ٹیشن کی مخالفت کرے . . . . الحمداللہ کہ آخرکار گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا ایکٹ مذکور کو بلا کسی ترمیم کے منظور کیا اور میونسپل کمیٹیوں پر علیحدہ قائم مقامی مسلمانان کی ایک مستحکم بنیاد قائم ہو گئی -

بدقسمتی قوم سے آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کے حلقوں میں کچھ عرصہ سے جو ابتری بڑھ رہی تھی اور جس قسم کی پارٹی بازیاں اس میں شروع ہو رہی تھیں اس کا ایک نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ لکھنؤ پارٹی کی بعض نا مناسب کارروائیوں پر ان کی اصلاح اور مناسب تصفیہ کے بجائے لکھنؤ پارٹی نے آپ کی لیگ کے برخلاف چند الزامات لگائے ہیں - ان دل شکن واقعات کا اس رپورٹ میں اعادہ کرنا غیر ضروری خیال کرتا ہوں - آپ کی کونسل نے ان الزامات کے متعلق چند ضروری ریزولیوشن پاس کیے - کونسل کی روئیداد آپ کی کانفرنس میں جو ماہ نومبر گذشتہ میں منعقد ہوئی پیش کی گئی - آپ کی کانفرنس نے ان الزامات کی تردید کی اور قومی اتفاق و اتحاد کی ضرورت کو مد نظر رکھ کر یہیں تک اکتفا کر کے علیحدگی وغیرہ سے پرہیز کیا -

مگر لکھنؤ پارٹی نے ۲۷ و ۲۸ دسمبر کو جب کہ آپ کے جنرل سیکرٹری صاحب لکھنئو پارٹی کی مخالفت کے باوجود آل انڈیا ایجوکیشن کانفرانس کے پریسیڈنٹ منتخب ہونے کی وجہ سے قائم مقامان پنجاب بمقام علی گڑھ جمع تھے - میدان خالی پا کر آپ کی لیگ کو آل انڈیا لیگ سے علیحدگی کا فیصلہ کر دیا - اور ایک نئی لیگ کو اس صوبے میں اپنی شاخ مقرر کر دیا - بہر حال آپ کا لیگ بدستور سابق قائم ہے - اور بوجہ اپنی قائم مقامانہ حیثیت کے مسلمانان پنجاب کی حقیقی نیابت کا حق دار ہے -''[۱]

آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ سے میاں محمد شفیع صاحب کا استعفیٰ

''آنریبل میاں محمد شفیع نے . . . . اس بات پر پروٹسٹ کرتے ہوئے لکھنؤی لیگ کی ممبری سے استعفیٰ دے دیا کہ لیگ نے نیشنل کانگرس کے ساتھ مل کر یا شامل ہو کر ہوم رول کو اپنا مقصد بنا لیا ہے اور بمبئی کے متفقہ اجلاس میں خاموش مدافعت (پیس فل ریزسٹنس) کا جو اصول قبول کیا ہے یہ نہایت قابل اعتراض ہے -''[۲]

پنجاب پراونشل مسلم ایسوسی ایشن کا قیام

''روئداد اجلاس کونسل منعقدہ ۱۷ فروری ۱۹۱۸ء

. . . . نواب محمد علی خان صاحب بہادر میر مجلس قرار پائے اور کارروائی شروع ہوئی - جس کا خلاصہ ذیل میں درج کیا جاتا ہے -

(۱) صوبہ بنگال میں زیر غور تجویز ہے کہ ججان ہائی کورٹ کی تعداد بڑھائی جائے - جہاں پہلے تین ہندو اور ایک مسلمان جج موجود ہیں - مسلم ایسوسی ایشن بنگال نے ایک اور مسلمان جج مقرر کی جانے کی درخواست کی ہے - مسلم ایسوسی ایشن پنجاب نے بھی اس کی تائید بخوشی قبول کرلی ہے - قرار پایا کہ اس مطلب کا ایک تار فوراً گورنمنٹ ہند کی خدمت میں بھیجا جائے -

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۱ پیسہ اخبار ۲۳ مارچ ۱۹۱۷ء -
۲ - ایضاً ۱۶ اگست ۱۹۱۷ء -

(۲) حضور ملک معظم نے اپنی تقریر میں فرمایا ہے کہ امپیریل وار کانفرنس کا ایک اور اجلاس منعقد ہونے والا ہے جس میں ہندوستان سے بھی قائم مقام شریک ہوں گے - چونکہ پچھلی بار ہندوستان سے ایک انگریز افسر اور دو ہندو ممبر بھیجے گئے تھے . . . . اس مرتبہ گورنمنٹ سے درخواست کی جائے کہ ہندوستانی قائم مقاموں میں ایک مسلمان ممبر ضرور بھیجا جائے -

(۳) آنریبل میاں محمد شفیع صاحب نے گذشتہ دسمبر میں کلکتہ میں آل انڈیا مسلم ایسوسی ایشن کے قیام کے اسباب و حالات کی کیفیت بیان کی -

(۴) قرار پایا کہ یہ ایسوسی ایشن جو آل انڈیا مسلم ایسوسی ایشن کی پنجاب کی شاخ قرار پائی ہے - آئندہ اس کا نام پنجاب پراونشل مسلم ایسوسی ایشن مقرر کیا جائے -،،[1]

مسلم لیگ اور مسلم ایسوسی ایشن میں 'فرق'

"مسلم لیگ چند سال تک مسلمانوں کی واحد پولٹیکل مجلس ہندوستان میں رہی ہے اور یہ مسلمانان ہند کے ملکی اغراض کی قائم مقامی کا فرض ادا کرتی رہی ہے لیکن ۱۹۱۳ء سے اس کے عہدہ داروں نے لیڈران کانگرس سے ساز باز کر کے لیگ کی مصدقہ پالیسی کو بالکل بدل دیا . . . .

جس روز سے کارکنان مسلم لیگ نے اپنے آپ کو کارکنان نیشنل کانگرس کا قطعاً ہم خیال بنا لیا ہے اور ہوم رول اپنی پالیسی جز و لائنجزی بنا لیا ہے اس روز سے ہندوستان کے مسلمانوں کا ایک جم غفیر مسلم لیگ کی پالیسی کے مخالف ہو گیا ہے . . . .

مسلم لیگ اور مسلم ایسوسی ایشن کی پالیسیوں میں بڑا اختلاف یہ ہے کہ مسلم ایسوسی ایشن مسلمانوں کی من حیث القوم تمام حقوق کی

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۱ - پیسہ اخبار ۲۱ فروری ۱۹۱۸ء -

حفاظت کرتی ہے - وہ چاہتی ہے کہ مسلمانوں کو بطور مسلمان کے سرکاری حقوق اور عہدے ملیں - لیکن مسلم لیگ کی مجال نہیں کہ اس کی زبان پر مسلمانوں کے سرکاری عہدوں کے متعلق ایک لفظ بھی آ جائے - اس اندیشہ سے کہ اس کے کانگرسی آقا ناخوش اور برہم ہو جائیں گے -''[1]

سالانہ رپورٹ سکرٹری پنجاب مسلم ایسوسی ایشن

''سالانہ کارگذاری کی مندرجہ ذیل رپورٹ پرانی پنجاب مسلم لیگ حال پنجاب مسلم ایسوسی ایشن کے سالانہ جلسہ میں آنریبل میاں محمد شفیع صاحب جنرل سیکرٹری نے پڑھ کر سنائی -

''حضرات آپ کی آرگنائزیشن کا گذشتہ سالانہ جنرل اجلاس ۲۵، ماہ فروری ۱۹۱۷ء کو منعقد ہوا تھا جس میں قواعد و ضوابط کی بعض ترمیمیں کی گئی تھیں - اس جلسہ کے آج تک تعطیلات (اگست و ستمبر) کے علاوہ آپ کی کونسل کے برابر ماہواری اجلاس ہوتے رہے - سال زیر رپورٹ میں دو بڑے واقعات قابل ذکر ہیں - جب ماہ فروری میں معلوم ہوا کہ ہز ایکسی لنسی لارڈ چیمسفورڈ لاہور تشریف لانے والے ہیں تو آپ کی کونسل اور انجمن اسلامیہ پنجاب اور انجمن حمایت اسلام کی مجالس منتظمہ نے فیصلہ کیا کہ یہ تینوں انجمنیں . . . . مسلمانان پنجاب کی طرف سے مشترکہ ایڈریس خیر مقدم حضور وائسرائے کی خدمت میں پیش کریں- چنانچہ تینوں مجالس کی ایک مشترکہ سب کمیٹی مقرر ہوئی -

گورنمنٹ عالیہ نے بھی اس تجویز کو پسندیدگی کی نگاہ سے دیکھا - چنانچہ بروز جمعہ بتاریخ ۱۳، ماہ اپریل یونیورسٹی ہال میں ایک معزز ڈیپوٹیشن کے ذریعہ جس میں مسلمانان پنجاب کے ہر طبقہ کے قائم مقام موجود تھے ایڈریس خیر مقدم حضور وائسرائے کی خدمت میں پیش کیا گیا -

حضرات دوسرا بڑا واقعہ جو اس سال ظہور پذیر ہوا - وہ گورنمنٹ عالیہ انگلستان کا وہ اعلان ہے جو ۲۰، ماہ اگست ۱۹۱۷ء کو سیکرٹری

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۱ - اداریہ پیسہ اخبار ۳۱ مارچ ۱۹۱۸ء -

آف سٹیٹ نے ہاؤس آف کامنز میں کیا کہ ہندوستان کے لیے گورنمنٹ عالیہ کا منشائے خیال یہ ہے کہ اس ملک کو سیلف گورنمنٹ عطا کی جاوے - آپ کو یاد ہوگا کہ آخر فروری ۱۹۱۳ء میں ایک آل انڈیا اسلامی جلسہ میں بمقام لکھنؤ آپ کے جنرل سیکرٹری کے زیر صدارت مسلمانان ہندوستان نے سیلف گورنمنٹ زیر سایہ تاج انگلستان اپنا منتہائے خیال مقرر کیا تھا -

ہمارے لیے یہ ایک خاص اطمینان کا باعث ہے کہ اس سے چار سال بعد گورنمنٹ نے ہماری پالیسی کو پسند کیا . . .

. . . . چونکہ مسلم لیگ کی پالیسی کچھ عرصہ سے تبدیل ہو چکی ہے اور اس نے اپنے آپ کو ایک زبردست کل پولیٹکل آرگنائزیشن کے ساتھ اس طرح وابستہ کر لیا تھا کہ اس سے ہندوستان کے مسلمانوں کی من حیث القوم حقوق کی آزادانہ حفاظت مشکل بلکہ نا ممکن ہو گئی تھی - اس لیے بہی خواہان قوم نے اپنا فرض سمجھا کہ مسلمانان ہندوستان کی قومی خواہشات اور حقوق خالص مسلمانان ڈیپوٹیشنوں کے ذریعہ علیحدہ طور پر حضور وائسرائے اور سیکرٹری آف سٹیٹ کی خدمت میں پیش کی جاویں - چنانچہ بعد مشورہ باہمی اس موقعہ کے لیے جو مضمون ایڈریس تیار کیا گیا تھا وہ آپ کی کونسل کی منظوری کے بعد تمام صوبجات ہندوستان کے سربرآوردہ مسلمان لیڈروں کی خدمت میں ارسال کیا گیا - اور آخر میں آپ کے ڈیپوٹیشن یونائیٹڈ پراونسز مسلم ڈیفنس ایسوسی ایشن ، انڈین مسلم ایسوسی ایشن ، بنگال سوتھہ انڈیا اسلامیہ لیگ ، بمبئی پریذیڈنسی مسلم ایسوسی ایشن اور بعض اسلامی مجالس کی طرف سے جو ایڈریس مختلف مقامات پر پیش ہوئے اس میں اسلامی حقوق کی حفاظت انھیں اصولوں پر کی گئی جو باہمی قرار داد کے مطابق آپ کے ایڈریس میں مندرج تھے - خود آپ کی قائم مقامی ڈیپوٹیشن نے آپ کا ایڈریس بمقام دہلی بتاریخ ۱۹ ماہ نومبر حضور وائسرائے اور سیکرٹری آف سٹیٹ کی خدمت میں پیش کیا . . . .

بدقسمتی ملک سے ماہ ستمبر گذشتہ میں صوبہ بہار کے مختلف اضلاع میں عید کے موقع پر سخت بلوہ جات ہوئے - جس میں تقریباً

ڈیڑھ سو دیہات کے مسلمانوں کی جو ناگفتہ بہ حالت ہوئی اس کا ذکر دلوں کے لیے سخت رنجیدہ ہے ۔ آپ کی کونسل نے سب اسلامی مجالس سے پہلے اپنے اجلاس منعقدہ ۲۸ ماہ نومبر میں اس دل شکن واقعہ کے متعلق بہار کے مسلمانوں کے ساتھ اظہار ہمدردی کر کے حضور لیفٹیننٹ گورنر صوبہ بہار و اڑیسہ کی خدمت میں تار دیا ۔ کہ ان بلوہ جات کے متعلق خاص تحقیقات کر کے ملزمان کو سزا دی جائے ۔

صوبہ بہار و اڑیسہ کے ایک حصہ موسومہ بہ کٹک میں قوم اوڑیا نے اس امر کی ایجیٹیشن شروع کی کہ اڑیسہ کی حدود کو وسیع کیا جائے ۔ چونکہ اس میں مسلمانان اڑیسہ کا نقصان تھا ۔ نیشنل محمڈن ایسوسی ایشن کٹک نے اس بارہ میں آپ کے جنرل سیکرٹری کو تحریر کرنے پر آپ کی کونسل نے اپنے اجلاس منعقدہ ۹ ستمبر ۱۹۱۸ء میں ریزولیوشن اس ایجی ٹیشن کے برخلاف اور نیشنل محمڈن ایسوسی ایشن کٹک کی درخواست کی تائید میں پاس کر کے گورنمنٹ عالیہ کی خدمت میں بذریعہ تار ارسال کیا ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۱۹۱۷ء سے پہلے مسلمانان پنجاب کی پولیٹکل حقوق کی حفاظت کے لیے صرف آپ کی مجلس نومبر ۱۹۰۷ء سے برابر کام کر رہی ہے اور اگرچہ ابتدائے ۱۹۱۷ء میں اس صوبہ میں ایک نیا لیگ قائم ہوا تھا ۔ مگر ہمارے ممبران میں سے صرف ایک ممبر اس لیگ میں شامل ہو کر بعہدہ پریذیڈنٹ منتخب ہوئے ۔ مگر بعد ازاں جب سیکرٹری آف سٹیٹ کے ہندوستان آنے کی خبر اخبارات میں مشتہر ہوئی تو ہمارے لیگ کے ایک معزز ممبر اس نئی لیگ میں شامل ہو گئے ۔ اور علاوہ ازیں ایک معزز اور مقتدر فرد قوم نے مفصلات میں ایک نئی انجمن کی تحریک شروع کی ۔ قدرتاً ان دو نئی تحریکوں کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ ان کے محرکوں نے آپ کی آرگنائزیشن سے اپنی طرف ممبران کرنے کی کوشش کی ۔ ان کوششوں کی وجہ سے آپ کی سنٹرل ایسوسی ایشن کے ۳۰۰ ممبران میں سے ۲۳ اصحاب نئی لیگ اور ۱۵ اصحاب دوسری انجمنوں میں شامل ہو گئے ۔ برخلاف اس کے ۲۰ نئے ممبر اس سال آپ کی مجلس میں شامل ہوئے ۔ یعنی

اب آپ کے سنٹرل ایسوسی ایشن کے ۲۹۷ ممبر ہیں اور اس وقت میرے پاس چار اور درخواستیں نئے اصحاب کی آئی ہوئی ہیں . . . .

آپ کو اخبارات سے معلوم ہو چکا ہو گا کہ حقوق مسلمانان کی حفاظت کے لیے آل انڈیا مسلم ایسوسی ایشن کی بنیاد رکھی گئی ہے جس کے پریذیڈنٹ ہز ہائی نس پرنس آف ارکاٹ اور جنرل سیکرٹری آپ کا نیاز مند منتخب ہوئے ہیں ۔ اس حالت میں اب میری درخواست ہے کہ آپ مجھ کو پراونشل مجلس کے عہدہ جنرل سیکرٹری سے سبکدوش فرماویں ۔ آرگنائزیشن کے ابتدائے قیام یعنی یکم ماہ دسمبر ۱۹۰۷ء سے آج تک جو اعتماد آپ نے اس نیاز مند پر برابر رکھا ہے اس کا میں دلی شکریہ ادا نہیں کر سکتا ۔ اس ساڑھے دس سال کے زمانہ میں جہاں تک میری طاقت تھی میں نے آپ کی خدمت کی ۔"[۱]

میونسپلٹی ہائے پنجاب کی نیابت میں مسلمانوں کی حق تلفی

"پنجاب کی میونسپلٹیوں کا مسودہ ضوابط گزٹ صوبہ میں طبع ہو گیا ہے ۔ قواعد ہذا انتخاب ممبران سے متعلق ہے ۔ جہلم میں دس ، رہتک میں و حصار میں آٹھ آٹھ ممبر چنے جائیں گے ۔ ان ممبروں کی تعداد کے مطابق وارڈ بھی مقرر کیے جائیں گے ۔ میونسپلٹی سونی پت چھ ممبر یعنی تین ہندو اور تین مسلمان منتخب کرے گی ۔ پلول میں بھی چھ ممبران کا انتخاب ہو گا ۔ مگر افسوس ہے کہ ان میں سے دو مسلمان ہوں گے . . . . پنجاب میں کئی ایسے مقامات ہیں جہاں مسلمانوں کی آبادی ہندوؤں سے زیادہ ہے ۔ مگر اس پر بھی وہاں کے ہندوؤں کو مساوی ریپریزنٹیشن عطا کی گئی ہے ۔"[۲]

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۱ ۔ پیسہ اخبار ۵ اپریل ۱۹۱۸ء ۔
۲ ۔ اداریہ پیسہ اخبار ۱۸ مئی ۱۹۱۸ء ۔

CHAPTER XII

Contribution of the Punjab in the First World War*

"The Legislative Council of the Punjab, at its first meeting after war was declared, unanimously passed a resolution assuring the King-Emperor, of the devotion of the people of the province and of their determination, to serve His Majesty, in every form in which their help might be required against the enemies of his empire. The Council was composed mainly of elected or nominated representatives of the Mohammedan, Hindu and Sikh communities; and the resolution gave expression to the feeling of active loyality that inspired the province as a whole.

As Head of the Province it was my duty . . . to help and direct in translating the resolution into effective action. The Punjab, with its hardy and martial rural population of peasant proprietors, had, since its inclusion in the Empire, been rightly regarded as the "Shield," and "Spear-head", and the "Sword-hand" of India; it had won those proud titles by its association with the flower of the British Army in every Eastern campaign. . . This gallant record had perhaps led the military authorities from Lord Roberts' time, to concentrate too much on the Punjab fighting men—the Rajput Dogra of the lower Himalyas, the Punjabi Mohammedan of the north-west, the Sikh of the central districts, the Jat of the south-eastern—to the neglect of the fighting material of other provinces. The argument of those great military authorities, Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener . . . was, however, irrefutable, *viz.*, that as India could only afford a small army of seventy-five thousand British (now reduced to under 60,000) and one hundred and sixty thousand Indian troops for the protection of a sub-continent of over 300 millions of people, it would be unwise to take any but the best Indian material, and this was to be found mainly in the Punjab.

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* Material for this chapter has been taken from :—
O'Dwyer, M: India as I knew it, (1885—1925), London, 192
The Paisa Akhbar (Lahore) 1914—1917.
Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Sub-Committee of Indian National Congress, Lahore, 1920.

Accordingly, on the outbreak of the War, one-half of the Indian Army was drawn from the Punjab, over one-sixth from the Frontier and trans-border Pathans and the gallant Ghurkas of our ally, Nepal and less than one-third from all the remaining Indian races.

It was, therefore, natural that when the demand for manpower became urgent, the military authorities should look primarily to the Punjab and to ask for the fulfilment of the pledge to His Majesty which the Legislative Council had given in the name of the Province. The Punjab was found ready and willing.

The necessity of removing every obstacle to the successful prosecution of the War, and to the rally of our manpower to the colours, was the key to the policy which I considered myself bound to pursue during the War. It was essential to this policy to crush as promptly as possible the various subversive and revolutionary movements . . . It was also essential to discourage the spread of political agitation which, though ostensibly constitutional, might be . . . used by some of its promoters either for seditious purposes, or at least as a means of creating difficulties for the Government . . .

. . . At the beginning of the War, the Punjab had about one hundred thousand men of all ranks in the Army. At the close of the War, no less than half a million had served with the colours. The number of fighting men raised during the four years of war was roughly three hundred and sixty thousand, more than half the total number raised in India—and of these one-half were Punjab Mohammedans . . . Speaking at Rawalpindi, where he had once commanded the Punjab Army, on 16th February, 1921, H.R.H. the Duke of Cannaught said, "The achievement of the Punjab was indeed remarkable, even before the War the Punjab had a name familiar in the military annals of the Empire. But during the War she became a household word, not on account of the number of men from the Punjab who joined the colours, but also on account of the splendid fighting qualities they displayed in many a campaign."

The causes of this splendid war effort were manifold; but the main influences at work, upto the end of 1916, may be briefly summarised.

(1) The rural population were on the whole prosperous and loyal, as a result of the great schemes for their improvement and protection

carried out in the previous twenty years; they had trust in and were trusted by their Government.

(2) The association of the martial races with the Army had become steadily closer, the material benefits of military service had been realised, interest in and enthusiasm for the War were stimulated by the civil authorities; the announcement that Indian troops were to fight against a European foe on the Western ‚Front caused widespread enthusiasm; and no finer or better-equipped force ever left India than the Lahore and Meerut Divisions, which were sent to France in the autumn of 1914 and played such as heroic part in the first great crisis.

(3) Active help in recruiting was, from the outbreak of hostilities, placed by the Government foremost among the duties of the civil officials and rural men of influence; new depots were opened and the recruiting organization steadily expanded; no effort was spared to bring home to the people that the War was their War, one for the defence of their hearths and homes...

(4) Finally, and this was the most effective of all inducements .... I put at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief, one hundred and eighty thousand acres of valuable canal-irrigated land for allotment later to Indian officers and men who had served with special distinction in the field. I also set aside some fifteen thousand acres for reward-grants to those who gave most effective help in raising recruits.

These measures were an indication that the Punjab was more prompt in realising the emergency created by the world war than other Provinces with less martial population and less exposed to attack from outside. The difference is clearly apparent in the recruiting figures for the first two and a half years of the war...

1914. The Home Government had asked for 21,000 combatant recruits in the last four months of the year; 28,000 were raised, of whom 14,000 came from the Punjab, 3,000 from Nepal, 3,000 from the Frontier and trans-Frontier, and 8,000 from the rest of India.

1915. 93,000 combatants were enrolled, of whom 46,000 were from the Punjab, 14,000 from Nepal, 6,000 from the Pathan areas, and 28,000 from the rest of the India.

1916. 1,04,000 combatants were enrolled, *v.z.*, 50,000 from the Punjab, 15,000 from Nepal, 5,000 from the Pathan tribes and 32,000 from the rest of India.

By the end of 1918, the Punjab, which had started the War with 1,00,000 men in the Army, had supplied 1,10,000 out of the 1,92,000 fighting men raised in India. The Pathan areas had supplied 14,000; all the rest of India (with eleven-twelfths of the population) only 68,000; while the Nepal State had raised 33,000; making a grant total of 2,25,000.

The whole machinery of the Province was concentrated on providing men for the Army. But it was clearly laid down that while no legitimate form of appeal should be neglected, there was to be nothing savouring of coercion or compulsion . . . These warnings were necessary to prevent the zeal of subordinate Indian officials from outrunning their discretion and to check the ardour of non-officials who, believing that the bringing in of recruits would be a means of acquiring merit in official quarters, were not likely to be overscrupulous as to the methods by which the recruits were obtained.

. . . In each district a War League or Recruiting Board was formed with the Deputy Commissioner as President a few leading officials and a large number of influential non-officials as members, to help in distributing and raising the quota proposed for the district.

In this way, after a thorough investigation by local experts, each district, each sub-division, each zail or circle of villages, and each village, having regard to its male population of military age, the number of men already in the Army and its military traditions, was told what further number it was expected to provide. Many villages, tahsils, and districts gave numbers far in excess of this quota; others fell short for one reason or another. . . .

The strongest appeal to a Punjabi is one of his izzat (honour) or that of his tribe, caste, or community, and the most effective way in which such an appeal can be made is in the public Durbars, which are a traditional feature of Oriental administration. Hence from the beginning of the War, I revived the system of holding Durbars in every district or group of districts for war propaganda; and from July, 1917, I made use of these great assemblies to meet the prominent men of each district, especially the war-workers, to review by tribes, religions, and localities the results

already obtained, to arouse officials and non-officials to a sense of the common danger and the need of raising men to protect their hearths and homes. . . .

The rewards . . . bestowed were numerous titles of honour from "Raja" and "Nawab" down to "Rai Sahib" and "Khan Sahib", robes or honour, swords of honours, guns, revolvers, complimentary sanads (parchment rolls) inscribed with the name and services of the recipient, cash rewards, grants of Government land, of revenue-free land to individuals, and to communities, remission of taxation . . .

In 1917, 186,000 recruits were raised in India (besides 12,000 from Nepal); of whom 85,000 were from the Punjab and 91,000 from the rest of India. In 1918, up to the Amristice, 317,000 men were raised in India (besides 10,000 from Nepal), for whom 134,000 were from the Punjab and 183,000 from the rest of India. Upto the very end, the Punjab, though the man-power of some districts was showing signs of exhaustion, strained every nerve to help in the struggle and to meet the growing menace of invasion from the north-west.

The King-Emperor's appeal of April, 1918, had emphasised this danger, and also plainly stated the great as has been India's contribution to the cause of the allies, it is by no means the full measure of her resources and her strength. . .

Proposals were framed accordingly by the Punjab Recruiting Board. But the Central Board decided to carry on by the voluntary method as long as possible. Fortunately within six months, the problem was solved by the Amristice. But upto the end, the Punjab displayed the same grim resolution in meeting its obligations. In each of the months, August and September, 1918, over twenty-one thousand recruits were raised, surpassing all previous records, and the falling off in October was due to the appalling epidemic of influenza. In a few months that epidemic carried off a million of the Punjab population. Whereas among the half-million Punjabis who served in the War, the death casualties were only some thirty thousand . . .

. . . This is why the war-casualties of the Punjab, which had supplied 60 per cent of the men raised in the first three years, were heavier than those of the other Provinces combined . .

A most important factor was the capacity of the local officers and rural leaders to inspire enthusiasm. The Rawalpindi Division would never have produced one hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, some of the best material in the Indian Army, if it had not had a Commissioner such as Colonel Sir F.P. Young to get the best out of his officers and his people, and great territorial magnates with a fine military spirit such as Colonel Sir Umar Haiyat Khan, Nawab Sir Khuda Bakhsh Khan of the famous Tiwana tribe, Nawab Ghulam Muhammad Khan Gheba, Malik Muhammad Amin Khan Awan and his uncle Ghulam Jilani, the Ghakkar and Janjuha Chiefs, the Awan Maliks, and many others to set a splendid example of loyal service. Among the many Rajput notables none had more influence than Lieutenant-Colonel Raja Sir Jai Chand of Lambagraon in Kangra, both from his ancient lineage and his military connections; while among the Hindu Jats, of the many notable workers perhaps Chaudhri Lieutenant Lal Chand Pleader and Chaudri Chotu Ram of Rohtak, both subsequently Ministers in the Punjab Government, were the most conspicuous. Among the many Sikhs who gave splendid help, Sirdars Gajjan Singh of Ludhiana, Ragbir Singh and Arur Singh of Amritsar, Jawahir Singh of Amballa, and Captain Gopal Singh of Gurdaspur were conspicuous . . .

A reference must be made to the splendid war services of the Punjab Native States, which have a population of 4½ millions.

Their Rulers were prompt in offering all their resources in men and money at the outbreak of the War. The Maharajas of Patiala, Jind, Kapurthala, Sirmur, the Raja of Faridkot, the Nawabs of Bahawalpur and Maler Kotla sent their Imperial service contingents to the various Fronts, where they served with credit. . . All these Princes, as well as the Rajas of Chamba and Bilaspur, the Nawab of Loharu, and the lesser Chiefs spared no efforts to raise men in their States for the Indian Army. Patiala's contribution—over twenty thousand—was second only to that of Jammu and Kashmir in all the States of the Indian Empire, other Sikh States, Jind, Kapurthala, Faridkot, came upto the high standard of adjoining British districts. The Maharaja of Patiala himself started for the Front with his troops, but had to return owing to illness. In 1918, His Highness was one of India's representatives at the War Conference of the Empire, and visited the Western and Palestine Fronts.

Throughout the War, the Punjab Princes as a body rendered constant and valuable help to the Punjab Government in maintaining internal peace and order. At its close it was my privilege to assist in obtaining for them from the King-Emperor, generous and appropriate recognition in the form of additions to their honours and dignities, to their titles and salutes, the grant of high military rank and other privileges which they appreciate...

One of our most effective methods of stimulating patriotic effort in the last year of the War was a weekly newspaper, the Hakk (Right), ably edited by Mr. Kitchin of I.C.S. and Khan Sahib Abdul Aziz of the Press Department. This was published in English, Urdu and Gurmukhi... and rose to a circulation of seventy thousand copies, as much as that of all the other newspapers of the Province combined . . . ."[1]

1. O'Dwyer, M : op. cit. pp. 213—280.

مسلمانان لاہور کا جلسہ محمڈن ہال میں

''جلسہ بروز بدھ ۱۲ اگست ۱۹۱۴ء بوقت ۴ بجے شام برکت علی محمڈن ہال بصدارت خان بہادر نواب محمد علی خان صاحب قزلباش بدیں غرض منعقد کیا گیا کہ ملک معظم جارج پنجم دام اقبالہ کے دور میں مسلمانان لاہور و پنجاب کی طرف سے اظہار وفاداری و عقیدت کیا جائے اور پروردگار عالم کی درگاہ میں سرکار انگلشیہ کی فتح اور نصرت کے واسطے دعا کی جائے ۔ نیز مسلمانان پنجاب کی طرف سے گورنمنٹ عالیہ کو یقین دلایا جاوے کہ مسلمانوں کا ہر فرد و بشر سرکار عالیہ کی ہر قسم کی امداد و خدمت کے واسطے ہر وقت تیار ہے ۔

حاضرین میں خان محمد بشیر علی خان صاحب ، خان بہادر سردار عبدالرحمان خاں صاحب ، مولوی فضل الدین صاحب پلیڈر ۔ ملک برکت علی صاحب اڈیٹر آبزرور ، میاں شمس الدین صاحب ، میاں نظام الدین صاحب ، سید محی شاہ صاحب خاں بہادر ، سید امیر شاہ صاحب مسٹر میراں بخش ، شمس دین صاحب ، شیخ امیر الدین صاحب میر منشی پنجاب گورنمنٹ ، خاں بہادر شیخ عزیز الدین صاحب ، میاں امین دین صاحب موجود تھے ۔

پہلا ریزولیوشن مولوی فضل الدین صاحب وکیل نے ایک پر زور اور پر جوش تقریر کے ساتھ پیش کیا اور سرکار برطانیہ سے جو عقیدت مسلمانان ہند کو ہے ۔ اوس کا اظہار کیا . . . .

ریزولیوشن حسب ذیل تھا کہ مسلمانان لاہور کا یہ عام جلسہ جو بسرپرستی انجمن اسلامیہ پنجاب لاہور منعقد کیا گیا ہے مسلمانان پنجاب کی طرف سے اپنی گورنمنٹ اور حضور شہنشاہ معظم کی خدمت

میں ایک غیر متزلزل مکمل وفادار ہے ۔ اور عقیدت شعاری کا اظہار کرتا ہے ۔ اور سلطنت کی حفاظت میں اپنی خدمات اور تمام ذرائع پیش کرتا ہے ۔ ڈاکٹر اقبال صاحب بیرسٹرایٹ لاء اور ملک برکت علی صاحب اڈیٹر آبزرور ۔ میاں شمس الدین صاحب آنریری مجسٹریٹ ، حکیم ڈاکٹر غلام نبی صاحب زبدۃ الحکما ، ڈاکٹر یعقوب بیگ صاحب اسسٹینٹ سرجن نے موزوں الفاظ میں اس ریزولیوشن کی تائید کی . . . . .

مولوی غلام اللہ صاحب نے دوسرا ریزولیوشن پیش کرتے ہوئے فرمایا کہ . . . . . ہم سب مسلمانوں کا فرض ہے سرکار کی فتح و نصرت کے لیے دعا مانگیں ۔

دوسرا ریزولیوشن یہ ہے مسلمانان لاہور کا یہ عام جلسہ قرار دیتا ہے کہ گورنمنٹ کی فتح و نصرت کے لیے تمام مساجد پنجاب میں دعا مانگی جاوے"[1]۔

گوجرانوالہ میں جاں نثاری کا جلسہ

"۷ ۔ اگست بروز جمعہ بعد نماز جامع مسجد گوجرانوالہ میں اہل اسلام کا ایک عظیم الشان جلسہ ہوا جس میں مولوی نظر حسین صاحب میونسپل کمشنر و امام جامع مسجد نے موجودہ عالمگیر مہا بھارت یوربی جنگ کے حالات بیان کرکے یہ ظاہر کیا کہ گورنمنٹ عالیہ انگلشیہ نے محض حقوق و انصاف کی طرف داری میں اس خطرناک جنگ میں . . . واسطے مجبوری حصہ لیا ہے ۔ چونکہ انصاف کی حمایت ہر ایک مسلمان کا فرض ہے اس لیے ہم کو اپنے بادشاہ اور گورنمنٹ کی امداد اور جاں نثاری لازمی ہے . . . . . مولوی صاحب موصوف نے پرجوش الفاظ میں ظاہر کیا کہ اگر گورنمنٹ عالیہ قبول کرے تو وہ سب سے پہلے بطور والنٹیر میدان جنگ میں جانے کے واسطے تیار ہے جس کے ساتھ ہی کثیرالتعداد حاضرین نے پرجوش الفاظ میں اپنی جان و مال گورنمنٹ کی خدمت میں

۱۔ پیسہ اخبار ۱۹ اگست ۱۹۱۴ء ۔

نثار کرنے کی آمادگی ظاہر کی اور والنٹیر بننا منظور کیا"[۱]۔

مسلمانان لاہور کے جلسہ وفاداری گورنمنٹ کی تجاویز

"زیر سرپرستی انجمن اسلامیہ پنجاب لاہور مسلمانان لاہور کا ایک پبلک جلسہ محمڈن ہال میں بصدارت نواب حاجی فتح علی خاں صاحب قزلباش ۱۶ ستمبر ۱۹۱۴ کو منعقد ہوا ۔ جس میں مندرجہ ذیل ریزولیوشن پاس کیے گئے ۔

(۱) تجویز ہوا کہ جلسہ عام مسلمانان لاہور کا زیر اہتمام انجمن اسلامیہ پنجاب منعقد ہو کر اپنی مستقل اور سنجیدہ رائے درج کرتا ہے کہ انگلستان کا دعویٰ حق بجانب ہے . . . . . دنیا کی آزادی اور مواعید بین الاقوامی کی حرمت قائم رکھنے کے لیے جنگ پر مجبور کیا گیا ہے ۔

(۲) کہ عام جلسۂ مسلمانان لاہور کا اپنا اطمینان خاص نسبت اعلان بے طرفی ٹرکی یورپ کے موجودہ نازک وقت میں درج کرتا ہے ۔ اور بلحاظ ان نہایت دوستانہ تعلقات کے مابین انگلستان و ٹرکی کے رہے ہیں اور یہ اعتبار اس اطمینان دلانے کے جو انگلستان اور اس رفقائے نسبت مسلم رہنے مقبوضات ٹرکی کے دلانے میں اور بلحاظ احساس و جذبات و بپاس خاطر مسلمانان ہند کے اظہار امید کرتا ہے کہ مدبران ٹرکی تمام وقت جنگ میں بے تعلقی کا مسلک اختیار کیے رہیں گے . . . .

(۳) تجویز ہوا کہ یہ عام جلسہ مسلمانان لاہور . . . . . نہایت ادب سے گورنمنٹ کو یقین دلاتا ہے کہ اگر ٹرکی خدانخواستہ اس جنگ میں دشمن کے ساتھ ہو جائے تو بھی مسلمانان ہند تاج برطانیہ کے

۱۔ ایضاً ۔ ۲۰ ۔ اگست ۱۹۱۴ء

ساتھ اپنے مستقیم وفاشعاروں اور مستقل اطاعت گزاری پر قائم رہیں گے -

(۴) تجویز ہوا کہ یہ جلسہ قادر مطلق سے دعا کرتا ہے کہ وہ ٹرکی کو سب سے بڑی سلطنت اسلامی زمانہ حال کے خلاف میدان جنگ میں آنے سے باز رکھے"[۱] -

جنگ اور ریاست بہاولپور

دولت عثمانیہ سے جنگ چھڑ جانے کے متعلق ریاست بہاولپور نے بھی اپنے گزٹ ریاست میں مندرجہ ذیل اعلان مولوی حاجی رحیم بخش صاحب سی - آئی - ای پریذیڈنٹ کونسل آف ریجنسی ریاست بہاولپور کے دستخط سے شائع کیا ہے -

از پریذیڈنٹ کونسل بہاولپور

"گورنمنٹ کے حالیہ اعلانات سے جو آج کے صادق الاخبار بہرہ گزٹ میں گزٹ آف انڈیا سے نقل کیے جاتے ہیں - ہر ایک سمجھ دار مسلمان کو افسوس ہوگا کہ مدبرین سلطنت عثمانیہ نے ایک ایسے دوست کے ساتھ جس نے ہمیشہ سلطنت عثمانیہ کے قیام میں کوشش کی ہے وہ بنظر ظاہر ان مدبرین کی دانشمندی ظاہر نہیں کرتی - جرمنی سے ہمیشہ دولت عثمانیہ کو نقصان پہونچنے اور پھر ان سے آئیندہ نفع کی امید رکھنا دانشمندی سے بعید ہے - حضور نظام اور ہزہائنیس سر آغا خاں نے جس کراہت سے اس فیصلہ کو دیکھا ہے اس کا ذکر اخبارات میں ہو چکا ہے - گورنمنٹ انگلشیہ نے جس تدبر اور دانائی کے ساتھ باوجود اعلان جنگ ہونے کے مقامات مقدسہ موقوعہ عرب دوشیزہ جدہ کی حفاظت کا اطمینان دلایا ہے وہ ہر ایک کلمہ گو کے لیے موجب شکر گزاری ہے . . . .

ہم دعا کرتے ہیں کہ حضرت سلطان المعظم اور اراکین دولت بہت جلد محسوس کر لیں کہ ان کے اس فعل سے نہ صرف دولت عثمانیہ کو

۱- ایضاً ۱۸ ستمبر ۱۹۱۴ء

صدمہ عظیم پہنچے گا بلکہ دنیا بھر کے مسلمانوں کی اہمیت اس سے کم ہو جائے گی . . . .

اب ہم کو یہ دیکھنا ہے کہ مسلمانان ہند اور علی الخصوص رعایائے ریاست بہاولپور کا جو اکثریت سے مسلمان ہیں کیا مقصود ہونا چاہیے؟ میری رائے میں جب کہ اسلام اور عیسائیت کی لڑائی نہیں ہے - جس کا مدعا مذہبی بنیاد پر ہو اور اس خیال سے جو امن و امان سلطنت انگلشیہ کے سایہ میں ہے وہ ہم کو اپنی مسلمان سلطنتوں میں بھی کہیں میسر نہیں - اپنے مذہبی فرائض ہم آزادی کے ساتھ ادا کرتے ہیں - ہماری جان و مال کی حفاظت کے پورے سامان میسر ہیں - اپنے اماکن مقدس کی زیارت کے لیے آزادی سے جا سکتے ہیں - ملازمت کے لیے بشرط قابلیت بہتر جگہ مل سکتی ہے تو پھر میں یہ علی الاعلان کہوں گا کہ مسلمانان ہند کو گورنمنٹ انگلشیہ کا سچا وفادار اور پورا خیرخواہ رہنا چاہیے - ہماری ریاست بہاولپور جو سلطنت عباسیہ کی یادگار ہے ہمیشہ اس بات کے لیے مشہور رہی ہے کہ وہ جس مسلم یا غیر مسلم حکومت کے ماتحت رہی اس کی مدد پر اپنی جان و مال قربان کر دیا - سلطنت برطانیہ کی برکات نے ریاست بہاولپور اور اس کے والیان کو ہمیشہ ظلم و جور سے محفوظ رکھا اور انہوں نے بھی اپنی طرف سے امتحان کے موقعوں پر افواج برطانیہ کے پہلو لڑ کر ظالموں سے ملک کو صاف کرنے کی کوشش کی . . . اور اس کی تائید حال کے واقعات سے ہوتی ہے کہ ہمارے نابالغ رئیس نے جو اب خدا کے فضل سے گیارہویں سال میں ہیں جنگ جرمن کے شروع ہونے پر مجھ کو تار دیا تھا کہ میری تمام افواج اور مال و متاع سلطنت برطانیہ کی حفاظت کے لیے حکام برٹش گورنمنٹ کی خدمت میں پیش کیے جائیں . . . .

ہم اس احساس فرمانبرداری کو کبھی نہیں بھول سکتے کہ جہاں آپ کی سرکار ریاست بہاولپور نے جنگ کے چندہ میں پچاس ہزار روپیہ دیا - آپ صاحبان نے بہت تھوڑے عرصہ میں بیس ہزار روپے سے زیادہ

چندہ کا روپیہ نقد ادا کیا اور آئندہ کے لیے برابر سعی جاری ہے یہ آپ کے سب چندے عنقریب گورنمنٹ کی خدمت میں پیش ہونے والے ہیں۔''۱

پنجاب مسلم لیگ کو وائسرائے کا جواب

''آنریبل میاں محمد شفیع صاحب خان بہادر بیرسٹرایٹ لا جنرل سکریٹری لیگ ہذا کو پنجاب مسلم لیگ کے وفادارانہ ریزولیوشن کے جواب میں حضور وائیسرائے کے پرائیویٹ سیکریٹری کا تار ذیل موصول ہوا ہے۔

'وائسرائے نے مجھ سے خواہش ظاہر فرمائی ہے کہ آپ کے توسط سے پنجاب مسلم لیگ کے ممبروں کا ان کے وفادارانہ تیقنات کی نسبت بہترین شکریہ ادا کروں ہزایکسیلینسی کا ہمیشہ خیال رہا ہے کہ ہم تمام حالات میں مسلمانان ہند کی وفاداری پر بھروسا کر سکتے ہیں اور ہم ان کے مستقل اور سچے دل کی تائید و اعانت کی بغایت قدر کرتے ہیں۔''۲

انجمن مسلمانان پنجاب کے وفادارانہ جلسے۔

''انجمن اسلامیہ چکوال ضلع جہلم:۔ ۱۶ نومبر کو انجمن کی جانب سے مدرسہ میں مسمانان تحصیل کا ایک جلسہ جس کی تعداد چار ہزار سے کم نہ تھی منعقد ہوا۔ صدر جلسہ خان بہادر چوہدری اورنگ زیب خان صاحب بنائے گئے۔ مولوی کرم الدین صاحب نے اسلامی دلائل سے اپنی تقریر میں ثابت کیا کہ مسلمان مذہباً خدا اور رسول کے حکم سے اپنے بادشاہ سرکار برطانیہ کی اطاعت کے پابند ہیں اور تحریک فرمائی .... کہ مسلمانان ٹرکی کے بلاوجہ جنگ میں شریک ہو جانے پر افسوس کرتے ہیں۔ اور اپنی غیر متزلزل اور مستحکم وفاداری کا سرکار برطانیہ کو یقین دلاتے ہیں۔ اور جو مسلمانوں کے مقدس مقامات واقعہ عرب و دیگر ممالک کا ہماری سرکار نے جو یقین دلایا ہے اس کا صدق دل

۱۔ ایضاً ۸ نومبر ۱۹۱۴ء۔
۲۔ ایضاً ۱۱ نومبر ۱۹۱۴ء۔

سے شکریہ ادا کرتے ہیں - برٹش فوج کی فتح و نصرت کی دعا پر جلسہ کا اختتام ہوا -"۱

ملتان

"۴ نومبر ۱۹۱۴ء کو مسلمانان ملتان کا ایک عام جلسہ بمقام باغ لانگی خان منعقد ہوا جس میں سوائے خان بہادر مخدوم حسن بخش صاحب . . . . باقی کل مسلمانان مخادیم، قاضی، علمأ، امام مساجد، بیرسٹر، پلیڈر، تجارت و حرفت کے تمام گروہ، عوام‌الناس شامل تھے - مخدوم پیر صدرالدین سجادہ نشین دربار پیر صاحب، خان بہادر شیخ ریاض حسین صاحب آنریری اکسٹرا کمشنر کے جنرل سکریٹری اور شیخ نیاز علی پلیڈر میونسپل کمشنر و شیخ مرید حسین صاحب میونسپل کمشنر خلف خان بہادر مخدوم حسن بخش صاحب سکریٹریان کے انتخاب کے بعد کارروائی جلسہ شروع ہوئی، اور معقول اور مدلل تقاریر کے بعد حسب ذیل ریزولیوشن بااتفاق رائے پاس ہوئے -

(۱) مسلمانان ملتان کا یہ جلسہ گورنمنٹ ٹرکی کے جنگ یورپ میں غیر جانبداری چھوڑنے پر اپنا دلی رنج و افسوس ظاہر کرے . . . . اور اپنی مسلم وفاداری کا قیصر ہند کو یقین دلاتا ہے . . . .

(۲) یہ جلسہ گورنمنٹ ہند کے اس اعلان پر کہ مقامات مقدسہ ملک عرب و عراق پر کسی قسم کا حملہ نہیں ہوگا - تشکر کا اظہار کرتا ہے . . . . .

اختتام جلسہ پر خان صاحب شیخ امیر علی صاحب ڈسٹرکٹ و سیشن جج کی تجویز پر بااتفاق رائے تین چیئرز حضور شہنشاہ معظم کے واسطے کیے گئے -"۲

۱- ایضاً ۲۵ نومبر ۱۹۱۴ء -
۲- ایضاً ۱۶ دسمبر ۱۹۱۴ء -

ٹوانہ ملک صاحبان کی وفاداری کا ثبوت

"پنجاب گورنمنٹ نے مندرجہ ذیل کمونک جاری کیا ہے۔
'ہم کو معلوم ہوا ہے کہ حال میں ضلع شاہ پور صوبہ ہذا کے مشہور و معروف ٹوانہ ملک صاحبان یعنی نواب ملک خدا بخش خاں صاحب و آنریری کپتان ملک مبازر خاں و رسالدار میجر ملک محمد حیات خاں صاحب، ملک شیر محمد خاں صاحب نے کمال وفاداری اور دو سو پیادوں کی ایک جمعیت بھرتی کرکے گورنمنٹ کی خدمت کے لیے جہاں کہیں اور جب بھی گورنمنٹ کو ضرورت پڑے تیار رہے گی۔ اس امداد سے جس وفاداری اور جنگی جوش کا اظہار ہوتا ہے۔ گورنمنٹ نے اسے قدر کی نگاہ سے دیکھا ہے''[1]۔

کپتان ملک عمر حیات خان ٹوانہ، ہندوستان کا سب سے پہلا والنٹیر

"مکرم بندہ جناب ایڈیٹر صاحب پیسہ اخبار، تسلیم۔

انگلستان کے اخبارات گاہے گاہے ہندوستانی والنٹیرز کے کارناموں کو زیب اوراق کرتے رہے ہیں۔ چنانچہ ایوننگ سٹینڈرڈ اسپیشل مرقوم چھ مارچ ۱۹۱۵ء میں آنریبل ملک عمر حیات خاں کے متعلق ایک مختصر نوٹ بمعہ تصویر ممدوح چھپا ہے۔ جس کا ترجمہ درج ذیل کیا جاتا ہے۔ امید ہے کہ اپنے اخبار میں درج فرمائیں گے۔

(نیازمند سید الف شاہ)

ہندوستان کے بوقلمونی عناصر جو اس آڑے وقت میں یونین جیک کے گرد جمع ہوئے ہیں۔ ان میں سے ایک کپتان عمر حیات خاں ٹوانہ سی۔ آئی۔ ای۔ ایم۔ ای۔ او کی ذات ہے۔ جنہیں میدان جنگ میں سخت

۱- ایضاً ۱۳ دسمبر ۱۹۱۴ء۔

سردی اور برف باری کی وجہ سے پاؤں کے ورم کر جانے کے باعث انگلستان آنا پڑا"۱

(۵)

قرضہ جنگ کے متعلق لاہور میں عظیم الشان جلسہ

"٦ مارچ کی شام بوقت ۵ بجے ٹاؤن ہال لاہور میں زیر صدارت حضور لاٹ صاحب پنجاب سر مائیکل اوڈوائر قرضہ جنگ کے متعلق اہل لاہور کا ایک عظیم الشان جلسہ منعقد ہوا۔ یورپین و ہندوستانی، سرکاری افسروں و شرفا کثیرالتعداد میں شامل تھے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ حضور لاٹ صاحب طلائی کرسی پر جلوہ افروز تھے۔ ان کے دائیں طرف خان بہادر جسٹس شاہ دین اور بائیں طرف منیارڈ فنانشل کمشنر بیٹھے تھے۔ ہز آنر مائیکل اوڈوائر نے جلسہ کا افتتاح کرتے ہوئے فرمایا :

"مجھے آج اس بھاری جلسہ کو دیکھ کر بڑی خوشی ہوئی ہے۔ جس میں ہر طبقہ اور ہر حیثیت کے لوگ جمع ہیں۔ جب سے جنگ شروع ہوئی ہے مجھے بہت کم جلسوں میں صدر تعین ہونے کا موقع ملا ہے۔ کیونکہ اہل پنجاب نے خود بخود نہایت عظیم الشان فیاضانہ اور اپنی شان کے شایان امداد دی ہے۔ اگرچہ پنجاب میں بمقابلہ ہندوستان کے دیگر صوبہ جات کے کم دولت مند ہیں لیکن جنگ شروع ہوتے ہی اس نے ہر طرح سے سرکار کی مدد کرنا شروع کر دیا۔

"چنانچہ ابھی گذشتہ سال اس نے اپنے آپ ایرو پلین فنڈ میں ۵ ۱ لاکھ روپیہ دیا ہے۔ علاوہ ازیں کئی دیگر فنڈوں مثلاً ریڈ کراس کمفرٹس فنڈ وغیرہ میں بھی کافی روپیہ دیا گیا ہے۔

"سب سے بڑھ کر خوبی کی بات یہ ہے کہ اِس امداد میں ہر طبقہ کے لوگوں نے حصہ لیا ہے۔ ایک طرف جہاں دیسی راجوں نے شاہانہ

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۱ - ایضاً ۱۷ - اپریل ۱۹۱۵ء -

عطیات دیئے ہیں ۔ تو دوسری طرف چھوٹے طبقہ کے لوگوں نے اپنی بساط سے بڑھ کر چندہ دیا ہے . . . . .

''میں آج آپ کے سامنے ایک اور مقصد کے لیے آیا ہوں اور وہ یہ کہ گورنمنٹ کو اس وقت روپیہ کی ضرورت ہے ۔ وہ تم سے چندہ نہیں بلکہ قرض مانگتی ہے ۔ اس لیے دیسی راجاؤں سے لے کر عوام تک تمام اچھے پنجابیوں کو اس میں حصہ لینا چاہیے . . . . .

''ہندوستان میں گورنمنٹ کوہ ہمالیہ کی طرح قائم ہے ۔ اس لیے لوگوں کو بالکل ہچکچانا نہیں چاہیے اور کھلے دل سے اس موقع پر سرکار کی مدد کرنا چاہیے حالانکہ اس میں ان کا بھی فائدہ ہے اور انہیں کافی سود دیا جائے گا ۔ چند دیسی راجاؤں نے بچپن لاکھ روپیہ قرض دیا ہے جس کی تفصیل حسب ذیل ہے ۔

بہاول پور دربار چالیس لاکھ روپیہ ، فرید کوٹ دربار ساڑھے چار لاکھ روپیہ ، ریاست نابھہ پانچ لاکھ روپیہ ، ریاست کپورتھلہ اڑھائی لاکھ روپیہ ، ریاست چمبہ ایک لاکھ روپیہ ، کل میزان بچپن لاکھ روپیہ ۔

حضور لاٹ صاحب نے فرمایا کہ مہاراجگان پٹیالہ و چند اور کو وقت پر اطلاع نہیں پہنچ سکی اس لیے ان کی طرف سے ابھی کچھ نہیں دیا گیا ۔ لیکن پوری امید ہے کہ یہ ریاستیں بھی کافی روپیہ قرض پر دیں گی ۔ آخر میں حضور لاٹ صاحب نے فرمایا کہ اس وقت تک جب کبھی پنجاب سے امداد طلب کی گئی ہے وہ کبھی بے سود ثابت نہیں ہوئی ہے ۔ اور اس نے اپنی بساط سے بڑھ کر مدد دی ہے ۔ اس لیے مجھے امید ہے کہ اب بھی اپنی اس شان کو برقرار رکھے گا ۔

آنریبل جسٹس شاہ دین

حضور لاٹ صاحب کی تقریر کے بعد چیف کورٹ پنجاب کے چیف جج آنریبل بہادر جسٹس شاہدین نے ریزولیوشن پیش کیا کہ سلطنت

برطانیہ کی رعایا کے ہر ایک فرد کا فرض ہے کہ اس قرضہ جنگ میں حصہ لے اور اس کی شرائط کو عوام میں پھیلائے تاکہ وہ بھی اس میں شریک ہو سکیں . . . . .

مسٹر مینارڈ صاحب فنانشل کمشنر

اس کے بعد مسٹر مینارڈ صاحب فنانشل کمشنر نے اردو میں ایک نہایت صاف اور دل نشین تقریر کی۔ آپ نے اپنی تقریر میں قرضے کی اقسام اور ان کی شرائط کی وضاحت کی۔ آپ نے فرمایا کہ یہ قرضہ تین قسم کا ہوگا اور اس میں سب سے بڑھ کر خوبی یہ ہے کہ امیر سے امیر اور غریب سے غریب لوگ اس میں حصہ لیں گے . . . .

مزید تقریریں

دیوان سریندر ناتھ، آنریبل رائے بہادر جسٹس شادی لال، آنریبل مسٹر محمد شفیع، رائے بہادر پنڈت شونرائن، مسٹر طع ایجنٹ بنک بنگال، آنریبل بخشی موہن لال، پنڈت دین دیال اور رائے بہادر لالہ گوپال داس بھنڈاری اور رائے بہادر رام سرنداس نے تقریریں کیں اور لوگوں کو قرضہ جنگ میں شریک ہونے کے لیے اپیل کی ہے۔

مندرجہ ذیل قرضے مزید اعلان کیے گئے :-

رائے بہادر رام سرنداس ایک لاکھ ۵۱ ہزار، سیٹھ ملکی شاہ $1\frac{1}{2}$ لاکھ، میونسپل کمیٹی امرتسر ایک لاکھ، رائے گوپال داس بھنڈاری ۱۵ ہزار، پنڈت رشی رام ۲۵ ہزار۔

دوسرا ریزولیوشن : آخر میں لاٹ صاحب نے دوسرا ریزولیوشن پیش کیا کہ اس کام کے متعلق جسٹس شاہ دین خاں بہادر، مسٹر منیارڈ، راجہ دلجیت سنگھ رائے بہادر، گوپال داس رائے بہادر کی ایک کمیٹی بنائی جائے۔ ریزولیوشن اتفاق رائے سے پاس ہوا۔"[1]

۱۔ ایضاً ۸ مارچ ۱۹۱۷ء

Coercion in Recruitment and War Loans

"Sir Michael said at a meeting on the 4th May, 1918, just after the Delhi programme had been settled : "200,000 men for the regular army, voluntarism if possible, conscription if necessary". Col. Popham Young, speaking at the same meeting, said "when deciding how to apportion the effort, it is inevitable that many must be guided, must even be compelled. We shall continue to work on the lines of voluntarism. We shall fix quotas for each district, tahsil or village with reference to the material which is available, and shall in the great majority of cases obtain the number of men we require without resort to compulsion. . . . . We must be able to say that when there has been a failure on the part of the people to choose their champions for the areas, Government will step in and make the choice for them" . . . .

Judicial processes were also pressed into service. The First Class Magistrate at Chakwal discharged an accused in the Criminal Case No. 82 of 1917, noting that "the accused and his brother have between them subscribed Rs. 110.00 towards 'Our Day Fund', and according to verbal compromise made, accused is accordingly acquitted." . . . There is a village called Leihia in the District of Muzaffargarh. A large crowd besieged the residence of the Naib Tahsildar, assaulted the Chaprasi and the rural police man. Some people were arrested. ... On appeal, the Sessions Judge acquitted some, reduced the sentences of the others. Mr. Coldstream, the Judge in question, remarked that "the people had real grievances for which they wanted to find expression." He said further, "It is a matter of common knowledge that the efforts of the subordinate officials in Muzaffargarh to raise the war loan and to find recruits, owing to the methods adopted by Zaildars and Lambardars on whom pressure was brought to help in the matter, led to severe frictions in many places. It must be admitted too that these methods were frequently unauthorised, objectionable, oppressive and opposed to the intentions of the Government. In remote tracts, they were found intolerable by the people. These acts could not, of course, be proved by the prosecution and it would be absurd to expect proof of them to be adduced in defence in a case of the present kind. It is necessary in the cause of justice to make this clear, even if in doing so I have to get outside the judicial record. The facts I have stated are, as I have said before, matters of common knowledge" . . . .

. . . In our opinion, the admission that conscription was resorted to is its own condemnation. But Sir Michael O'Dwyer must have read the evidence produced at the trial. This is what Muhammad Khan, who was the reader for the deceased, (*Sayed Nadir Hussain, Tahsildar of Shahpur*), deposed on behalf of the prosecution. "The Tahsildar's method was to have a list of all men in a village prepared by the Patwari. When he had got the list, it was the Tahsildar's practice to go into the village and hear if any objections were taken to the selection of the recruits. It was his practice to ask a family of 3 or 4 brothers to provide one or two recruits for the army — He also secured some deserters from the neighbourhood of Gurna, who were sent under escort to the recruiting officer . . . The Tahsildar had noted the fact of selection as recruits against many names in this—The Zamindars of this ilaqa usually ran away on the approach of Tahsildar, being not accustomed to service and being afraid to come in front of him" . . . . .

In another case in the same district a mob is said to have gathered round a village and resisted the arrest of seven men. They were fired at and several casualties had occurred. The defence version that the men resisted, because they were afraid of enlistment, was rejected by the court. But the fact of the resistance and firing tends to prove the allegation of oppressing methods . . . .

We have some answer from the recruiting returns published by Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The recruiting returns of the Multan District at the end of December, 1917 stood at 759 or 1 in 586 of the male population. By the end of November, 1918 the number rose to 4636 or 1 in 93. Such a phenomenal record is only possible under methods of compulsion The Commissioner said : "I am afriad with a few exceptions, the leading men in the district have not done their duty. Instead of enlisting members of their own families, they tried to buy or coerce men of lower stratum; objectionable methods of coercion were resorted to by some headmen with the result that in some cases public tranquility was disturbed. Attempts were made in numerous cases and these were successful to fraudulently enlist foreigners from other districts and other divisions as residents of this district though this was against the orders of the government." No wonder Sir Michael O'Dwyer was obliged to deplore the fact that a "a large proportion of those who joined, deserted from their depots or units, and very few indeed faced the enemy in the field." . . . .

The Commissioner of Ambala Division reported that "in order to make up the quota, the people resorted to the not unnatural expedient of subscribing large sums to be given to young men to enlist, 500 or 1,000 rupees being the price of a recruit."

Another popular devise was to compel men of supposed bad character either to enlist or furnish security under Section 109 or 110 of the Indian Panel Code to be of good behaviour. The report on the administration of Criminal Justice for 1917 says: "District Magistrates have spent much time in recruiting work during the year. The large decrease in the number of persons called upon to give security under Section 109 of the Indian Panel Code is in a great part due to the heavy recruiting of the army." . . . .

Sardar Sant Singh Vakil of Lyallpur thus summarizes the recruiting and war loan methods.

"War loan was forcibly levied in this District. Title hunters exacted war loan from the masses in order to win honour for themselves. Rs. 33 per square were forcibly levied en-masse. No exception was made. Even an adjudged bankrupt had to pay it. The history of this levy is interesting. It was proposed that every square-holder should be made to give Rs. 33, the value of one acre of land, to the Government. No square-holder was consulted. The proposal came from the title hunters. It was accepted by the local authorities but was modified by the Local Government. In place of gift, the Local Government took it as a loan, the interest going to the improvement of the village, and not to the indiviual contributors . . . .

"Imperial War Relief Fund"

"Ten rupees per square were levied. People paid it as they could not help it . . . Thus Sir Michael O'Dwyer galvanized the Punjab into life and made the Punjabis feel akin in a manner, they have never done before."[1]

1. Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress. pp. 15—22.

باب سیزدہم

ہندو مسلم تعلقات (۱۹۰۹ تا ۱۹۱۸)

ہندو مسلم تنازعات اور ان کو حل کرنے کی کوششیں*

تنازعات:

ہندو سبھا کا ایڈریس (جو یونیورسٹی ہال میں سبھا مذکور کے جنرل سکریٹری رائے بہادر مسٹر شادی لال نے پڑھ کر سنایا)

"حضور والا۔

ہم قائمقام پنجاب ہندو سبھا اس صوبے کی ہندو جماعت کی طرف سے یورایکسیلینسی اور ہر ایکسیلینسی لیڈی منٹو کو یورایکسی لینسیز کی دارالخلافہ پنجاب میں پہلی مرتبہ تشریف آوری کے موقع پر دل سے اور پرجوش طریقے سے خوش آمدید کہتے ہیں اور اس موقعہ سے فائدہ اٹھا کر ہم یورایکسی لینسی سے بہ حیثیت آپ کے ہز موسیٹ گریشس مجسٹی ملک معظم کے عالی مرتبہ قائمقام ہونے کے نہایت عجز سے درخواست کرتے ہیں کہ آپ انگریزی تاج کی نسبت ہماری دوامی وفاداری اور مستقل محبت کے ان خیالات کو جو اپنے دوسرے ہم وطنوں کی طرح صوبہ پنجاب کے ہندوؤں کے دلوں میں موجود ہیں ہزمجیسٹی تک پہنچا دیں ---

ہم مودبانہ طور پر یورایکسی لینسی کو یقین دلاتے ہیں، کہ ان تبدیلیوں کے باعث جنہیں ہمارے بعض مسلمان ہم وطنوں کی خواہش کے بموجب ریفارم سکیم میں لانے کا ارادہ ہے۔ اہل ہنود سخت پریشان ہیں اس لیے ہم یورایکسی لینسی کے روبرو اس جماعت کے خیالات پیش کرنے کی جرأت کرتے ہیں جس سے ہمارا تعلق ہے اور آمید کرتے ہیں کہ آخری فیصلے تک پہنچنے سے قبل ان پر مناسب غور کیا جاوے گا۔

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*اس باب کا مواد روزنامہ پیسہ اخبار (لاہور) سے اخذ کیا گیا ہے۔

ہندو جماعت نہایت عجز و انکسار سے بیان کرتی ہے کہ گو قلیل التعداد جماعتوں کی اغراض کو خطرات سے محفوظ رکھنے کیلئے مناسب احتیاط کی جاسکتی ہے - تاہم کوئی وجہ اب تک معلوم نہیں ہو سکی کہ کسی جماعت کی پولٹیکل یا تاریخی اہمیت کے باعث کیوں اسے خاص مراعات منظور کی جائیں - ریفارم سکیم میں زیادہ تر قائمقامی کے متعلق جو مطالبہ بعض جماعتوں کی طرف سے ہو رہا ہے وہ اصولِ انصاف کے سراسر خلاف ہے - کسی جماعت کو اسکی تعداد کے تناسب سے زیادہ قائمقامی کا اختیار دینے سے، دوسری جماعتوں کی یکسانیت قائم نہیں رہے گی، اور اس کے علاوہ ایک جماعت پر خاص مہربانی کرنے سے اس قسم کے خیالات کی تلخی اور انتظامی مشکلات پیش آئیں گی -

- - - گذشتہ ۵۰ سال کی تاریخ اس بات کو ظاہر کرتی ہے کہ قانونی معاملات میں کبھی یہ بات پائی نہیں گئی کہ ہندوؤں اور مسلمانوں کی اغراض متضاد ہیں - یہ بیان کرنا غیر ضروری ہے ہندو ویسے ہی وفادار ہیں جیسے ان کے مسلمان بھائی - ملک انگریز نے ہندوؤں سے حاصل کیا تھا اور بہت سے مسلمان بباعث ایسے ہندوؤں کی اولاد ہونے کے جنہوں نے مذہب تبدیل کر لیا تھا خیالات اور عادات و اطوار میں ان سے ملتے جلتے ہیں اس کے علاوہ ہندوستانی فوج میں ڈوگرے - راجپوت - جاٹ - سکھ - گورکھے وغیرہ ہندو زیادہ تعداد میں ہیں . . .

اس موقع پر بیجا نہ ہوگا کہ ایک دو خاص شکایات اس صوبے کے اہل ہنود کی آپ کے پیش نظر لائی جائیں ان کی ایک شکایت پنجاب کے قانونی انتقال اراضیات (ایکٹ (۱۳) ۱۹۰۰ء) کے متعلق ہے کیونکہ جب سے یہ پاس ہوا ہے کہ کثیرالتعداد ہندوؤں کے لیے کسی بھی مطلب کی خاطر جائداد غیر منقولہ حاصل کرنا مشکل ہو گیا ہے -

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اس ایکٹ کا اصلی مدعا یہ تھا کہ مفلوک الحال مزارعین کو حریص سود خواروں کے دام تزویر سے بچایا جائے مگر جائے غور ہے کہ

سارے زر دار شخص سود خوار یا روپیہ قرض دینے والے نہیں ہوتے۔ گو لوکل گورنمنٹ کے اشتہار زیر دفعہ ۴ ایکٹ مذکور کے بموجب کوئی برہمن کھتری یا کسی دوسری ذات کا آدمی جس کا اس اشتہار میں ذکر نہ ہو قطع نظر اس بات کے شخص مذکور روپیہ قرض دینے والا ہے یا نہیں، اراضی خرید نہیں سکتا . . .

ایک اور شکایت جو پنجاب کے اہل ہنود کی طرف سے پیش کی جاتی ہے۔ وہ محکمہ سرکار میں عہدے دینے کے متعلق ہے۔ یعنی یہ کہ جماعت کے لحاظ میں خوبی کو نظر انداز کر دیا جاتا ہے۔ جس کا نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ ہندوؤں کو نقصان اٹھانا پڑتا ہے۔ جب یہ صوبہ سرکار انگریزی میں شامل ہوا تھا تو ہندو جوق در جوق ان سکولوں اور کالجوں میں جانے لگے جنہیں گورنمنٹ نے تمام جماعتوں کے لیے کھول رکھا ہے یا کھول رکھا تھا۔ اگر دوسری جماعتوں نے اس ترقی کی دوڑ میں اپنا قدم نہ اٹھایا تو قصور ان کا ہے . . . .'' ۱

پنجاب کانگرس پارٹی کے عجیب مطالبات

''پنجاب پراونشل کانگرس کمیٹی نے ایک درخواست گورنمنٹ کی خدمت میں دوبارہ گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا کی تجاویز متعلقہ امپیریل و لوکل لیجسلیٹو کونسل ہائے بہ سلسلہ حالات و ضروریات پنجاب روانہ کی ہے۔ یعنی کمیٹی مذکور اس امر کی شاکی ہے کہ پنجاب کو پراونشل لیجسلیٹو کونسلوں کی مجموعی طاقت کی انتخابی سیٹوں کی مناسبت یا حضور وائسرائے کی لیجسلیٹو کونسل میں صوبے کی قائمقامی کے معاملے میں دوسرے صوبے کے ساتھ یکسانیت حاصل نہیں . . . .

تفاصیل کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے کمیٹی بیان کرتی ہے کہ تجویز یہ ہے کہ چوبیس میں سے نامزد شدہ ممبران انیس ہوں جن میں سے زیادہ سے زیادہ بارہ سرکاری ہوں، دو مسلمان اور ایک ہندو اور ایک سکھ۔ پانچ انتخابی

۱۔ 'پیسہ اخبار' مورخہ ۷ اپریل ۱۹۰۹ء۔

سیٹوں میں ایک پنجاب چیمبر آف کامرس کی ہوگی ایک کسی یورپین کی ، ایک یونیورسٹی کی اور تین صوبے کی مختلف میونسپلٹیوں کو ان انتخابی حلقوں میں جداگانہ عناصر اور متضاد اغراض کی موجودگی کے باعث غالباً ایک سیٹ تعلیم یافتہ گروہ کے نمائیندوں کے حصہ میں جائے گی ۔

کمیٹی ظاہر کرتی ہے جہاں دوسرے صوبجات میں لیجسلیٹو کونسل کی مجموعی سیٹوں کا چالیس فیصدی حصہ بذریعہ انتخاب پورا کیا جاتا ہے پنجاب میں صرف بیس فیصدی حصہ انتخابی ہوگا اور کمیٹی اس امر کی تحریک کرتی ہے کہ انتخابی سیٹوں کا تناسب اور تعداد زیادہ ہونی چاہیے۔ کمیٹی اس امر کی شاکی ہے کہ سکرٹری آف سٹیٹ کی اس رائے پر کہ سرکاری ممبروں کی کثرت کو موقوف کرنا چاہیے پنجاب کونسل کی تیاری میں عمل نہیں کیا گیا ، کمیٹی کو اس بات کا افسوس ہے کہ ایسے معاملات میں مذہبی اختلاف کو دخل دیا گیا ہے ۔ مگر اس کے بعد یہ کہا گیا ہے کہ اگر اس انتظام کی بنا مذہب ہی کو رکھا جاتا ہے تو پھر ہندوؤں اور سکھوں کو کثیرالتعداد ہونے کے باعث جدا گانہ قائمقامی کا استحقاق ملنا چاہیے اور انہیں کوئی زائد سیٹ بھی ملنا چاہیے بہر نوع ہندوؤں کی قائمقامی مسلمانوں کے برابر اور سکھوں سے کافی ہونی چاہیے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

کمیٹی کا خیال ہے کہ موجودہ سکیم ہندوؤں اور سکھوں اور لایق پبلک اسپرٹ کے آدمیوں کے حضور وائسرائے کی اور پراونشل کونسلوں میں داخل ہونے کے راستے میں بطور رکاوٹ ہے ۔ پس کمیٹی اس بات پر زور دیتی ہے کہ پراونشل اور امپیریل کونسلوں کی ممبری کے امیدواروں کے لیے کوئی تعلیمی قید لگائی جائے اور کم از کم ایک انتخابی سیٹ ہندوؤں اور مسلمانوں اور سکھوں کے غیر سرکاری نمائیندوں کے لیے قائم کی جائے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔"۱

۱- پیسہ اخبار ۲۳ جون ۱۹۰۹ء۔

آریہ سماج کی وسعت اور ترویج علوم

"آریہ سماج کی مختلف جماعتیں جس خاموشی مگر استقلال سے اشاعت علوم کا کام کر رہی ہیں اس کی کیفیت بہت کم لوگوں کو معلوم ہے۔ کہ اس وقت سات بڑی انجمنیں ہیں جو ویدک مذہب کی حفاظت اور اشاعت کے لیے قائم کی گئی ہیں اور ان میں سے ہر ایک انجمن کو آریہ پرتی ندی سبھا کہتے ہیں۔ پنجاب کی صدر انجمن جو پنجاب آریہ پرتی ندی سبھا کے نام سے مشہور ہے دو سو ساٹھ آریہ سماجوں پر حکمرانی کرتی ہے اس کا صدر مقام لاہور ہے تقریباً انہتر قائمقام پنجاب کی مختلف آریہ سماجوں کی طرف سے اس میں شامل ہیں ۳۱۔ اگست ۱۹۰۸ کو اس کا سرمایہ تین لاکھ ایک ہزار تین سو انتالیس روپیہ گیارہ آنہ دو پائی تھا۔ بہت سے صیغے اور کام اس انجمن سے تعلق رکھتے ہیں۔ ۱۹۰۸ع کی رپورٹ سے معلوم ہوا ہے کہ اس کی سالانہ آمدنی ایک لاکھ پچھتر ہزار چار سو پچپن روپیہ اور خرچ صرف تینتیس ہزار چار سو پچاس روپیہ ہے۔ سوامی دیانند سرا سوتی کی ہدایت کے مطابق ایک آریہ درس گاہ گروکل کے نام ہردوار میں قائم کی گئی ہے اس کا خرچ اسی انجمن کے ایک فنڈ سے نکلتا ہے۔ . . . ایک کتب خانہ بھی اس انجمن نے لاہور میں قائم کیا ہے جس میں سات ہزار سات سو اکتالیس کتابیں جمع ہوئی ہیں . . .

ایک ہفتہ وار انگریزی اخبار بھی اس انجمن کی طرف سے شائع ہوتا ہے جس کا نام آریہ پترکا ہے نیز ایک ماہوار اردو رسالہ آریہ مسافر میگزین کے نام سے شائع کیا جاتا ہے ان میں سماجک خبروں کے علاوہ مذہبی، علمی اور اخلاقی مضامین درج کئے جاتے ہیں۔ انجمن کی آمد و خرچ اور ماتحت انجمنوں کی کارگذاری چھاپنے کے لیے ایک ماہواری اخبار ناسک سر کلر نکالا جاتا ہے علاوہ نقد سرمایہ کے انجمن مذکور کے پاس مختلف مالیت کی جائدادیں بھی ہیں جو پنجاب کے مختلف مقامات میں ہیں . . . .

آریہ سماجوں کا کام کس انتظام اور کس باقدعدگی سے انجام پاتا ہے اس کا اندازہ کرنے کے لیے نمونہ کے طور پر کرنال کی آریہ سماجوں کا ذکر اس موقع پر کیا جاتا ہے - اس علاقہ میں سینتالیس سماجیں ہیں اور کل علاقہ دو حصوں میں منقسم کیا گیا ہے ایک حصہ شمالی ہے اور ایک جنوبی ہے -

شمالی حصہ میں تھانیسر - کیتھل اور جنید شامل ہیں - اور جنوبی حصہ میں پانی پت - سونی پت اور دہلی روہتک شامل ہیں ، دونوں حصے مل کر کرنال سبھا منڈل کہلاتے ہیں - اور ہر حصہ کھنڈ کے نام سے موسوم ہے - منڈل سبھا میں اس علاقہ کی کل سماجوں کی طرف سے چونسٹھ نمائندے شامل کئے گئے ہیں سال گذشتہ میں اس سبھا کے ایک واعظ نے تین سو اٹھاون دن کام کیا - کام کی تفصیل یہ ہے کہ ایسی انچاس آریہ سماجوں میں اور تیئس دیگر مقامات میں وعظ کئے - وعظوں کی تعداد دو سو پینتالیس بتلائی گئی ہے - اس کام کے لیے دو ہزار پانچسو میل سفر کرنا پڑا - تین سو پینتالیس روپے اس کو بطور تنخواہ کے اور تئیس روپے بطور سفر خرچ کے دیئے گئے - ایک اور دوسرے واعظ نے تین سو پچیس دن کام کیا - باون آریہ سماجوں میں اور گیارہ دیگر مقامات میں اس نے وعظ کئے اور اس کے لیے اس نے تین ہزار میل کا سفر طے کیا اور اس کو ایک سو ستتر روپے بطور تنخواہ کے اور تیس روپے بطور سفر خرچ کے دیے گئے -

تیسرے واعظ نے دو سو اٹھاون دن میں اکتیس آریہ سماجوں میں اور دیگر چار مقامات میں وعظ کیا اور اس کام کے لیے دو ہزار میل کا سفر کرنا پڑا - اس کو ایک سو اٹھاون روپے بطور تنخواہ کے اور سرسٹھ روپے بطور سفر خرچ کے دیے گئے - اسی انداز کے قریب دیگر واعظوں کا کام قیاس کرنا چاہیے جھنوں نے اس سبھا کی نگرانی میں اپنا کام سال بھر میں انجام دیا - ان واعظوں نے قصبات میں ہی نہیں بلکہ دیہات میں بھی اپنا اثر پھیلایا ہے - اور زمینداروں - چوہدریوں اور مکھیا لوگوں کو اپنے حلقہ اثر میں شامل کر لیا ہے - شادیوں اور میلوں کے موقعوں پر اس سبھا کی طرف سے واعظ بھیجے جاتے ہیں -،،[1]

۱- پیسہ اخبار ۳ اگست ۱۹۰۹ ء

آریہ سماج اور پالٹیکس

کچھ عرصہ سے موجودہ لیڈروں یعنی لیڈران سماج بہت جدوجہد سے اس بات کے ثابت کرنے کے لیے بہت کچھ زور مار رہے ہیں کہ کسی طرح برٹش گورنمنٹ پر یہ ثابت کر دیا جائے کہ موجودہ بے چینی اور شورش میں آریہ سماج کی تعلیم کو کچھ دخل نہیں ۔ باوجود اس مضمون پر مختلف پیرایوں اور محرف شدہ حوالوں کے ذریعے بڑی لمبی چوڑی بحث ہوتی رہی ۔ حتیٰ کہ سماج کے مذہبی وسائل نے غیر مذاہب خصوصاً اسلام کی تعلیم کو گورنمنٹ کے لیے سخت خطرناک دکھانے کی کوشش کی . . . .

اور جس شخص نے پنڈت دیانند صاحب کی کتب پڑہی ہونگی اس پر یہ امر روز روشن کی طرح ثابت ہو گیا ہوگا کہ ان باتوں کی تعلیم کی بنیاد پنڈت صاحب موصوف اپنی حسین حیات میں رکھ گئے تھے ۔ چونکہ ان کے بہت عرصہ بعد تک ہندی کی تعلیم اچھی طرح نہ پھیلنے پائی تھی ۔ اور ان کی کتب کی طرف سے عوام اہل ہنود کو بدظنی تھی اس لیے ان کیلئے یہ زہر آلود تعلیم بہت عرصہ تک پردہ اخفا میں رہی مگر جونہی پنجاب میں ان کے پنتھ نے زور پکڑا بکثرت تعلیم یافتہ ہنود جو بت پرستی سے متنفر ہو رہے تھے سماجی بن گئے انہوں نے لگے ہاتھوں پنڈت صاحب کی پوتھیوں کو اردو کا جامہ پہنا دیا . . . .

رعایا میں پھوٹ ڈالو اور حکومت کرو

جس پر عمل کرکے سماجی صاحبان اس بات کو اکثر دفعہ اپنے اخبارات و کتب میں دوہرایا کرتے ہیں کہ انگریز ہندوستان کی ان اقوام کو آپس میں لڑوا کر حکومت کر رہے ہیں اور ہندو مسلمانوں کا متفق نہ ہونا حکومت کی پالیسی کے سبب سے ہے مگر ہمیں باعث معلوم کرنے کے لیے دور نہیں جانا پڑتا کیونکہ یہ خیال آریہ سماج کے لیڈر نے ہی اپنے

پیروں کے دلوں میں جاپایا ہے - چنانچہ ستیارتھ پرکاش صفحہ نمبر ۵۵۰ سملاس ۱۳ میں لکھتا ہے -

''جیسا یسوع پھوٹ کرانے اور لڑوانے آیا تھا - وہی آج کل جھگڑا لوگوں میں چل رہا ہے - یہ کیسی بُری بات ہے پھوٹ کرانے سے ہمیشہ آدمیوں کو دکھ ہوتا ہے - اور عیسائیوں نے اس کو گرو منتر سمجھ لیا ہوا ہے کیونکہ جب ایک دوسرے سے پھوٹ کرانا یسوع ہی اچھا سمجھتا تھا تو یہ کیوں نہیں مانتے ہوں گے - یہ یسوع ہی کا کام ہوگا - گھر کے لوگوں کے دشمن گھر کے لوگوں کو بنانا شریف آدمیوں کا یہ کام نہیں ہے'' ۱

پنڈت دیا نند نے آریہ لوگوں کے دکھوں کا

''سبب اور اس کی زیادتی کو محض موجودہ گورنمنٹ کو قرار دیا ہے - اور وہ ستیارتھ پرکاش صفحہ (۳۰۶) سملاس (۱۰) میں لکھتا ہے - کہ ''جب سے غیر ملک کے گوشت خور لوگ اس ملک میں آ کر گائے وغیرہ جانوروں کے مارنے والے شراب خور حکمران ہوئے ہیں تب سے برابر آریوں کا دکھ بڑھتا جاتا ہے - - - - -''

ملاحظہ ہو ستیارتھ پرکاش سملاس نمبر ۱۱ صفحہ ۳۲۰ وام مارگ کا - یہاں پنڈت دیانند کے نزدیک جو اصل باعث آریوں کے دکھ بڑھنے کا ہے وہ موجودہ گورنمنٹ ہے - دکھ کے اصل سبب کو پنڈت صاحب بتا کر آریوں کو غیرت دلانے کے لیے فرماتے ہیں کہ '' ابتدا دنیا سے لے کر مہا بھارت تک چکرورتی یعنی روئے زمین کے راجہ آریہ کل میں ہی ہوئے تھے - اب ان کی اولاد اپنی بدبختی کے باعث راج کھو کر غیر ملک والوں کے پاؤں تلے دب رہی ہے - - - - - - -''

اس تعلیم کا نتیجہ ہماری نظروں کے سامنے سڈیشن و بمب اندازی کی شکل میں موجود ہے - گو آریہ صاحبان زبانی کہتے ہیں کہ موجودہ

۱- پیسہ اخبار ۱۱ ستمبر ۱۹۰۹ء

گورنمنٹ منصف بھی ہے ۔ مہربان و رحیم بھی ہے ۔ مگر پنڈت دیانند کی ایسی نیک گورنمنٹ کی حکومت میں بھی رہتے ہوئے تسلی نہیں ہوتی ۔ اور اپنے گھر کی حکومت کی ہوا ان کے دماغ سے نہیں نکلتی ۔ چنانچہ آپ فرماتے ہیں ۔ ''کوئی کتنا ہی کر لے لیکن جو اپنے ملک کا راج ہوتا ہے وہ سب سے افضل ہوتا ہے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

عیسائیوں اور مسلمانوں کو ملک سے نکال دو

اور بانی آریہ یہ حکم دیتے ہیں کہ ''جو شخص ویدوں اور عابد لوگوں کی تصنیف شدہ کتابوں کی جو وید کے مطابق ہوں تحقیر کریں ۔ اس وید کی مذمت کرنے والے منکر کو ذات ۔ پنگت یکجا کرنے والوں (یعنی یکجا کھانے والوں کی تعداد جماعت) کو ملک سے نکال دینا چاہیے ۔ ستیارتھ پرکاش صفحہ ۶۲ سملاس تیسرا ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

مگر یاد رکھیں کہ پنڈت دیانند کی کتاب سے سرکار انگلشیہ کی نسبت وفاداری کی تعلیم نکالنا چڑیوں سے دودھ نکالنے کی ہوس خام والی مثال ہے ۔ چونکہ بقول آپ کے ''آریہ سماج کو پالٹیکس سے کوئی تعلق نہیں ۔ اس لیے حکمرانوں سے نفرت سکھانے والی تعلیم غالباً پالٹیکس نہیں کہی جا سکتی ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

آریہ سماج کی دریدہ دہنی

ستیارتھ پرکاش مصنف یہ ریمارک کرتا ہے کہ ''کیونکہ خدا کے نزدیک سب جاندار اس کے بیٹوں کی مانند ہیں ۔ چونکہ عیسائیوں کے خدا میں یہ صفت نہیں ہے ۔ بلکہ وہ قصاب کی طرح کام کرتا ہے اور سب انسانوں کو ایذا رسان بھی اسی نے بنایا ہے ۔ پھر بتلائیں کہ عیسائیوں کا خدا بے رحم ہونے کی وجہ سے گناہ گار کیوں نہیں ۔ اور پھر زبانوں یعنی زبان غلط ملط کر کے سب کا ستیاناس کردیا اس نے بڑا غضب کیا ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

صفحہ (٦٣٥) پر حضرت موسیٰ علیہ السلام اور دیگر انبیاء علیہ السلام کی نسبت ناپاک الفاظ بولتا ہے ۔ اب دیکھیئے بائیبل کے اعلیٰ ہادی اور پیغمبر موسیٰ کی غصلتیں، غصہ وغیرہ بد صفات سے پر اور دیگر انبیاء علیہ السلام کی نسبت ناپاک الفاظ بولتا ہے ۔

''انسان کی جان کشی کرنے والا اور چور کی مانند شاہی سزا سے گریز کرنے والا اور بھید چھپانے کی وجہ سے جھوٹ بولنے والا بھی ضرور ہوگا ۔ ایسے شخص کو بھی خدا ملا ۔ پیغمبر بنا ۔

اس نے یہودی کا مذہب جاری کیا ۔ جیسا موسیٰ آپ تھا ویسا اس کا مذہب تھا ۔ عیسائیوں کے سب ہادیان مذہب موسیٰ سے لے کر آخر تک جنگلی حالت میں تھے ان میں علم مطلق نہ تھا،، وغیرہ وغیرہ ۔ عہد جدید اور یسوع پر ویسے ہی بد نیتی سے اعتراض کئے گئے ہیں ۔ متی باب ۱۳ میں جہاں کہ یہودا اس کو یوطی کو شیطان نے اپنے آقا کو چھوڑنے کے لیے گمراہ کیا تھا ۔ اس پر دیانند مندرجہ ذیل حاشیہ چڑھاتا ہے ۔

''یہ بات درست نہیں ۔ کیونکہ عیسائیوں سے پوچھنا چاہیے کہ اگر شیطان سب کو بہکاتا ہے تو پھر شیطان کو کون بہکاتا ہے اگر کہو کہ شیطان خود بخود بہکایا جاتا ہے ۔ تو پھر انسان بھی خود بخود بہکایا جا سکتا ہے ۔ پھر شیطان کا کیا کام ؟ اور اگر شیطان کا پیدا کرنے والا خدا ہے اور بہکانے والا خدا ہے تو اس شیطان کا شیطان عیسائیوں کا خدا ٹھہرا ۔ اور خدا ہی نے سب کو اس کے ذریعہ بہکایا ہے بھلا یہ کام خدا کا ہو سکتا ہے ۔ عیسائیوں کے کتاب کے مصنف اور عیسیٰ خدا کا بیٹا شیطان ہوں تو ہوں ۔ خدا شیطان نہیں اور نہ یہ کتاب خدا کا کلام،، صفحہ (٦٦٣) ۔

خود حضرت مسیح کو بھی جاہل اور وحشی کے ناموں سے پکارا گیا ہے اور ان کی نبوت کو ایک منصوبہ اور افترا قرار دیا گیا ہے جس کی غرض لوگوں کو اپنے دام میں پھنسانا بتائی گئی ہے ۔ صفحہ (٦٥١)

پر لکھتا ہے ''یسوع اس لیے دنیا میں آیا تھا کہ وہ انسانوں کو انسان سے جدا کرے''[1]

ہندو کانفرنس کا اجلاس

''یہ کانفرنس ہندو قوم کی تمام جماعتوں اور فرقوں کو تحریک کرتی ہے کہ وہ باہمی برادرانہ جذبات کو ترقی دیں تاکہ (الف) اقوام کہکشاں میں اپنی مناسب جگہ لے سکیں - (ب) اپنی قوم کے مفاد کی حفاظت کے قابل ہوں - (ج) نوع انسان کی بہتری کے لیے اپنے بزرگوں کی تہذیب و شائیستگی، تحقیقاتوں اور فہم فراست کو جو وراثتاً ان کو پہنچی ہے نسلاً بعد نسلاً پھیلائیں - - - - -

یہ کانفرنس ہندو قوم کے ہر فرد کو ہندی و سنسکرت زبانوں کے سیکھنے کی ضرورت و فوائد پر توجہ دلاتی ہے - پرائمری تعلیم میں سہولت پیدا کرنے کے خیال سے کانفرنس کی رائے میں حسب اقتضائے حکام ہندی یا پنجابی زبانوں میں بحروف ناگری یا گورمکھی تعلیم دینی چاہیے - - - -

کانفرنس ہندو کمیونٹی کو ہندوستان کے ہندو تہواروں کے مناسب طور پر منائے جانے کے فوائد پر توجہ دلاتی ہے - بالخصوص تعلیم یافتہ ہنود سے درخواست کرتی ہے کہ وہ ایسی تقاریب میں سرگرمی و جوش دل سے حصہ لیں - - - - -

اس کانفرنس کے خیال میں ہندو زمانے کے متعلق جو تاریخ مکاتب میں پڑھائی جاتی ہے وہ غیر مکمل اور صحت سے خالی ہے - پس اس مطلب کے لیے کہ ہندو طلبہ کو اپنی جماعت اور ملک کے متعلق صحیح واقفیت بہم پہنچائی جائے، یہ بات اشد ضروری ہے کہ تعلیم یافتہ اور لایق ہندوؤں کی توجہ اس ضرورت کی طرف دلائی جائے - ایک صحیح تاریخ کا لکھا جانا لازم ہے - اس مطلب کے لیے یہ کانفرنس پنجاب ہندو سبھا کو تحریک کرتی ہے کہ ایک سب کمیٹی نامزد کر کے اسے یہ

۱- ایضاً ۱۳ اکتوبر ۱۹۰۹ء (یہ چند اقتباسات اس لیے شامل کیے گئے ہیں تاکہ پڑھنے والوں کو آریہ سماج کی دل آزار تصانیف کا کچھ احساس دلایا جا سکے) -

اختیارات دے کر ہندو زمانے کی تکمیلِ صحیح تاریخ کی تیاری کے لیے چندے جمع اور خرچ کیے جائیں - - - - -

یہ کانفرنس ہندو جماعت کی توجہ گئو رکھشا کی ضرورت کی طرف توجہ دلاتی ہے - اور اس بات کی خواہش کرتی ہے کہ ان کی نسل کی اصلاح ہو اور ان کی تعداد بڑھے - اس کانفرنس کو یقین ہے کہ دوسری جماعتوں اور مذاہب کے لوگ ہندو جماعت کی اس قابل ستایش کوشش کی قدر کریں گے - اور باہمی یگانگت کو مضبوط کرنے اور ملک کو مالی فوائد پہنچانیکی غرض سے ان کے ساتھ کام کریں گے -

یہ کانفرنس خاص طور پر ہندو جماعت کو آیورویدک کے طریق علاج جو کہ ملکی اور سستا طریق علاج بھی ہے - اس مطلب کو پورا کرنے کے لیے کانفرنس اس بات کی سفارش کرتی ہے کہ ملک بھر میں آیورویدک پاٹ شالائیں اور ارشد ہیالہ اور چکنسالہ قائم کی جائیں - - - -

پنجاب کے اہل ہنود اس کانفرنس کی رائے میں پنجاب کے ایکٹ انتقال اراضی سے عام طور پر اہل ہنود کو بہت نقصان پہنچا ہے اور وہ محسوس کرتے ہیں کہ ۱۹۰۷ء کہ ایکٹ نمبر ۲ کے ذریعہ جو اس کی ترمیم ہوئی ہے نیز بذریعہ ایکٹ حق شفع، پنجاب معاملات کی صورت اور بھی خراب ہو گئی ہے - یہ ایکٹ عملی طور پر کمیونٹی کے لیے نہایت تباہی بخش ثابت ہوا ہے - یہ کانفرنس ادب کے ساتھ گورنمنٹ سے استدعا کرتی ہے کہ بے اطمینانی کے بواعث کو دور کرنے کے لیے فوراً کارروائی کی جائے - - - - -

پنجاب کے اہل ہنود کی اس کانفرنس کی یہ رائے ہے کہ پبلک سروس میں عموماً صیغہ پولیس میں خصوصاً عہدے دیتے وقت بجائے ملازموں کی خوبی، قابلیت اور کہنہ سالی کے مذہب اور فرقے کے لحاظ کو غیر واجب ترجیح دی جاتی رہی ہے - اور اب بھی دی جاتی ہے جس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ عمدگی کا معیار گھٹ گیا ہے اور ہندو جماعت کے حقوق کو بہت نقصان پہنچا ہے - - - -

صوبہ پنجاب کے اہل ہنود جو اس کانفرنس میں جمع ہیں ۔ گورنمنٹ کا شکریہ ادا کرتے ہیں کہ امپیرئیل اگزیکٹو کونسل میں اس نے ایک ہندوستانی ممبر کو نامزد کیا ہے ۔ اور لیجسلیٹو کونسلوں اور پراونشل اگزیکٹو کونسلوں کی توسیع کی تجویز کی ہے ۔ وہ ادب کے ساتھ اپنی مضبوط رائے کا اظہار کرتے ہیں کہ مذہب کی بنا پر قائم مقامی کی ترجیح کے اصول کو اختیار کرنے سے سکیم اصلاحات نفی کے برابر ہو جائے گی ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

صوبجات سرحدی پر بہت بڑی تعداد میں دباؤ پڑنے اور ہندوؤں کے جان و مال کے نقصان ہونے کا اس کانفرنس کو افسوس ہے اور باادب درخواست کرتی ہے کہ گورنمنٹ اس صوبے میں ہندوؤں کی محافظت کا بہت جلد مناسب انتظام کر دے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

یہ کانفرنس بحالت موجودہ ہندو جماعت کی اغراض کی محافظت چاہتی ہے کہ ملک بھر میں ہندو سبھائیں قائم ہوں ۔ اور آل انڈیا کانفرنس کا سالانہ اجلاس ہوا کرے تاکہ اہل ہنود کی اغراض پر غور کیا جائے ۔ اور ان کی محافظت، بہبودی اور ترقی کے وسائل تلاش کیے جائیں''[1]

ہندو سبھا کا میموریل (بخدمت وائیسرائے ہند)

''عالی جاہ ۔ ابھی حال میں حضور والا کی تشریف آوری لاہور کے موقعہ پر پنجاب ہندو سبھا کے ایک ڈپوٹیشن کو جو مختلف ہندو اقوام کا قائم مقام تھا ۔ حضور والا کی خدمت میں حاضر ہونے کا اور ایک ایڈریس پیش کرنے کا حق عنایت کیا گیا تھا اور اس ایڈریس میں ہندو سبھا نے بعض ایسی شکایتیں درج کی تھیں جو کچھ گذشتہ عرصہ سے اس صوبے کے ہندوؤں کے دلوں پر اثر ڈالتی رہی تھیں ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

۱۔ ایضاً ۲۳ ، ۲۵ ، ۲۷ و ۲۸ اکتوبر ۱۹۰۹ء ۔

حضور والا کے مسکین میموریل دینے والے اپنے ایڈریس کے عین مطابق اپنی قوم کی خاص خاص شکایات تین حدوں میں درج کرتے ہیں - یعنی (۱) سرکاری نوازش کی تقسیم میں ہندوؤں کے ساتھ جداگانہ قسم کا سلوک - (۲) دشواریاں اور مجبوریاں جو پنجاب کے قوانین انتقال اراضی و حق شفع کی رو سے ہندوؤں پر لگائی گئیں ہیں - (۳) نقصان کی وہ حالت جس سے ان کو مجوزہ ریفارم اسکیم کی رو سے نیابت کے معاملہ میں سابقہ پڑے گا - - - - -

سرکاری ملازمت میں جداگانہ قسم کا سلوک

حضور والا کو میموریل دینے والے عرض پرداز ہیں کہ اس پہلی حد کے مطابق اس صوبے کے ہندو یہ خسارہ محسوس کر رہے ہیں کہ سرکاری ملازمت میں آسامیوں کے پر کرنے کے معاملہ میں کچھ عرصہ سے قومیت اور مذہب کی طرفداری کی خاطر کیا جا رہا ہے - حضور والا کی خدمت میں میموریل پیش کرنے والے عرض پرداز ہیں کہ سرکاری ملازمت میں داخل ہونے کا تنہا معیار، جسے ہماری مرحوم و مقبول فرمانروا ملکہ معظمہ وکٹوریہ نے تاج برطانیہ کے اس ملک کا نظم و نسق براہ راست اختیار کرنے کے وقت قرار دیا تھا، وہ قابلیت تھا، جو تعلیم لیاقت اور پختگی کے ذریعہ سے پیدا کی جائے گی، اور یہ کہ الحاق پنجاب کے بعد سالہا سال تک اس قاعدہ پر عمل ہوتا رہا - - - -

لیکن کچھ عرصہ بعد یعنی کچھ عرصہ سے اس مفید اصول سے گریز کیا جاتا رہا ہے - - - - کہ بہت سے محکموں میں اعلی درجوں میں ترقی اب انتخاب کے ذریعے سے دی جاتی ہے - یہ شکایت گو بہت سے محکموں میں پائی جاتی ہے - لیکن پولیس ، محکمہ ریوینیو، جوڈیشل اور تعلیم میں وہ زیادہ خصوصیت کے ساتھ محسوس کی جاتی ہے - ان محکموں میں ایسے واقعات کا ظہور ہوا ہے جن کی حقیقت صرف ترجیح کی بنیاد پر بیان کرنا ممکن ہے - مثال کے طور پر لیجئے - محکمہ پولیس میں ہندوؤں کی

تعداد ان کی تعداد آبادی، تعلیم اور پختگی رتبہ کے اعتبار سے بالکل کم ہے - یکم اپریل ۱۹۰۸ء کو پولیس میں بمقابلہ ۱۱ مسلمان ڈپٹی سپرنٹنڈنٹ کے ۲ ہندو تھے - بمقابلہ ۵۹ مسلمان انسپکٹروں کے ۲۰ ہندو تھے اور ۱۸ سکھ، اور بمقابلہ ۸۰۴ مسلمان اور ۱۲۰ سکھ سب انسپکٹروں کے ۲۱۱ ہندو تھے - - - - -

(۲) پنجاب کے قوانین انتقال اراضی و حق شفع سے پیدا ہونے والی دشواریاں اور مجبوریاں - یہ ایک دوسری شکایت ہے جسے پنجاب کے ہندو بری طرح محسوس کرتے ہیں - قانون انتقال اراضی پنجاب کی منظوری کے وقت سے عام طور پر ہندوؤں کو چاہیے کسی مقصد کے لئے، انتقال اراضی کا حاصل کرنا اگر نا ممکن نہیں تو بے حد دشوار ضرور ہو گیا ہے - ہندو محسوس کرتے ہیں کہ واضعان قانون کی نسبت چاہیے کچھ ہو لیکن اس قانون کے عمل درآمد کے نتائج اور ان کی یعنی ہندوؤں کی قوم کے لئے نقصان دہ ثابت ہوئے ہیں - ہندو قوم کے افراد کو معلوم ہو گیا ہے کہ ان پر مسلمانوں کو بہت سے سرکاری محکموں میں ترجیح دینے کے باعث نہ صرف سرکاری ملازمت کا دروازہ ہی سختی کے ساتھ بند کیا گیا ہے بلکہ ان کے لیے قانونی ناقابلیت ناحق پیدا کر رہی ہے جو ان کو زراعت کو ذریعہ معاش بنانے سے روکتی ہے - - - -

مثال کے طور پر حضور والا کو میموریل دینے والے صوبہ کے شمال مشرقی اضلاع کے برہمنوں کی حالتوں میں خاص طور پر عرض کرتے ہیں - جو رعایت سیدوں، مجاوروں (یہ لوگ عبادت گاہوں سے نذرانے پاتے ہیں) کو دی گئیں ہیں ان سے برہمن محروم کر دیے گئے - وہ کھتریوں کیلئے روا نہیں رکھے گئے - اسی طرح کے جداگانہ سلوک کی اور مثالیں بھی پائی جاتی ہیں - بعض اقوام مثلاً گوجر (دودھ فروش) اور ارائیں (سبزی فروش) یہ اگرچہ پشتینی زراعت پیشہ نہیں ہیں مگر اس لئے ان کا اعلان زراعت پیشہ اقوام میں کیا گیا ہے کہ وہ مسلمان ہیں - اس قانون سے جہاں مسلمانوں میں دولتمند اقوام کو اپنا پیسہ یعنی روپیہ اراضی میں لگانے کا موقعہ ملتا ہے وہاں اس نے ہندوؤں کے لئے یہ دشوار

گذار روک پیدا کر دی ہے کہ ان کو مذہبی، تعلیمی، تجارتی اور بنی انسان کی ہمدردی کے مقاصد کے لئے بھی اراضی نہیں مل سکتی - - -

حضور والا کے عرضداشتی ادب کے ساتھ گذارش کرتے ہیں - کہ اس ملک کے اصلی اور قدیم باشندے ہندو ہی ہیں اور ہمیشہ سے اراضی کے مالک رہے ہیں - اور اگر مضبوط والدین صفت گورنمنٹ جو سب سے زیادہ اہم قوم کو ان کے حقوق سے محروم کرتی ہے - جو اس قوم کو سابقہ سلطنتوں کے زیرسایہ حاصل رہے ہیں اور جو جملہ نہایت منتظم سلطنتوں میں اور مذہب دنیا کے ہر حصہ میں لوگوں کی عام و مشترکہ میراث رہے ہیں - کافی طور پر حق بجانب ہے - - -

ریفارم سکیم

(۳) حضور والا عرضداشتی فیاضی کی اس اسپرٹ اور اس وسیع الخیالی و دلیری کی جس نے حضور والا کو اور لارڈ مارلے کو اصلاحوں کی اعلیٰ اسکیم منضبط کرنے پر آمادہ کیا پورے طور پر پسند کرتے ہیں اور اس کے لئے آپ کے تہ دل سے ممنون ہیں - - -

بد قسمتی سے جو اصول کہ ایک خاص قوم کو جداگانہ اور خاصی نیابت دینے کے لئے تسلیم کیا گیا ہے - وہ تعلیمی اوصاف کی وقعت کم کرتا ہے اور پولیٹیکل اہمیت کے ایک نئے جز کو رواج دیتا ہے جو ایسے نا قابل جواز اور ناقابل انصاف اور نفرت انگیز امتیاز کو پیدا کر کے جن کی بنیاد خالصۃً قوم‌وار رعائتوں پر ہے - فرقوں کے خیالات کو پیدا کرے گا اور ان نیک نتائج کے خلاف بیحد جنگ و جدل کرے گا - - -

ہم ہندو جو اس ملک کی آبادی کے لحاظ سے تعداد میں بہت زیادہ ہیں اور فوجی حمائت میں اصولاً حصہ دار ہیں اور وفاداری تعلیم اور تجارتی اولوالعزمی اور نیز سلطنت کو مالی مدد بہم پہنچانے کے اعتبار سے یقیناً اول درجے پر رکھتے ہیں اس اصول کو اپنی قوم کے حق میں ایک داغ (کلنک) سمجھتے ہیں - سلطنت کی قومی حمایت کی بابت

حضور والا ہم آپ کے عرضداشتی بیان کرنا چاہتے ہیں کہ جہاں ہندو (جن میں سکھ شامل ہیں) فوجی ملازمت کے مختلف صیغوں میں تعداد ایک لاکھ اٹھائیس ہزار ہیں ۔ وہاں ان صیغوں میں مسلمانوں کی تعداد اڑتالیس ہزار سے زائد نہیں ہے ۔ اور مسلمانوں کی اس تعداد میں وہ لوگ بھی داخل ہیں جو سرحدی مسلمان فرقوں سے لئے گئے ہیں ۔ رہی تعلیم سو اس میں ۱۹۰۱ ء کی مردم شماری کے مطابق صرف پنجاب میں بمقابلہ ایک لاکھ اٹھاون ہزار دو سو اکاون تعلیم یافتہ مسلمانوں کے پانچ لاکھ ترسٹھ ہزار تین سو سترسٹھ ہندو تھے ۔۔۔۔

کیوں کہ ہمیں برٹش انڈیا کی تاریخ میں کوئی ایسا موقع معلوم نہیں کہ جبکہ قانون سازی کے معاملہ میں ہندوؤں اور مسلمانوں کے فوائد ایک دوسرے کو متناقص رہے ہوں ۔ اور نہ مسلمانوں کی قوم کے لئے ان کی فرضی تاریخ اور پولیٹیکل اہمیت کی بنا پر کسی خاص رعایت کی کوئی وجہ بتائی گئی ہے ۔ یہ کہ برطانیہ نے اس ملک کی حکومت ہر حالت میں تقریباً ہندوؤں ہی کے ہاتھوں سے لی ہے ۔ یہ کہ اس ملک کے زیادہ تر مسلمان ہندوؤں کی نسل سے ہیں ۔ یہ کہ ہندوستان کے مسلمان کبھی بھی اس ملک میں حکمران نہیں رہے ہیں ۔ اور یہ کہ اب بھی زیادہ تر دیسی ریاستوں میں ہندوؤں ہی کی حکومت ہے ۔ یہ سچے واقعات ہیں ۔ جن کو ہم حضور والا کے عرضداشتی ادب کے ساتھ پیش کرتے ہیں ۔ ان واقعات کو کبھی بھی نہیں جھٹلایا جا سکتا ۔۔ "۱

ہندو سبھا کے میموریل کا حضور وائیسرائے ہند کا جواب

مجھے آپ کی چھٹی نمبری ۱۳۱۴ ایس مورخہ ۳۱ جولائی ۱۹۰۹ء کا جواب دینے کے لئے ہدایت کی گئی ہے ۔۔۔۔

ملازمت پولیس

سرکاری ملازمت میں جداگانہ سکیم کے سلوک کی بابت میموریل دینے والوں نے یہ ظاہر ہے کیا کہ پنجاب کے ہندوؤں کے نقصان کی

۱- ایضاً ۸ نومبر ۱۹۰۹ء

خاطر قابلیت اور لیاقت کو فرقہ اور مذہب کی طرف داری میں نہ صرف پہلے ہی نظر انداز کر دیا گیا ہے بلکہ اب بھی کیا جا رہا ہے - جو شکایت اس طرح عام طور پر بیان کی گئی ہے کہا جاتا ہے کہ وہ زیادہ خصوصیت کے ساتھ محکمہ پولیس ، ریونیو ، جوڈیشل اور تعلیم سے متعلق محسوس کی جاتی ہے لیکن سوائے محکمہ پولیس کے اس کے جواز کے ثابت کرنے کے لیے کوئی کوشش نہیں کی گئی ہے - اس لیے گورنر جنرل ان کونسل سب سے اول پولیس کی ساخت کا ذکر کرنا چاہتے ہیں . . . .

یکم جنوری ۱۹۰۹ء کو پنجاب پولیس میں ۱۵۵۲۹ کانسٹیبل تھے- جن میں سے ۶۵ فیصدی مسلمان تھے - ۲۸ فیصدی ہندو اور ۷ فیصدی سکھ اور یہ تناسب ہیڈ کانسٹیبلوں اور سب انسپکٹروں اور انسپکٹروں کے درجوں میں آسامیوں کی تقسیم کے معیار کے طور پر اختیار کئے جائیں تو یہ ظاہر ہو جاتا ہے کہ مسلمان اپنے واجبی حصہ سے ہیڈ کانسٹیبلوں اور سب انسپکٹروں اور انسپکٹروں میں بقدر ایک سو بانوے، نواسی اور پچپن کے کم ہیں - اور اگر سب انسپکٹری اور انسپکٹری کے درجوں میں اون آسامیوں کی تعداد کو دیکھا جائے جن کا تقرر پولیس کمیشن کی اصلاحوں سے متعلق پالیسی کے باعث کیا گیا ہے - تو یہ معلوم ہو جائے گا کہ مسلمانوں کو اس سے کم آسامیاں دی گئی ہیں جتنی آسامیاں کہ وہ اس صوبہ میں اپنی آبادی کے تناسب کے اعتبار سے بھی حقدار ہونے چاہیے تھے - - - -

محکمہ ریونیو ، جوڈیشیل اور تعلیم

اگر محکمہ ریونیو ، جوڈیشیل اور تعلیم کی ساخت کی جانچ پڑتال کی جائے جن کی نسبت بھی یہ بیان کیا گیا ہے کہ ہندو قوم کے نقصان کی خاطر دوسروں کو ناواجب طور پر ترجیح دی گئی ہے تو معلوم ہو جاتا ہے کہ پڑتال میں میموریل دینے والوں کی حجت اور قضیہ کے اور بھی کم موافق پڑتی ہے - یہ یاد دلانا بے محل نہ ہوگا کہ سرکاری نوازش کی مختلف

اقوام کے درمیان تقسیم کے سوال کی بابت اس سے پیشتر ایک سے زیادہ دفعہ تحقیقات ہو چکی ہے - - - -

۱۹۰۳ء تک پنجاب کے ہندو مع سکھوں کے بحساب فیصدی اس سے زیادہ آسامیاں حاصل کرتے رہے تھے ، جتنی کہ مسلمانوں نے کی تھیں ، اور جن آسامیوں کا حوالہ اوپر دیا جا چکا ہے - اول میں ہندوؤں نے ۴۵ فیصدی حاصل کیں - مگر مسلمانوں نے ۲۱ فیصدی- ۱۹۰۳ء کے بعد کوئی خاصی پڑتال نہیں کی گئی لیکن چونکہ میموریل دینے والوں نے محکمہ ریوینیو ، جوڈیشیل اور تعلیم کا میموریل میں خاص طور پر حوالہ دیا ، یعنی ذکر کیا ہے - اس لیے گورنر جنرل ان کونسل نے یہ ضروری سمجھا کہ ان محکموں کی اصلی ساخت کی ، جیسی کہ وہ فی‌الحال ہے ، پڑتال کی جائے اور اس پڑتال سے معلوم ہو گیا کہ محکمہ تعلیم میں اور محکمہ جوڈیشیل میں سبارڈینیٹ صیغہ اکسٹرا جوڈیشل ، اسسٹینٹ کمشنروں اور منصفوں کے لیئے ہندوؤں اور سکھوں کے ہاتھوں میں کوئی $\frac{2}{3}$ آسامیاں ہیں حالانکہ آبادی کے اعتبار سے ان کو کوئی ۴۶فیصدی آسامیاں ملنی چاہیں تھیں - رہا اکسٹرا اسسٹینٹ کمشنروں کا صیغہ جو اس میں ایک طرف تو ہندوؤں اور سکھوں کے قبضہ میں نصف آسامیاں ہیں اور دوسری طرف مسلمانوں کے قبضہ میں نصف اور تحصیلداروں کے صیغہ میں ہندوؤں اور سکھوں کے ہاتھوں میں مسلمانوں کی نسبت زیادہ تر آسامیاں ہیں - - -

اگر اس موقع پر میموریل دینے والے یہ حجت پیش کرنا چاہتے ہیں کہ ہندوؤں کو اپنی اعلیٰ تعلیمی قابلیتوں کے اعتبار سے سرکاری آسامیوں میں نسبتاً زیادہ حصہ ملنا چاہیے تو اس کی بابت صرف یہ بتا دینا کافی ہے کہ تعلیمی اوصاف کی کسوٹی اگرچہ اہم و ضروری ہے اور نہایت آسانی کے ساتھ کام میں لائی جا سکتی ہے - مگر وہ قابلیت کے معیار کے طور پر نہ کبھی تسلیم کی گئی اور نہ کی جاتی ہے - - -

قانون انتقال اراضی

اب میں میموریل کی دوسری مد کی طرف رجوع کرتا ہوں اور کہتا ہوں کہ گورنر جنرل ان کونسل نے میموریل دینے والوں کے اس بیان پر احتیاط کے ساتھ غور کیا ہے کہ قوانین انتقال اراضی اور حق شفع کے ذریعے سے ہندوؤں پر بہت سی مجبوریاں اور دشواریاں عاید کی گئی ہیں ----

جیسا کہ گورنمنٹ پنجاب نے اپنی رپورٹ میں لکھا ہے - یہ کہنا کہ کوئی برہمن کھتری یا دیگر ذاتوں کا کوئی شخص جن کا زراعت پیشہ اقوام میں اعلان نہیں کیا گیا چاہے وہ روپیہ کے داد و دہند کرتا ہو یا نہ کرتا ہو - کوئی اراضی نہیں خرید سکتا ، غلطی میں ڈالنے والا ہے - جو اقوام کہ زراعت پیشہ نہیں قرار دی گئی ہیں وہ عام طور پر زراعت پیشہ اقوام سے اراضی نہیں خرید سکتی ہیں - لیکن دیگر اقوام سے ضرور خرید سکتی ہیں - یہ بھی درست نہیں کہ قریباً تمام مسلمان اقوام کا اعلان زراعت پیشہ اقوام کی حیثیت سے کیا گیا ہے ----

جیسا کہ سبھا کے میموریل میں درج ہے - "اور ارائیں، گوجر زراعت پیشہ اقوام نہیں ہیں"، سو یہ بھی درست نہیں ہے - کہ گورنمنٹ پنجاب کی اطلاع سے گورنمنٹ ہند کو معلوم ہوا ہے کہ پنجاب میں یہ اقوام از بس زراعت پیشہ ہیں - میموریل میں یہ بھی بیان کیا گیا ہے - کہ گوجر محض اس لئے زراعت پیشہ اقوام میں مشتہر کئے گئے ہیں کہ وہ مسلمان ہیں ----

نتیجہ کے طور پر میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ مجھے یہ ہدایت کی گئی ہے کہ میموریل ارسال کرنے والوں کی شکایت کی بابت میں یہ ظاہر کروں کہ توسیع شدہ کونسلوں کی اسکیم کی رو سے پنجاب میں مسلمانوں کی آبادی کے لئے خاص نیابت کا اصول تسلیم کیا گیا ہے - یہ طویل اور اہم سوال اب بحث کے لئے بند کردیا گیا ہے کیونکہ جس اصول کا میموریل ارسال کرنے والے حوالہ دیتے ہیں - اسے صاحب

وزیر ہند نے منظور کر لیا ہے - مگر جہاں تک پنجاب کے ہندوؤں کی نیابت کا تعلق ہے - مجھ سے اس کی بابت یہ ظاہر کر دینے کی خواہش کی گئی ہے - کہ جملہ چھوٹی چھوٹی تعداد والی اقوام کے فوائد کی حفاظت کے لیے کافی دفعات بنائی جائیں گی - - - - ''[1]

لالہ لاجپت رائے اور ہندو مسلمانوں کے تعلقات

''ماہ فروری ۱۹۱۱ء کے رسالہ 'زمانہ' میں پنجاب آریہ سماج کے مشہور برگزیدہ لیڈر لالہ لاجپت رائے صاحب نے ہندو مسلمانوں کے باہمی تعلقات پر ۲۱ صفحہ کا ایک طویل مضمون لکھا - - -

لالہ لاجپت رائے صاحب کے مضمون کا مطالعہ کرنے کے بعد کم از کم اس قدر اثر ضرور پیدا ہوتا ہے کہ وہ ہندو مسلمانوں کی موجودہ ناراضگی کو افسوس کی نظر سے دیکھتے ہیں - - -
گو لالہ صاحب موصوف کی باتوں میں ہندو مسلمان دونوں کو قصوروار سمجھا گیا ہے - لیکن جا بجا ان کا میلان ایسا معلوم ہوتا ہے - کہ ان کے نزدیک مسلمانوں کی ہندوؤں سے بڑھکر زیادتی ہے - - -

لالہ لاجپت رائے بہادر گاؤکشی، اسلامی عبادت گاہوں کے سامنے باجا بجانے، تعلیم یافتہ ہندو مسلمانوں میں نفاق، زبان اور خط کا جھگڑا - آریہ سماج کی تعلیم، دفاتر سرکاری میں مذہبی جانب داری، انتقال اراضی و غیر سرکاری عہدوں کے لئے ایجی ٹیشن ہونے کو ہندو مسلمانوں کے مابین ناراضگی کے وجوہ قرار دے کر ان پر بحث کرتے ہیں - مگر باوجود بے حد رعایت رائے دینے کی کوشش کرنے کے وہ ایسی قدرتی طرفداری سے نہیں بچ سکتے۔ ۔ ۔ لالہ لاجپت رائے صاحب آریہ سماج کی طرف سے کہتے ہیں کہ چونکہ سماج مسلمانوں، عیسائیوں، سکھوں اور ہندوؤں وغیرہ کی مذہبی تردید کرتی ہے اس لئے یہ سب فریق اس کے دشمن ہیں - مگر عیسائی اور مسلمان آپس میں ایک دوسرے کو ایسا دشمن کیوں نہیں سمجھتے؟ حقیقت یہ ہے - کہ آریہ سماج کی طرف سے جو اہانت آمیز

۱- ایضاً ۲ نومبر ۱۹۰۹ء

ناملائم زبان استعمال ہوتی ہے ۔ اور دل دکھانے والے برابر میں دیگر مذاہب پر حملے کئے جاتے ہیں ۔ وہ اس کی طرف سے لوگوں کو بدظنی کا موقعہ دیتے ہیں ۔ لاہور میں چند ماہ پیشتر آریہ سماج کا ایک اخبار ایک پرچہ میں بیس بیس جگہ 'محمدی چور'، 'محمدی ڈاکو'، 'محمدی قاتل' لکھا کرتا تھا ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ "[1]

لاله لاجپت رائے اور اردو هندی

"ایک لوکل نامہ نگار نے لکھا ہے کہ "لالہ لاجپت رائے نے گذشتہ اتوار کو ہندوؤں کے جلسے میں جو مسٹر گوکھلے کے تعلیمی بل کی تائید کیلئے طلب کیا گیا تھا ۔ شرم دلائی کہ وہ اپنی زبان سے فارسی عربی کے الفاظ خارج کردیں ۔ اور شادی بیاہ کے موقعوں پر جو دعوتی رقعے شائع کرتے ہیں ۔ ان میں ذوق ، ظفر ، مومن ، میر ، حافظ وغیرہ کے اشعار استعمال نہ کیا کریں ۔ اسی سلسلہ میں لالہ رائے صاحب نے ہندی کو ترقی دینے کے متعلق امید دلائی کہ تین سال کے اندر لاہور کا پھر ایک ہندو لڑکا ناگری خواں ہوجائے گا اور جب مسٹر گوکھلے کا جبریہ تعلیم کا بل منظور ہو جائے گا تو پھر ہم ہندی اور ناگری میں تعلیم حاصل کیا کریں گے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔"[2]

اذان کی ممانعت

"چوہڑکانہ ضلع شیخوپورہ میں مسلمانوں کی آبادی ۱/۳ سے زیادہ ہے ۔ لیکن قصبہ کے سکھ باشندے مسلمانوں کو اذان نہیں دینے دیتے ۔ گذشتہ دنوں میں جب کہ مسلمان نماز میں مصروف تھے ۔ سکھوں نے مسجد پر حملہ کر کے نمازیوں کو زد و کوب کیا ۔ مسجد میں غلیظ جوتیوں سمیت آ گئے اور ناپاک کیا ۔

چونکہ اس قصبہ میں مسلمانوں کی حالت کمزور ہے سوائے اس کے اور کوئی چارہ نہ تھا ۔ کہ عدالت سے انصاف کے طالب ہوں ۔ چنانچہ ایک درجن سکھوں پر مقدمہ سب ڈویژنل آفیسر شیخوپورہ کی

۱۔ ایضاً ۹ مارچ ۱۹۱۱ء

۲۔ ایضاً ۱۵ ۔ اگست ۱۹۱۱ء

عدالت میں دائر ہے - اور ملزموں کو طلبی کے لئے سمن جاری ہوچکے ہیں - لیکن صاحب ''ڈویژنل آفیسر" کی رائے ہے کہ فریقین میں صلح ہو جائے اس لئے انہوں نے مسلمانوں کو آہستہ آہستہ اذان کہنے کی ہدایت کی - اور فریق ثانی کو فساد سے باز رہنے کا ارشاد فرمایا ----"[1]

بٹالہ میں ''جھٹکا"

''کئی دنوں سے ہندو صاحبان جھٹکے کے سوال پر بے جا طور پر ناجائز مضمون اخباروں میں دے کر اور میموریل وغیرہ پہنچا کر افسران بالا کو تکلیف دینے کے درپے ہیں -

ہندوؤں کے جھٹکے کی دوکان شہر سے پاؤ میل کے فاصلے پر ہے - مگر مسلمانوں کی گاؤ کشی کی دکان شہر سے دو میل کے فاصلہ پر ہے - پنڈت کرتا کشن تحصیلدار نے جھٹکے کی دکان کو اپنے حکم سے سکریٹری کمیٹی کے ساتھ مل کر شہر کے اندر کھولنے کا حکم دے دیا اور وہ کھل بھی گئی ہے -

مسلمانان بٹالہ کو اس سے سخت صدمہ پہنچا - انہوں نے اپنے میں سے مسلمانوں کا ایک ڈیپوٹیشن تیار کیا اور وہ ڈیپوٹیشن تحصیلدار صاحب کی خدمت میں پیش ہوا - تحصیلدار صاحب نے نہایت خشک اور خلاف امید جواب دے کر ڈیپوٹیشن کو واپس کر دیا - مسلمان مجبور ہو گئے - انہوں نے ضابطہ کی کاروائی شروع کی اور ڈپٹی کمشنر چونکہ ایک خاندانی اور انصاف پسند آفیسر ہیں گرمی کے ایام میں خود کئی مرتبہ تشریف لاتے رہے - اور پھر ایک موقع کو انہوں نے ملاحظہ فرمایا اور ہندو صاحبان کو عذرات سنانے کے بہت مواقع دیئے - انہوں نے سابقہ دوکان جھٹکا کا حکم جاری رکھا - اور جو دکان تحصیلدار صاحب کے حکم سے کھلی تھی اس کو بند کرنے کا حکم دے دیا - اور ایسا کرنا ان کے لئے نہایت مناسب اور ضروری تھا -

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۱- ایضاً ۹ جنوری ۱۹۱۲ء

اس کے بعد ہندو اخبارات نہایت سخت لہجہ میں جھٹکے کے متعلق اور افسران مقامی کے متعلق تحریر کر رہے ہیں - اور شور مچاتے ہیں - اگر غور سے دیکھا جائے تو ہندو صاحبان بہت کم گوشت کھانے والے ہیں اور جو کھاتے ہیں وہ اکثر حلال کو استعمال کرتے ہیں . . .

جیسا کہ صاحب ڈپٹی کمشنر بہادر اور کپتان صاحب کے سامنے سردار مہندر سنگھ سکنہ بٹالہ نے عام ہندو اور مسلمان لیڈروں کے سامنے صاف طور پر کہا تھا کہ لوگوں نے میری دکان پر آ کر مجھے مجبور کر کے اس سوال کو کھڑا کیا تھا ورنہ میں اس میں خوشی سے شامل نہ تھا اور نہ اب ہوں - - - -

چنانچہ صاحب ڈپٹی کمشنر بہادر اور صاحب کمشنر بہادر کا فیصلہ فریقین کے لئے نہایت شائستہ اور انصاف پر مبنی تھا - اس لئے مسلمانوں نے گائے کے گوشت کی دکان کی بابت کسی مزید رعایت کی خواہش ظاہر نہیں کی - اگرچہ ان کو تکلیف بہت تھی - کہ دو میل جانا پڑتا تھا - مگر صاحبان موصوف کے فیصلہ پر خاموشی اختیار کی مگر افسوس کہ تاحال ہندو صاحبان اس معاملہ کو نہیں چھوڑتے بلکہ اپنے تعصب کا جوش دوبارہ بھڑکانا چاہتے ہیں اور کہتے ہیں کہ اس معاملہ کو کونسل میں پیش کرنا چاہئے - - - -

علاج اس کا مناسب یہی ہے - کہ دونوں چیزیں دور ہی رہیں اور اگر ہندو صاحبان چاہتے ہیں کہ ان کو ہندوؤں کے محلہ میں جھٹکے کی دکان دے دی جائے تو مسلمانوں کو مسلمانوں کے محلہ میں گائے کے گوشت کی دکان مل جائے اور دونوں آپس میں بھائی بھائی بن کر عادل گورنمنٹ کے زیر سایہ امن و امان سے اوقات بسر کریں - - - -''[1]

ہندو کانفرنس کا پریزیڈنشل ایڈریس

''پنجاب ہندو کانفرنس کا سالانہ مشن ۱۸ - اکتوبر سے حسب قرار داد سابق دارالسلطنت دہلی میں پوری رونق و شان کے ساتھ شروع ہو

۱- ایضاً ۳ - اکتوبر ۱۹۱۲ء

گیا اور آنریبل لالہ شادی لال صاحب بیرسٹر ایٹ لا نامزد شدہ پریزیڈنٹ کا استقبال نہایت دھوم دھام سے عمل میں آیا ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

اور ممبری کونسل کے پہلو سے بخیال خویش ہندو مسلمانوں کے تعلقات پر نظر ڈال کر قواعد انتخاب کا اثر ہندوؤں کے لئے ناگوار بتایا اور مسلمانوں کو خاص حقوق دئیے جانے کی وہی قدیم شکایت، کونسلوں کے علاوہ سرکاری ملازمت کے متعلق بھی پیش کی اور محکمہ پولیس میں ہندوؤں کی حق تلفی ہونے کے پرانے سوال کو اٹھایا پھر تمام مغربی حصہ پنجاب میں ڈکیتیوں کے زور اور ہندوؤں کا جان و مال غیر محفوظ ہونے کا ذکر کر کے قانون انتقال اراضی کا شکوہ فرمایا ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔''[1]

آنریبل مسٹر شادی لال کی تقریر صدارت

''منجملہ دیگر امور کے لالہ صاحب نے گذشتہ دو تین سال کے اندر ہندو مسلمان کشیدگیِ تعلقات، ترقی پان اسلام ازم سے منسوب کیا ہے ۔ شائد اس سے یہ مقصد ہے ۔ کہ حکام انگریزی کی آنکھوں میں خاک ڈال کر بیچارے مسلمانوں کو گورنمنٹ سے بدظن کرایا جائے ۔ لیکن کیا اس کو پان اسلام ازم کی ترقی کے باعث سمجھا جائے کہ گذشتہ چار پانچ سال سے ہی شہر میں ہندو صاحبان مسلمانوں کا عملاً بائیکاٹ کر رہے ہیں ۔ آج سے پانچ سال پیشتر کبھی کسی دکان پر اس قسم کے بورڈ نہیں دیکھے گئے، ہندو بوٹ شاپ، ہندو ٹیلر ماسٹر وغیرہ ۔ اب لاهور انارکلی میں بہت سی دکانوں پر اسی قسم کے بورڈ لگے ہوئے ہیں جس کے صاف معنی ہیں کہ ہندو یہاں سے ضرور خریدیں ورنہ بوٹ اور ایندھن وغیرہ چیزیں نہ ہندو ہو سکتی ہیں اور نہ مسلمان ۔

ذرا آنریبل شادی لال صاحب ملتان کی حالت دیکھیں کہ وہاں کوئی ہندو مسلمان سے کچھ نہیں خریدتا بلکہ اپنے نائی اور دھوبی تک

۱- ایضاً ۲۱ - اکتوبر ۱۹۱۲ء

الگ کر لئے ہیں ۔ لاہور میں ہندو پہلوان بھی تین چار سال کے اندر بنائے گئے ہیں اور ہندو دنگل وقتاً فوقتاً کرائے جاتے ہیں ۔ مگر اب ہندو باجہ نوازوں کا بینڈ بھی بنایا گیا ہے - - - -

ایک دوسری بات جو آنریبل شادی لال کے ایڈرس میں ضروری نوٹس کے قابل ہے وہ آپ کے ہندو مسلمان ممبران پراونشل کونسل کے گذشتہ انتخاب کی نسبت ریمارکس ہیں۔ رائے بہادر صاحب کے نزدیک پنجاب میں کونسلوں کی اصلاح سے ہندوؤں کو اتنا کم حصہ ملا ہے کہ انہیں اصلاح شدہ کونسلوں سے کچھ دلچسپی حاصل نہیں ہوئی ۔ کل بارہ میں سے سات مسلمان اور پانچ ہندو تھے ۔ ان پانچ ہندوؤں میں سے وہ احتیاط کے ساتھ اپنے سامعین کو بتاتے ہیں کہ دو سکھ تھے گویا سکھ ہندوؤں سے ایک بالکل الگ قوم ہے ۔ اگر سکھ ہندو سبھا کے پریزیڈنٹ یا ممبر ہیں تو اس میں عیب نہیں لیکن اگر وہ کونسل کے ممبر ہوں تو وہ ہندوؤں میں شمار نہیں ہو سکتے - - -

علاوہ ازیں مسلمانوں کے اس دفعہ زیادہ ہونے کی وجہ یہ ہے کہ سینٹرل سرکل میں گذشتہ انتخاب پر ہندوؤں نے تین امیدوار پیش کئے تھے اور مسلمانوں نے صرف ایک کیا تھا اس لئے ہندوؤں کے ووٹ بٹ گئے اور مسلمان امیدوار کامیاب ہو گیا ۔ جس کے تجربہ سے آئندہ ہندو بھائی ضرور فائدہ اٹھائیں گے ۔ نیز ایک حلقہ میں ہندو مسلمان امیدواروں کی رائیں برابر تھیں ۔ اور قرعہ کا فیصلہ مسلمان امیدوار کے حق میں گیا ۔ لہذا طریقہِ انتخاب کونسل کا اس میں کوئی قصور نہیں - - -

آنریبل لالہ شادی لال نے قانونی کونسل اور سرکاری ملازمت کے بارے میں ہندوؤں کی مفروضہ حق تلفی پر زیادہ زور دیا ہے ۔ لیکن بہتر ہوتا اگر آپ پنجاب یونیورسٹی کے ہندو مسلم فیلوز کے تناسب پر بھی رائے فرماتے کیونکہ آخر یونیورسٹی بھی ایک فیلو کو منتخب کر کے بھیجتی ہے ۔ اور خود رائے بہادر محترم بھی وہیں سے منتخب ہو کر کونسل میں تشریف لے گئے ہیں ۔ مگر پنجاب یونیورسٹی

میں جہاں ہندو فیلو ۴۳ ہیں اور وہاں مسلمان فیلو صرف ۱۸ ہیں اور انگریز فیلوز ۳۲ - - - -"[1]

ضلع ہزارہ میں فساد

"ضلع ہزارہ میں ۲۵ دسمبر کو جو فساد ہوا تھا - اسکی سرکاری اطلاع بنام اختیارات بدیں مطالب شائع کی گئی ہے - اس کے نزدیک ہندو بنیئے نے دو انڈے جن پر کلمہ شریف اور مذہب اسلام کی نسبت چند کلمات اہانت لکھے ہوئے تھے - اناج کے ڈھیر میں ایک ایسے مقام پر رکھ دیئے جہاں وہ ہر شخص کو بخوبی نظر آتے تھے - چند لوگوں کے کہنے سے مسلمانوں کو اشتعال پیدا ہوا اور تیرہ دوکانوں ، ایک دھرم سالہ کو لوٹ لیا گیا ، بارہ ہندو اور دو پولیس کے سپاہی خفیف زخمی ہوئے ، پولیس کے پہنچنے پر فساد فرو ہو گیا - - - -"[2]

ہندو مسلمانوں کے تعلقات - سر لوئی ڈین بہادر کے خیالات -

"گذشتہ چند دن کے اندر ہز آنر سر لوئی ڈین بہادر لیفٹیننٹ گورنر پنجاب کو جن کی اعلیٰ قابلیت حکمرانی اور وسیع تجربہ انتظامی سے افسوس ہے کہ یہ صوبہ بہت جلد محروم ہونےوالا ہے - ہندو مسلمانوں کے تعلقات کی ناخوشگوار حالت پر جو بدقسمتی سے پنجاب میں پائی جاتی ہے- دو تین مرتبہ اظہار خیالات کا موقعہ ملا ہے اور ہر موقعہ پر آپ نے دونوں فرقوں کے اختلافات کا ہمدردی اور افسوس کے لہجہ میں ذکر کیا ہے - - - -

ان میں اول موقع عالی جناب لاٹ صاحب کے خیالات کو ظاہر ہونے کا اس شہادت کی ضمن میں پیش آیا ہے جو آنریبل مسٹر بیرن ، چیف سکرٹری پنجاب گورنمنٹ نے ہز آنر کی طرف سے رائیل انڈین پبلک سروس کمیشن کے رو برو دیا ہے - - - -

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۱- ایضاً ۲۳ - اکتوبر ۱۹۱۲ء

۲- ایضاً ۸ - جنوری ۱۹۱۳ء -

انڈین سروس کا امتحان ولائت و ہندوستان میں ایک ہی وقت پر لیئے جانے کو غیر مستحسن سمجھتے ہیں اور اس پر اپنے اعتراضات پیش کرتے ہوئے اس کا حوالہ دیتے ہیں کہ موجودہ وقت پر جبکہ ہندو مسلمانوں کے درمیان بدمزگی ایسی بڑی ہوئی ہے کہ انتظام میں ایک طاقت برٹش عنصر برقرار رکھنے کی شدید ضرورت پائی جاتی ہے آگے چل کر ہز آنر اس کا ذکر فرماتے ہیں کہ دونوں جماعتوں کے درمیان تفرقہ اب بیس سال پہلے کی نسبت بہت عیاں ہے اور اس معاملہ سے بھگتنے کے لئے تازہ قانون سازی پر آمادہ ہونے کا سوال حال میں پنجاب گورنمنٹ کے زیر غور رہا ہے۔ قطعی طور پر نہیں کہا جا سکتا کہ لوکل گورنمنٹ ہندو مسلمانوں کی بدمزگی کو رفع کرنے کے لئے کن لائنوں پر قانون بنانے کا ارادہ رکھتی تھی۔ یا رکھتی ہے۔ لیکن اگر اس سے لوکل باڈیز میں ہندو مسلمانوں کے لئے جداگانہ نیابت بلحاظ مناسب آبادی مخصوص کر دینے کی تجویز مراد ہے لاہور، امرتسر وغیرہ کے سابق تجربہ کو مد نظر رکھکر کہا جا سکتا ہے کہ یہ علاج انشاءاللہ بڑے درجہ تک مفید ثابت ہوگا اور مخلوط انتخاب کی بدولت الیکشن کے موقعہ پر جو سخت کشمکش دونوں جماعتوں کے درمیان پیدا ہوتی رہتی ہے۔ اور لوگوں کی طبائع پر ایک مستقل ناگوار اثر چھوڑتی ہے وہ باقی نہ رہے گا۔ لہذا پنجاب گورنمنٹ کو اپنا ارادہ اس بارہ میں مضبوط کر لینا چاہیئے اور لوکل باڈیز میں جداگانہ نیابت کا طریقہ رائج کر دینا چاہیئے ۔۔۔۔

آگے جا کر ہز آنر نے اپنی شہادت میں یہ بھی بیان کیا کہ طرابلس و جزیرہ نمائے بلقان کی جنگوں میں ایک ایسی قوم کے ہزیمتیں اٹھانے سے جو مذہب اسلام رکھتی ہے اور ایران کی ناخوشگوار صورت معاملات سے مسلمانوں میں قریب قریب ایک نا قابل فہم حد تک جوش پیدا ہو گیا ہے۔ پنجاب کی نصف سے زیادہ آبادی مذہباً مسلمان ہے۔ اور ادنیٰ ذاتوں کے بہت سے لوگ مذہبی دیوانگی کے اثرات میں قید ہیں۔ جن میں باہم تشویش پھیلانے والے اشخاص کو

تھوڑی ہوا دینے کی ضرورت ہے کہ وہ شعلوں کی صورت میں بھڑک اٹھیں ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

لیکن ان جذبات کو ہرگز جوش سے تعبیر نہیں کیا جا سکتا اور ظالم بلقانیوں کے خلاف جو غیظ و غضب قدرتی طور پر مسلمانوں کی طبائع میں پیدا ہوا ہے وہ انگریزی حکومت کی مخالفت کا رنگ نہیں اختیار کر سکتا کیونکہ اول تو مسلمانوں کو ان کے مذہب نے عادل اور مذہبی آزادی دینے والی حکومت کا وفادار رہنے کی تعلیم دی ہے اور مشرقی روایات سے فرمانروا کی عقیدت و جان نثاری ان کی رگ و پے میں سرائیت کر چکی ہے ۔

دوسرے وہ احکام کو اس معاملہ میں اپنا پورا ہمدرد پاتے ہیں ۔ اور ہز ایکسی لینسیز وائیسرائے اور وائیسرانی اور گورنر ان صوبہ جات و حکام اضلاع کو تحریک ہلال احمر میں عملی دلچسپی لیتے اور معقول رقوم اپنی گرہ سے دیتے دیکھتے ہیں جس کا ان کے دلوں پر بڑا اثر ہوا ہے ۔ اور سر ایڈورڈ گرے بہادر کی بعض قابل اعتراض کاروائیوں کے باوجود انہوں نے قوم انگریزی کا بہ حیثیت مجموعی ترکوں اور مسلمانوں سے ہمدردی رکھنا پہچان لیا ہے ۔ لہذا ہز آنر کو اس بارہ میں کوئی اندیشہ مسلمانوں سے نہ ہونا چاہیئے ۔

اس کے علاوہ ہز آنر نے پنجاب ایسوسی ایشن کے رخصتی ایڈرس کا جواب دیتے ہوئے بھی ہندو مسلمانوں کی بدمزگی پر اظہار افسوس کیا ہے ۔ اور تفرقہ کی تحریک کو قابل اعتراض قراردیا ہے جس سے ہر ایک معاملہ فہم شخص کامل اتفاق کرے گا ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔"[1]

گرو کل میں پون لاکھ نقد چندہ

"اس مرتبہ جبکہ پنجاب کے غالب حصہ آبادی کی مرکزی تعلیمی حمایت اسلام لاہور کے سالانہ جلسہ میں مقبول کارکنان انجمن کی فراہم شدہ چندہ کی مقدار بمشکل دس ہزار تک پہنچی ہے ۔ صوبہ ہذا کی آریہ سماج

۱۔ ایضاً ۱۹ ۔ اپریل ۱۹۱۳ء

(مہاتما پارٹی) کو اس کے حامیون کی اس فراخدلی و ایثار پر مبارک باد دینی پڑتی ہے کہ گروکل کے سالانہ جلسہ میں جو کہ کانگڑی (ہردوار) کے دورافتادہ و دشوار گذار مقام پر منعقد ہوتا ہے بارہ پندرہ ہزار زن و مرد شرکت کے لئے پنجاب سے گئے اور پون لاکھ روپے اس انسٹی ٹیوشن کی امداد کے لئے انہوں نے نقد جلسہ میں جمع کر دیئے ،،[1]

مسجد و مندر بننے پر اعتراض

''حال میں میونسپل کمیٹی کے پچھلے اجلاس پر ایک مسلمان نے درخواست پیش کی کہ اسے موچیدروازے کے باغ میں مسجد بنانے کی اجازت دی جائے - چوھدری شہاب‌الدین نے اجازت دینے کی سفارش کی مگر لالہ دونی چند صاحب بیرسٹر نے بآواز بلند اسکی مخالفت کی اور بڑے بے دھڑک انداز سے فرمایا کہ یہ کیسے ہو سکتا ہے - کل لاھوری اور بھاٹی دروازوں کے باغ میں مسجدیں تعمیر کرنے کی درخواستیں گذریں گی یہی نہیں بلکہ پھر ہندوؤں کو بھی حق ہو گا کہ ہر ایک باغ میں ایک مندر بنانے کی اجازت چاہئیں،،[2]

جھٹکہ۔ مسلمانوں کا تجارتی دکانیں کھولنا اور ھندو مسلمانوں کے دوستانہ تعلقات

''معلوم نہیں کہ اس جھٹکے کھانیکے ثبوت میں ھمارے برادران وطن سے آئندہ کیا کیا ایسی حرکات سر زد ھونگی جن سے ہندو مسلمانوں کے تعلقات روز بروز زیادہ کشیدہ ھوتے جائیں گے خود گورنمنٹ بے چاری جھٹکے کے مسلے سے حیران ھو گئی ھے اور ہر روز کہیں نہ کہیں سے حکام کے کانوں میں آواز پڑ جاتی ہے اور معلوم ھوتا ہے کہ گورنمنٹ جھٹکے سے متعلق قوائد و ضوابط منضبط کرانیکی تدابیر سوچ رہی ہے - - - -

۱ - ایضاً ۲۹ مارچ ۱۹۱۳ء
۲ - ایضاً ۳۰ اپریل ۱۹۱۳ء

جن بورڈنگ ہاؤسوں میں ہندو، مسلمان اور سکھ لڑکے پہلے اکھٹے رہتے تھے اب ان میں جھٹکے کا گوشت پکانے کی اجازت حاصل کی جاتی ہے مسلمان لڑکے اس کے جواب میں گائے کا گوشت کھانے کی خواہش ظاہر کرتے ہیں اور اس جدت سے ایک خوفناک فساد کی بنیاد قائم ہو جاتی ہے - - - -

اس کے بعد گجرات و پنجاب میں اسی کی وجہ سے دقتیں پیدا ہو رہی ہیں اور دو تین ماہ سے ہندو مسلمانوں کے تعلقات میں فرق آ گیا ہے - مسلمانوں نے کئی دکانیں آٹے دال اور دیگر ضروریات زندگی کی کھول لی ہیں - کیونکہ پہلے ہندوؤں نے وہاں بلا ضرورت جھٹکے کی دکانیں کھول کر مسلمانوں کا دل دکھایا تھا اور ان کے لئے جائز طور پر اس شبہ کو بہم پہنچایا تھا کہ ہندو مسلمانوں کو تجارت گوشت کے فائدے سے محروم کرنا چاہتے ہیں جس پر مسلمانوں کو فکر ہوئی اور جھٹکے کا گوشت کھانے والے ہندو دکانداروں سے اشیائے خوردنی خریدنے میں مذہباً بھی تامل کیا ، اس لئے مسلمانوں نے خود ضروریات زندگی کی دکانیں کھول لیں"[1]

خالصہ کالج میں مسجد

"اس کی بابت لوکل ہمعصر خالصہ سکھوں نے ایک طویل مگر بالکل غیر ضروری آرٹیکل لکھ مارا ہے - اس کا اعتراض یہ ہے کہ کیوں ایک سکھ انسٹی ٹیوشن میں مسلمان طلبأ کے لئے مسجد تیار کرائی جائے جب کہ کسی مسلمان انسٹی ٹیوشن میں کسی مندر ، ٹھاکر دوارہ یا دھرم سالہ کا بندوبست نہیں ہے - اور اعلیٰ حکام کی توجہ اس طرف مبذول کی ہے ہمارے خیال میں ہمعصر نے اپنے دائرۂ تحقیقات کو وسیع نہیں کیا ورنہ جہاں تک ہم کو اطلاع ملی ہے - اس قسم کی کوئی مسجد نہیں بنی - خالصہ کالج امرتسر میں مسجد تعمیر ہونیوالی ہے - ہاں ہم نے صرف اتنا سنا ہے - کہ بعض طلبأ رہٹ والے کنویں کے پاس والے چوبترہ پر اپنی نماز ادا کرتے ہیں"[2]

۱- ایضاً ۱۱ مئی ۱۹۱۳ء

۲- ایضاً ۷ - جون ۱۹۱۳ء

صاحب ڈپٹی کمشنر امرتسر اور بعض ہندو اخبارات

"یہ دیکھ کر سخت افسوس ہوتا ہے کہ آج کل بعض ہندو اخبارات مسٹر کنگ ڈپٹی کمشنر امرتسر ، چودھری ابوالفتح خاں انسپکٹر پولیس امرتسر کی مخالفت میں کثرت سے مضمون لکھ رہے ہیں ۔ حالانکہ ان دونوں افسروں کا قصور صرف یہ ہے کہ وہ ہندوؤں کے کہنے میں آ کر مسلمانوں کو اذیت نہیں پہنچانی چاہتے ۔ امرتسر کے سرکاری دفاتر و محاکم میں مسلمانوں کی کس مپرسی کی مدت سے شکایت چلی آتی تھی ۔ بلکہ جو مسلمان نوجوان کسی نہ کسی طرح کسی دفتر میں ملازم ہو گئے تھے ان میں سے چند اشخاص کو ہندوؤں کی عنایت نے خارج کر دیا تھا ۔ ڈپٹی کمشنر بہادر نے ان کی فریاد پر متوجہ ہو کر ان کے فائل طلب کر کے تحقیقات کی اور ان میں سے اکثر کو بحال کر دیا اور آئندہ کے لئے اس بارہ میں سخت احکام نافذ کئے ۔ ۔ ۔

چودھری ابوالفتح خاں کا یہ قصور ہے کہ اس نے اپنی مستعدی ، سر گرمی ، بے نفسی و بے ریائی کی وجہ سے تمام ہندو انسپکٹروں کو پس پشت ڈال دیا ۔ وہ مطلق رشوت نہیں لیتے اور حکام ان کو دل سے پسند کرتے ہیں "[1]

ہندو قوم کی نسبت لالہ لاجپت رائے بہادر کا خیال

لالہ صاحب نے "کیا ہندو قوم کے لئے کوئی امید باقی ہے ؟" کے عنوان سے ایک دلچسپ ، پر معنی تقریر آریہ سماج لاہور کے گذشتہ سالانہ جلسہ پر کی ، جس میں آپ نے یہ ثابت کیا یا ثابت کرنے کی کوشش کی کہ ہندو قوم کے لئے کوئی امید باقی نہیں رہی "میں دیکھتا ہوں کہ تعلیم یافتہ ہندو عجیب مکار ہیں ۔ مسلمان اور عیسائی خانساماؤں کے ہاتھ کا کھانا کھانے میں دریغ نہیں کرتے ۔ ۔ ۔

کھانا کھاتے ہیں تو چھری کانٹے سے ، برتن اُن کے چینی کے ہیں ، کتب خانوں میں سنسکرت کتاب ایک نہیں ۔ ۔ ۔

۱۔ ایضاً ۱۴ اگست ، ۱۹۱۳ء

اگر ہندو ازم باقی ہے تو وہ ان عورتوں کے سہارے جنھوں نے انگریزی میں تعلیم نہیں پائی - - - - اس وقت جو لڑکیاں عیسائیوں کے مدرسے میں تعلیم پا رہی ہیں ان کو ہندی نہیں آتی - وہ صرف انگریزی پڑھتی ہیں - جب وہ وقت آئیگا کہ وہ ہندو عورتوں کی سوسائٹی کی لیڈر بنیں گی تو رہا سہا ہندو ازم تباہ ہو جائے گا،،[1]

لاہور میں ایک متبرک مزار کا انہدام

''سوچیدروازہ سے جو سڑک ریلوے اسٹیشن کو جاتی ہے اس کی بائیں جانب اسلامیہ کالج کے قریب ایک پرانی قبر تھی جس پر جال کا ایک پرانا درخت سایہ افگن تھا اور پاس ہی دیگر اشجار بھی تھے - اس مقام کی زمین ایک ہندو عورت نے خرید لی اور اس پر ایک مکان بنا لیا جس میں اب لالہ نرائن صاحب ایڈوکیٹ رہتے ہیں - کل شہر میں یہ خبر بہ سرعت تمام پھیل گئی کہ لالہ صاحب نے درخت کٹوا دیے اور شاہ بہلول شاہ رحمتہ اللہ علیہ کے مزار کا نشان مٹا دیا - جب میں موقع پر پہنچا تو واقعہ کی تصدیق ہو گئی اور وہاں کثیر التعداد مسلمانوں کو جو اس وقت یہ وحشت ناک خبر سن کر جمع ہو گئے تھے موجود پایا - اگر پولیس افسر خان بشیر علی خان لوگوں کا جوش فرو نہ کرتے تو نتیجہ اچھا نہ ہوتا - - - -

میں نے جب سے ہوش سنبھالا ہے وہاں خانقاہ کو برابر دیکھا ہے یا دیکھتا آ رہا ہوں اور بارہا وہاں پر فاتحہ بھی پڑھی ہے مقدمہ چلا تو ہزاروں آدمیوں کی شہادت اس کا وجود ثابت کرے گی" (غلام دستگیر نامی -)،،[2]

وطن پرستوں کے خیالات

''لالہ لاجپت رائے ایک محب وطن خیال کئے جاتے ہیں اور ان کی تقریریں بین الاقوامی اتحاد کی خواہشوں سے لبریز پائی جاتی

۱- ایضاً ۲۰ دسمبر ۱۹۱۳ء -

۲- ایضاً ۱۰ مارچ ۱۹۱۴ء

ہیں ۔ لیکن واقعات نے ثابت کر دیا ہے کہ وہ وطن پرست نہیں ہیں وطن میں ہندو بھی شامل ہیں اور مسلمان بھی ۔ اگر وہ محب وطن ہوتے تو ان دونوں قوموں کا یکساں خیال رکھتے ۔ الہ آباد میں نیچ ذاتوں کی اصلاح و ترقی اور ہندو آرگنائزیشن پر تقریر فرمائی تھی جس کے دوران میں آپ نے اپنے دلی جذبات کو صاف طور پر ظاہر کر دیا ہے اور وہ نقاب جس کو ہندو مسلمانوں کے تعلقات باہمی کا ذکر کرتے وقت منہ پر ڈال لیا کرتے ہیں اتارکر پھینک دیا ہے ۔ لالہ صاحب فرماتے ہیں کہ "ذاتوں کی علیحدگی اور شدید پابندی جو ہندوستان میں ہر جگہ نمایاں ہے میرا خیال ہے کہ حقیقت میں مسلمانوں کے عہد میں پیدا ہوئی ہے"[1]

ایک مسجد کی توہین ۔ قابل توجہ صاحب ڈپٹی کمشنر گورداسپور

"ہم مسلمان ڈمہ تحصیل بٹالہ ضلع گورداسپور نے ایک عرضی استغاثہ زیر دفعہ ۲۹۵ - ۴۲۶ ۰ ۳۲۳ - ۱۴۷ تعزیرات ہند تحصیلدار بٹالہ کی عدالت میں ۱۶ فروری ۱۹۱۴ء کو برخلاف پرتاب سنگھ ذیلدار اور سترہ کس دیگر اقوام ، جٹ ، ہندو اور سکھ، دی تھی ، جس کا مضمون یہ تھا کہ ملزمان نے اس مسجد سے جو کہ قدیم الایام سے مسلمانوں کے قبضہ میں ہے بانگ دینے اور نماز پڑھنے سے روک دیا ہے، بہت ضرر پنہچایا ہے اور بہت سا مال مسلمانان کے گھروں کا لوٹ لیا ہے ۔ اس کی نسبت دوتار صاحب ڈپٹی کمشنر ضلع کو اور ایک تار کپتان بہادر پولیس کو بھیجی گئیں جس پر بوٹا سنگھ انسپکٹر و تھانیدار صالح محمد موقع پر آئے اور ان کے رو برو پرتاب سنگھ ملزم جوتے سمیت مسجد میں پھر رہا تھا ۔ تھانیدار اور انسپکٹر منع کرتے رہے مگر وہ باز نہیں آیا ۔ اس کے بعد انہوں نے ہمارے خلاف جھوٹے استغاثے دائر کر دئیے مسجد بھی جلا دی اور قرآن شریف کے سات نسخے جلا دیے اور جس میں ہم

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۱ - ایضاً ۳ - اپریل ۱۹۱۴ء

پر فرد جرم عائد کر دی گئی - مگر ہماری اس اولین عرضی کا کچھ نتیجہ نہ نکلا - ہم بے کس بے پر غریب مسلمان ہیں"[1]

لاہور کے بعض چاہات آبنوشی پر ہندو مسلمانوں کے جھگڑے

"گذشتہ شنبہ کے 'روزانہ پیسہ اخبار' میں لاہور کے ڈھل محلہ کے چاہ آبنوشی پر ہندو مسلمانوں کے جھگڑے کے متعلق صاحب ڈویژنل جج لاہور کا ایک فیصلہ درج کیا جا چکا ہے - اس فیصلہ کے مطابق یا مطالعہ سے معلوم ہوگا کہ ۱۸۵۰ء اور ۱۸۵۲ء میں بھی اس کنویں کے متعلق کچھ جھگڑا ہوا تھا مگر اس وقت سے ۱۹۰۹ء تک ہندو مسلمان برابر پانی بھرتے رہے لیکن اب ۱۹۰۹ء میں مسلمانوں کا ایک نلکا اس کنویں سے ہندوؤں نے ہٹا دیا جس پر انہوں نے چمڑے کا بوکا ڈال دیا اور قانونی جنگ شروع ہوگئی - پہلے لالہ منا لال صاحب منصف کی ابتدائی عدالت سے ہندوؤں کے حق میں فیصلہ ہو گیا تھا لیکن اب عدالت اپیل نے مسلمانوں کے حق میں فیصلہ دیا ہے - عدالت کی رائے بالکل قرین انصاف ہے کہ جب کہ کنواں اور متصلہ اراضی ملکیت نزول ہے تو پھر ہندو مسلمانوں کا اس پر یکساں حق ہے . . . .

اسی طرح لاہور میں اس وقت کئی اور کنویں یعنی کنووں پر ہندو مسلمانوں میں عجب بحث چلی آتی ہے - کہ ہندو مسلمانوں کو پانی نہیں بھرنے دیتے - مثلاً شاہ حسن ولی والا کنواں متصل مسجد بوہڑ والی جو موچی دروازے کے چوک کا کنواں ہے - اس پر بہت مقدمہ بازی ہوتی رہی - آخر چیف کورٹ نے فیصلہ دیا کہ یہاں سے مسلمان ہی پانی بھرا کریں -

تیسرا چوڑا کھوہ المعروف نواباں والا کھوہ شاہ عالمی دروازے کے اندر جھجو سنگ فروش کی دکان کے متصل ہے - ہمیشہ سے اس کنویں سے ہندو مسلمان پانی بھرتے آئے تھے - مگر ہندوؤں نے مسلمانوں کو پانی بھرنے سے روکا - آخر معاملہ عدالت تک پہنچا - بہر حال رائے بہادر رام

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۱ ایضاً ۱۴ جون ۱۹۱۴ء

سرنداس اور خاں بہادر محمد شفیع صاحب منصف مقرر ہوئے - چنانچہ انہوں نے فیصلہ کر لیا تھا کہ کنویں کے اندر ایک آہنی چادر ڈال کر نصف نصف کریں - مسلمان اپنا اور ہندو اپنا پمپ لگا کر پانی نکال لیا کریں - مگر معلوم نہیں کہاں پھر ڈھیل پڑ گئی اور یہ فیصلہ آج تک عمل میں نہیں آیا -

چوتھا موچی و شاہ عالمی دروازوں کے درمیانی باغ کا کنواں جس کے ساتھ مسجد سقاوہ ہے - یہ کنواں آج تک خالص مسلمانوں کا رہا ہے مگر چونکہ اہل ہنود نے اس نواح میں نزول سے بہت سے مکانات خرید لئے ہیں اس لئے وہ بھی پانی بھرنا چاہتے ہیں جس پر مسلمان مزاحم ہوتے ہیں کہ کل ہندو انہیں بالکل بیدخل نہ کر دیں -

پانچواں چاہ واقعہ سید میٹھا - آج کل اس مقدمہ استقرار حق آبنوشی عدالت سب جج لاہور میں دائر ہے جو چیف کورٹ میں جا کر وہاں سے پھر بعض امور کی تحقیقات کے لیے واپس آیا ہے -

یہ چند کنویں آبنوشی اسوقت سرسری طور پر مجھے یاد آگئے ہیں ممکن ہے کہ لاہور ایسے بڑے شہر میں کچھ اور بھی ایسے کنویں آبنوشی کے ہوں کہ جن پر ہندو مسلمانوں میں پانی پینے میں جھگڑے ہو رہے ہیں - یہ کیسے افسوس کی بات ہے جن کنوؤں پر صدیوں سے دونوں قومیں اکٹھی پانی بھرتی چلی آئی ہیں ان پر بھی ایک روز جھگڑا ہو جاتا ہے - میں نے لاہور کے بعض مسلمانوں سے اس کا باعث پوچھا تو انہوں نے بتلایا کہ ان جھگڑوں کا بڑا باعث یہ ہے کہ پہلے ان محلوں میں صرف مسلمان بہت آباد تھے . . . . اب ایک دو گھر ہی مسلمانوں کے رہ گئے ہیں اور باقی سب مکانات ہندوؤں نے خرید لیے ہیں - اب ہندو نہیں چاہتے کہ اس ایک آدھ مسلمان کو اپنے محلہ کے کنویں سے پانی بھرنے دیں اور یہ تو امر مسلمہ ہے کہ دن بدن جائیداد مسلمانوں کے ہاتھوں سے نکل کر ہندوؤں کے ہاتھوں میں جا رہی ہے - راقم الحروف لاہور میں کئی محلے اور علاقے جانتا ہے اور کئی عالیشان مکانات سے واقف ہے کہ جو پہلے مسلمانوں کے تھے مگر اب

ہندوؤں کے قبضے میں ہیں مگر ان قابل عبرت حالات میں بھی مسلمانوں کے حقوق آبنوشی اپنے محلوں کے کنووؤں سے تلف تو نہیں ہو سکتے"[1]

ہندو سبھا کا ڈیپوٹیشن

"معلوم ہوا ہے کہ گذشتہ ہفتہ میں ہندو سبھا کا ڈیپوٹیشن بعض گذشتہ تحقیقات کے لیے ضلع جھنگ کے دوروں کے لیے روانہ ہوا تھا۔ اس وقت پنجاب مسلم لیگ کے جنرل سکرٹری کو معلوم ہوا کہ ہندو سبھا کا یہ ڈیپوٹیشن اس ضلع کے ہندو مسلمانوں کے ان پریشان تعلقات کو جو گزشتہ چند ماہ کے حادثات سے پیدا ہوچکے تھے سلجھانے کے لیے جاتا ہے۔ اس پر انہوں نے سبھا سے درخواست یعنی خواہش ظاہر کی کہ اگر وہ مسلم لیگ کے ایک مختصر ڈیپوٹیشن کو بھی ساتھ لیتے چلیں اور ہندو مسلمان مل کر باشندگان ضلع کو سمجھائیں تو یقین ہے کہ زیادہ فائدہ ہوگا۔

مگر مسلم لیگ کے جنرل سکرٹری صاحب کو اطلاع دی گئی کہ ہندو سبھا کا ڈیپوٹیشن صرف بعض واقعات کی تحقیقات کے لیے جا رہا ہے اس لئے مسلم لیگ کے ڈیپوٹیشن کو ساتھ نہیں لے جا سکتا،،[2]

پنجاب میں ناگری پرچارنی اور گئو رکھشا سبھا

"تین چار سال کا عرصہ ہوا۔ ایک بار ہندو مسلمانوں کے مابین مصالحت کرائے جانے کا سوال چھڑا تو مجھ کو یاد ہے کہ ثالثین نے دونوں قوموں میں باہمی نفاق کے ۵ اسباب بتائے تھے جن میں نمبر اول گاؤ کشی نمبر دوم زبان کا جھگڑا باقی تین اسباب سرکاری عہدوں کے لیے ایجی ٹیشن، دفاتر سرکاری میں مذہبی جانب داری اور آریہ سماج اور نیو کلچرو مسلمانوں کی طرز تعلیم، متذکرہ بالا دونوں اسباب کے رو برو بالکل کم حیثیت اور ہیچ سمجھے گئے تھے۔ مجھ کو یاد نہیں کہ صلح کن کمیٹیوں کے ممبروں نے کوئی فیصلہ بھی دیا تھا۔ آیا ان پانچوں

۱۔ ایضاً ۱۱ اگست ۱۹۱۴ء

۲۔ ایضاً ۱۸ ستمبر ۱۹۱۵ء

اسباب کو منفعت کی نظر سے دیکھا تھا یا نہیں ؟ لیکن ہندوؤں نے ضرور ان اسباب کو اہمیت دی اور کم از کم صوبہ متحدہ اور صوبہ پنجاب میں گئو رکھشا اور ہندی پرچارنی منڈلیاں قائم ہوگئیں - لاہور میں ناگری پرچارنی کمیٹی لمٹیڈ ۲۰ ہزار روپے کے سرمایہ سے قائم ہوئی - ان کمپنیوں نے زور و شور کے ساتھ ہندی پرچار اور گئو رکھشا کا بیڑا اٹھایا لیکن میں یہ سن کر حیران ہوں کہ دو تین سال کے اندر ہی دونوں کمپنیوں کے دیوالے نکل گئے اور دونوں نے عدالت کی منظوری سے اپنے کام بند کر دیے ہیں"[1]

ملکیت جائداد لاہور میں، مسلمان کس طرح روز بروز تنزل کر رہے ہیں ؟ ہندو کس طرح روز بروز ترقی کر رہے ہیں ؟

"آج کل جب کہ انگریزی حکومت کے پر امن سایہ میں ہندوستان ہر طرح کی مادی ترقی کر رہا ہے تمام بڑے اور چھوٹے شہر جو کچھ بھی شاہراہوں پر واقع ہیں اور ریل سے دور نہیں ہیں - روز بروز بڑھ رہے ہیں - یہاں تک کہ بعض شہروں نے اس قدر ترقی کی ہے کہ پچھلے پندرہ برس میں دو چند بڑھ گئے ہیں اور ان میں نئے عالیشان مکان تعمیر ہوئے جاتے ہیں . . . . .

لیکن جب دیکھا جاتا ہے کہ ان نئے مکانات کے مالک کون ہیں ؟ یہ سب ہمارے خوش نصیب ہندو بھائیوں کے ہیں اور نہ صرف ان نئے مکانات کے مالک ہی ہمارے ہندو بھائی ہیں بلکہ بہت سے پرانے مکان جو پہلے مسلمانوں کی ملکیت تھے وہ بھی اب ہندوؤں کے قبضہ میں آ گئے ہیں . . . . .

بازار مچھی ہٹہ میں چڑہویوں کا کوچہ تمام مسلمانوں کا کوچہ تھا - مگر اس کے تمام مکانات ہندوؤں نے خرید لیے ہیں - اور اب اس میں صرف دو تین گھر مسلمانوں کے رہ گئے ہیں چنانچہ اس محلہ کی مسجد میں مسلمان

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۱ -ایضاً ۲۷ جولائی ۱۹۱۶ء

اب نعت خوانی تک نہیں کراسکتے اور اگر اس کی کوشش کریں تو ہندو مسلمانوں میں فساد ہو جاتا ہے - در اصل ہندو بھی سچے ہیں انہوں نے مسلمانوں سے سب مکانات خرید کر لیے ہیں - اگر مسجد بک سکتی تو اس کو بیچنے میں بھی تامل نہ ہوتا اور اسی طرح سوچی اور شاہ عالمی دروازہ میں بھی کوچہ شیخاں ہندوؤں نے خرید لیا ہے - اس کا نام بھی اسلامی ہے اور اس میں مسجد بھی موجود ہے -

نواب غلام محبوب سبحانی مرحوم کے مکان واقع سوتر منڈی کے مقابل ایک خانقاہ تھی اس کے مجاور نے خانقاہ اہل ہنود کے ہاتھ بیچ دی اور انہوں نے ذرا سی ایک جگہ مسقف کر دی ہے اور باقی خانقاہ کی اراضی پر ایک عالیشان مکان بنا لیا ہے -

انارکلی میں لیڈی ایچی‌سن نرسنگ ہوم کے پیچھے شمس العلماء سید عبدالطیف مرحوم اور لطافت علی مرحوم کے مکانات اور اراضی تھی - ان دونوں اصحاب نے اپنے اپنے مکان بیچ دیے جن میں ایک قبر سطان قطب الدین کی بھی تھی . . . . .

مگر جن مسلمانوں کی اراضی میں قبر واقع تھی انہوں نے یہ سب اراضی ہندوؤں کے ہاتھ بیچ دی چنانچہ بخشی جنسی رام صاحب متوفی وکیل لاہور نے یہاں پر ایک عالیشان مکان تعمیر کرا دیا اور قبر کے اوپر جو گلی میں آتی تھی چھت ڈال کر ایک حصہ مکان کا تعمیر کرا لیا . . . .

مرزا اعظم بیگ صاحب مرحوم سابق افسر بندوبست نے کیلوں والی سڑک پر ایک وسیع رقبہ بنام چوک دارا میں باغ لگایا ہوا تھا اور ایک عالیشان کوٹھی بھی تعمیر کی تھی ان کے انتقال کے بعد ان کے وارثوں نے صرف چند ہزار میں وہ لاکھوں روپے کی جائیداد فروخت کر دی جس کا اکثر حصہ اہل ہنود نے خریدا - جہاں اب کئی عالیشان مکان آباد ہیں اس میں مرزا صاحب نے ایک قدیم مسجد کی بجائے ایک نئی مسجد کی تعمیر شروع کی تھی مگر وہاں بھی اغیار نے مکانات تعمیر کر لئیے- اسی کے قریب رام گلی میں ایسی شاندار ہندو آبادی قائم ہوئی ہے کہ

جس کی نظیر لاہور میں بمشکل ملے گی اور یہ سب اراضی بھی مسلمانوں نے فروخت کی ہے۔

گوالمنڈی میں ایک بڑا رقبہ اراضی کا مولوی فضل الدین صاحب پلیڈر نے فروخت کیا ہے اور کئی دوسری ممتصلہ زمینوں پر اب اہل ہنود دولت مندوں نے کئی عالیشان مکان تعمیر کئے ہیں"[1]

اذان پر مسلمانوں کو اذیت

''ایک نامہ نگار صاحب تحریر فرماتے ہیں "لوپول،، تحصیل موگہ ضلع فیروز پور میں سکھوں نے مسلمانوں کے اذان دینے پر مویشی باہر نکلنے پھر بند کر دیے ہیں اور مسلمان بہت تنگ کئے جا رہے ہیں۔ لوپول میں مسلمانوں کی زمینداری نہیں ہے اور مسجد ایسی جگہ واقع ہے جہاں سکھوں کے مکانات نہیں ہیں البتہ گذر گاہ ہے۔ جب مسلمان اذان دیتے ہیں تو کوئی نہ کوئی راہ پر چلنے والا سن لیتا ہے اور وہ گاؤں میں جا کو خبر کر دیتا ہے۔ اور سکھ آمادہ پرخاش ہوجاتے ہیں . . . . ."[2]

کوششیں

اتحاد مابین ہندو مسلم اور 'پیسہ اخبار'

''مسٹر اکبر عمر صاحب بیرسٹر لاہور جو ہندوستان کے ہندو و مسلمانوں میں ہمیشہ اتفاق کرانے کی کوشش میں رہتے ہیں جب سے پنجاب میں آئے ہیں اسی کوشش میں زیادہ مصروف رہتے ہیں جس کا نتیجہ یہ نکلا کہ اتحادی جماعت قائم ہو چکی ہے۔

اخبار "ہندوستان،، جسے بعض مسلمان اخبارات مسلمانوں کا جانی دشمن سمجھتے ہیں اس نے بھی مسٹر اکبر عمر صاحب کی صدارت کا دل سے خیر مقدم کرتے ہوئے رائے دی کہ اس معاملہ میں مسٹر اکبر عمر صاحب مسلمانوں سے خاص طور پر اپیل کریں . . . . .،،[3]

۱۔ ایضاً ۱۹ - اگست ۱۹۱۶ء
۲۔ ایضاً ۲۵ - اگست ۱۹۱۶ء
۳۔ ایضاً ۲۶ - جنوری ۱۹۱۳ء

کوہاٹ میں ہندو مسلمانوں کے دوستانہ تعلقات کی ایک مثال

''جہاں وقتاً فوقتاً بعض مقامات میں بد نصیبی سے ہندو مسلمانوں کے تعلقات کی کشیدگی اختیار کرنے کی بد مزہ خبریں آتی اور ناظرین کو آزردہ خاطر کرتی ہیں وہاں شکر ہے کہ کبھی کبھی ہندو مسلمانوں کے اتحاد یک جہتی کی خبریں بھی کہیں کہیں سے موصول ہوتی رہتی ہیں . . . . . .

۲۷ جنوری کو خاں صاحب خوش دل صاحب چیف آف بنگش نے اسلامیہ سکول کوہاٹ میں اعزاز سیٹھ تیرتھ رام صاحب مالک دوکان لالہ رام چند و سنت رام کوہاٹ و دیگر دکانات راولپنڈی ، پشاور وغیرہ تمام سر برآوردہ خوانین و معززین اہل اسلام و ہنود کو نہایت پر تکلف دعوت دی - جس میں دونوں فرقوں کے معززین نے نہایت اتحاد و محبت کا عملی میلان ظاہر کیا اور محبت و تپاک سے باہم تبادلہ خیالات فرمایا - سیٹھ صاحب نے بھی اسی خوشی کی تقریب میں پانچ سو روپیہ اسلامیہ سکول کوہاٹ کو عطا فرما کر اپنی وسیع خیالی اور بے تعصبی کا ثبوت دیا،،[1]

مسلمانوں اور ہندوؤں کا جلسہ عام

''اس عنوان سے منجانب یونسٹ کمیونٹی ایک اشتہار بہ مضمون شائع ہوا ہے - یکشنبہ آئندہ واقعہ ۹ مارچ ۱۹۱۳ع کو ۳ بجے سہ پہر کے بریکشن تھیٹر میں ہندو مسلمانوں کا ایک جلسہ منعقد کیا جائے گا جس میں مسٹر اکبر عمر صاحب بیرسٹر ایٹ لا مسلمانوں کو گو رکھشی سبھاؤں کا پریزیڈنٹ بنانے کی تجویز پیش کریں گے ،،[2]

مختلف فرقوں کے درمیان اتحاد و اتفاق

''آنریبل خان بہادر میاں محمد شفیع صاحب کی ایک مطبوعہ انگریزی چٹھی کا ترجمہ :

۱- ایضاً ۲ فروری ۱۹۱۳ ء

۲- ایضاً ۷ مارچ ۱۹۱۳ء -

"مختلف فرقوں کے باہمی اور امن خیر خواہی کے پیغام ، جس کا میں نے اپنے ایڈریس میں ذکر کیا تھا اور جس کے بارے میں آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کے سالانہ اجلاس میں باضابطہ ریزولیوشن بھی پاس ہوچکا ہے - اس کا عوام نے جس طریق سے خیر مقدم کیا ہے - وہ ان فرقوں کے باہمی اتفاق کے لیے جو اہل ہند کو نئے سرے سے زندگی بخشنے کے لیے از بس ضروری ہے ، ایک مبارک فال ہے - پنجاب کے تین چار ہند و مسلمان اخبارات کے سوا تمام ملک کی مختلف اقوام کے قائمقام اخبارات نے نئے دور کے عنقریب وجود پذیر ہونے کا خیر مقدم کیا ہے . . . . .

مجھے بعض حلقوں میں اس خیال کے موجود ہونے کی اطلاع ملی ہے کہ مسلم لیگ نے اب جس اتفاق و اتحاد کا اعلان کیا ہے وہ ہندو مسلمان میں اس کے فائدہ کے لیے اتحاد پیدا کرنے کی اصلی اور از خود پیدا ہونے والی خواہش کا نتیجہ نہیں ہے ، بلکہ ترکوں کو جنگ بلقان کے جو خوفناک نتائج بھگتنے پڑے ہیں ، ان کے حق میں مسلمانوں کے دل میں جو منتقمانہ خیالات جوش زن ہوئے ہیں ان کا نتیجہ ہے . ترکوں کی مصیبت کی حالت کا ہندوستان کے بعض اسلامی حلقوں کی سیاست پر خواہ کچھ ہی اثر پڑا ہو - میں ضمنی طور پر جو بیان کر سکتا ہوں کہ ہماری قوم کے عظیم الشان اعتدال پسند فرقہ کی اس خواہش کو مشرق قریبہ کے حال کے واقعات سے مطلق کسی قسم کا تعلق نہیں ہے . . . . .

اس امر سے انکار نہیں کیا جا سکتا کہ دیگر صوبجات کی نسبت پنجاب میں باہمی اختلافات بہت زیادہ ہے - دو سال قبل کے واقعات پر نظر ڈالنے سے معلوم ہو گا کہ اس صوبہ کے قریباً تمام ہندو اور مسلمان اخبارات میں جس مسئلہ پر نہایت شدت کے ساتھ بحث چھڑی ہوئی تھی اس نے قریباً مذہبی صورت اختیار کر لی تھی - چونکہ معاملات کے اس طرح نازک صورت اختیار کر جانے سے خوفناک نتائج پیدا ہو جانے کا اندیشہ تھا اس لئے مسٹر جسٹس شاہ دین نے مقامی ہندو اور مسلمان لیڈروں کو اس بارہ میں کارروائی کرنے کی فوری ضرورت کی طرف توجہ دلائی - انہی دنوں مسٹر مالا باری آنجہانی لاهور میں تشریف لائے

اور ایک دوست کے مکان پر جو ہندو مسلمانوں کے اتحاد کے بڑے حامی ہیں ایک سوشل جلسہ میں ان کے ایماء سے اس مسئلہ کے تمام پہلوؤں پر پھر بحث اور گفتگو ہوئی ۔ مگر اپنے عہدہ کی بعض مصالح اور ضروریات کی وجہ سے مسٹر شاہ دین اس بارہ میں کسی قسم کی عملی کارروائی ادا نہ کر سکے ۔ رائٹ آنریبل مسٹر امیر علی نے ۱۴ نومبر ۱۹۱۱ء کو میرے نام ایک چھٹی لکھی جس میں تحریر تھا کہ ہندو اور مسلمانوں کے باہمی اختلافات کے روز بروز بڑھتے جانے سے مجھے سخت خطرہ لاحق ہو رہا ہے اور اس نتیجہ پر پہنچا ہوں کہ میں کوشش کر کے کوئی ایسا طریقہ تجویز کروں جس سے یہ دونوں قومیں اپنی ذاتی زندگی اور ذاتی حقوق قائم رکھنے کے ساتھ ایک دوسرے کی بھلائی کے لئے متفقہ کوشش کر سکیں ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

اور جب اس موقع کے قریب امپیرئیل لیجس لیٹو کونسل کا ممبر منتخب ہونے پر مجھے جنوری ۱۹۱۲ء میں کلکتہ جانے اور مارچ ۱۹۱۲ء تک وہاں ٹھہرنے کی ضرورت ہوئی تو مجھے اس نہایت ضروری مسئلہ پر آنریبل مسٹر جے گھوکھلے اور آنریبل مسٹر بھوپندراناتھ اور دیگر ہندو لیڈروں سے گفتگو کرنے کا موقعہ ملا ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

ماہ مارچ ۱۹۱۲ء میں میرے دوست نواب ذوالفقار علی خاں نے اور میں نے مل کر ان مسلمان لیڈروں کو جو اس وقت کلکتہ میں جمع ہوئے تھے گرانڈ ہوٹل میں آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کے پانچویں سالانہ جلسہ کی تقریب میں پہنچنے کی دعوت دی اور اس جلسہ میں منجملہ دیگر اہم مسائل کے میں نے مسٹر امیر علی کی سلجھائی ہوئی بنیاد پر ہندو مسلمانوں کے اتفاق کے مسئلہ پر بحث چھیڑی اور مسٹر امیر علی کی چٹھی بھی پڑھ کر سنائی ۔ ان امور سے یہ بات بالکل صاف اور روشن ہو جائے گی کہ لیگ نے اتحاد و رضامندی کا جو پیغام صادر کیا ہے وہ اس تحریک کا نتیجہ ہے جو اب سے دو سال پیشتر برپا کی گئی تھی ۔ اور اسے حال کے ہندوستان سے باہر کے واقعات سے کسی قسم کا

تعلق نہیں - مجھے اس بات کا یقین ہے کہ مطلوبہ اتفاق کرنے کا واحد عملی طریق ایک ایسے آرگنائزیشن کا قائم کرنا ہے جس کے ذریعے سے ہر دو اقوام ان دقیع مسائل کے متعلق مل کر کام کریں جن پر ہمیں پہلے سے اتفاق ہے - اس وقت کا انتظار کرنا جب کہ تمام مختلف فیہ امور میں کامل اتفاق رائے کی صورت پیدا ہو سکے گی نہ تو عملی تدبیر کے مقتضی ہے اور نہ حقیقی ملکی خیرخواہ - یہ ضروری اتفاق خود بخود کامل اتفاق پیدا کرنے کا موثر ذریعہ ثابت ہو گا - میں ملک کے تمام حقیقی خیر خواہوں سے جن میں عیسائی ہندو سکھ پادری اور مسلمان شامل ہیں ، تہ دل سے اپیل کرتا ہوں کہ وہ اس سکیم پر جو میں نے پیش کی ہے اچھی طرح غور و خوض کریں "¹

پنجاب مسلم و پنجاب ایسوسی ایشن کلبوں کے میل ملاقات کا جلسہ

"ہندو مسلمانوں کے اتحاد کی تحریکوں میں ۱۱ مئی کا یکشنبہ بھی قابل یاد گار رہے گا جب کہ پنجاب مسلم کلب کے پریذیڈنٹ اور ممبروں نے پنجاب ایسوسی ایشن کلب کے پریذیڈنٹ اور ممبروں کو اپنے ہاں ایٹ ہوم میں مدعو کیا - اس تقریب پر تعلیم یافتہ ہندو مسلمانوں کی ایک بڑی تعداد کو کئی گھنٹے کی پر لطف یکجائی کا موقعہ میسر آیا - جلسہ کا وقت ہ بجے قرار پایا گیا اور دونوں کلبوں کے ممبر جوق در جوق آنے لگے اور بعض دوستانہ معاملات اور بعض ٹینس و بیڈ ٹینس ، شطرنج وغیرہ کھیلنے میں مصروف ہو گئے جس کا سلسلہ گھنٹہ سوا گھنٹہ جاری رہا اور سر شام چند ارتھوڈاکس ہندو صاحبان کے سوا جو علیحدہ میز کی طرف گئے باقی سب ایک ہی لمبی میز پر تناول ریفریشمنٹ میں مشغول ہوئے - اس کے بعد جب سب مہمان بیٹھ گئے تو آنریبل میاں محمد شفیع صاحب نے بحیثیت پریذیڈنٹ مسلم کلب اپنی اور اپنے کلب ممبران کی طرف سے پنجاب ایسوسی ایشن کلب کے پریذیڈنٹ اور ان کے ممبران کا ان کی تشریف آوری پر شکریہ ادا کیا اور

۱- ایضاً ۲۳ اپریل ۱۹۱۳ء

بیان کیا کہ مدت سے پنجاب ہندو مسلمانوں کے اختلاف کے لئے زیادہ مشہور رہا لیکن خدا کا شکر ہے اور خوشی کی بات ہے کہ اب کہیں سے ہندو مسلمانوں کے اتحاد کی عملی بنیاد بھی پڑنے لگی ہے۔

چنانچہ کل شام کو بریڈلا ہال کی میٹنگ میں ہندو مسلمانوں نے مل کر اگزیکٹو و جوڈیشل اختیارات کی علیحدگی کی تائید میں جلسہ کیا تھا۔ اور آج لاہور کے تمام سر برآوردہ ہندو اور مسلمان بحیثیت ان دونوں کلبوں کے ممبر ہونے کے اس دوستانہ جلسہ میں شامل ہوئے ہیں اس کے بعد لالہ ہرکشن لال صاحب پریذیڈنٹ پنجاب ایسوسی ایشن کلب کے ہاتھ سے پنجاب مسلم کلب کے چار ممبروں کو انعام دلائے گئے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

اس کے بعد ہرکشن لال صاحب نے ایک پر رونق جوابی تقریر کی اور مسلم کلب کا شکریہ ادا کیا۔

پنجاب ایسوسی ایشن کلب کے ممبران کو پہلے مدعو کرنے پر شکریہ ادا کیا۔ اس کے بعد بہادر پنڈت شیو نرائن صاحب، لالہ لاجپت رائے اور مسٹر اکبر عمر صاحبان نے آپس کے اتحاد و اتفاق کی برکات کے متعلق تقریریں کیں اور پنڈت شیو نرائن صاحب نے صلاح دی کہ دونوں کلبوں کو مل کر گورنمنٹ سے عطیہ زمین کے لئے درخواست دینی چاہیے اور اس میں ایک مستقل عمارت اپنی ضروریات کے مطابق بنا لینی چاہئے تا کہ ہم لوگوں کو روزمرہ ملنے جلنے کا موقعہ میسر آئے ،،[1]

کیا اتفاق بڑھ رہا ہے ؟

،،آئے دن پنجاب کے ہر شہر میں ہندو مسلمانوں کے درمیان کشیدگی ترقی کر رہی ہے۔ یا رو بہ تنزل ہے ؟ یہ ایک سوال ہے جس کا جواب ہر شخص غالباً یہی دے گا کہ بجائے اتفاق کے روزمرہ نفاق بڑھ رہا ہے اور دونوں میں فرق پڑنے سے ذرا ذرا سی باتوں

۱۔ ایضاً ۱۳ مئی ۱۹۱۳ء

کا بتنگڑ بن جاتا ہے - چنانچہ لاہور کی عدالتوں میں اس وقت متعدد مقدمات محض ہندو مسلمانوں کے مشترکہ کنوؤں کی بابت دائر ہیں ہندو مسلمانوں کے ان کنوؤں سے پانی بھرنے کے روادار نہیں جن سے وہ ہمیشہ پیتے آئے ہیں ،،[1]

مسلم ہندو ایسوسی ایشن

"نواب فتح علی خاں صاحب قزلباش سی - آئی - ای کے زیر سرپرستی ہندو مسلمانوں کے اتحاد کی جو انجمن بنام ہندو مسلم ایسوسی ایشن قائم ہونے والی ہے اس کی یہ غرض ہو گی کہ لاہور کی ان دونوں جماعتوں کے درمیان مجلسی تعلقات بہتر بنانے کی تجاویز عمل میں لائے - رائے بہادر لالہ موہنی لال صاحب مالک مفید عام پریس اس کے سکرٹری ہوں گے - اور مسٹر افضل حسین بیرسٹر یا آنریبل بہادر شادی لال صاحب اس کے قواعد و ضوابط مرتب کریں گے - علاوہ ازیں یہ بھی معلوم ہوا ہے کہ پرتول چندر جی صاحب اس انجمن کے محرکین میں سے تھے ،،[2]

یونینسٹ کمیونٹی کا جلسہ

"کل شام کو یونینسٹ کمیونٹی کے زیر اہتمام ایک جلسہ لوہاری گیٹ و شاہ عالمی دروازے کے درمیانی باغ میں بصدارت مسٹر اکبر عمر بیرسٹر ایٹ لا ، منعقد ہوا - جماعت مذکور کی طرف سے ہندو محمڈن سوشل یونین ایسوسی ایشن کے قیام ، آل انڈیا یونائیٹڈ لیگ کی تجویز اور مسٹر اکبر عمر اول‌الذکر ایسوسی ایشن کے جوائنٹ سکرٹری بنائے جانے پر اظہار طمانیت و مسرت کے ریزولیوشن پاس کئے گئے - مگر افسوس ہے کہ بعض مقرروں نے جلسہ کی نوعیت کو بالکل ملحوظ نہ رکھا اور اس کو ایک گئو رکھشا کا جلسہ بنا دیا جس سے گونہ بد مزگی پیدا ہو گئی ،،[3]

۱- ایضاً ۱۸ مئی ۱۹۱۳ء

۲- ایضاً ۱۸ مئی ۱۹۱۳ء

۳- ایضاً ۱۷ جون ۱۹۱۳ء

ہندوؤں کو امداد

''پنجاب گورنمنٹ نے ایک تازہ پریس کمیونک بدیں مطلب شائع کی ہے کہ ۱۸ ستمبر گزشتہ کو اضلاع میانوالی اٹک شاہپور کے بہت سے معزز و سر بر آوردہ اشخاص مقام سکیسر میں جمع ہوئے تا کہ صاحب کمشنر بہادر کے دست مبارک سے بندوقیں ، گھڑیاں اور اسناد تقسیم ہوتی دیکھیں جو گورنمنٹ نے خان بہادر عبدالکریم خاں اور دیگر اشخاص تحصیل عیسیٰ خیل کو ان خدمات کے صلہ میں عطا کی ہیں جو ان لوگوں نے سرحد پار کے لٹیروں کا تعاقب کرنے اور ان کو پکڑنے میں انجام دی تھیں ۔ اس موقعہ (تقسیم انعامات) پر جو تقریریں کی گئیں ان میں اس امر پر زور دیا گیا کہ مسلمان شرفا کیسی مستعدی کے ساتھ ایک ہندو خاندان کی امداد کے لئے نکلے ، جس پر حملہ کیا گیا تھا ، اور اس قسم کی امداد باہمی دونوں بڑی مذہبی جماعتوں میں کتنی قیمتی ہے ''[1]

۱- ایضاً ۲۷ ستمبر ۱۹۱۳ء

CHAPTER XIV

Ghadr, Agrarian unrest and the Firing at Jallianwala Bagh*

Ghadr Movement

"During the last decade of the 19th Century and the first decade of 20th Century, many Sikh emigrants from the Punjab went to Malaya States and China and from there they migrated to Canada and United States . . . This process of migration was continued for some time with the result that in 1914 we find numerous . . . Sikhs living in Shanghai, Hong Kong, Malaya States, America and Canada. In Canada and U. S. A. all Indians were looked down upon by the European settlers . . . hence there occurred numerous racial riots at different places.

The Government of the country always sided with the Europeans and passed various Acts restricting the entry of the Indians . . . These measures aggravated their conditions. Some Russian communists who had fled from Tsarist persecution came in contact with Indians there. They explained to them that colour prejudice was a part of workers' exploitation . . . they (also) worked upon their anti-British feelings. All these factors brought them firm conviction that their miseries, sufferings and humiliation were due to the fact that their Home Government was not their own[1]. They decided to free their motherland by organising an armed rebellion.

Organisation of Ghadr Party

In March, 1913, a conference was called at Washington . . . The sponsors of this conference were Sohan Singh Bhakna, Wasakha Singh, Jawala Singh, Kartar Singh Saraba and Hardyal . . . About two hundred delegates attended this conference and Hindi Association was founded with Sohan Singh Bhakna as its President, Baba Kesar Singh, Vice-President,

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* Material of this chapter has been taken from :

Singh, Kirpal: Ghadr Rebellion in the Punjab. Proc. Indian History Congress Session XVII.

O'Dwyer, Sir Michael: India as I knew it (1885—1925), London, 1925.

Disorders Inquiry Committee Report, Delhi, 1920.

1. The Sikhs by Khushwant Singh, p. 23.

Hardyal, Secretary . . . The aim was the liberation of India from the foreign rule and if necessary by force of arms.[1] The headquarters of the party was to be at San Francisco . . . The Press and paper were started. The site of the press and its office was to be known as Yugantar Ashram and the paper was named Ghadr. The first issue of the Ghadr appeared on November 1, 1913. It was published in Urdu, Gurmukhi and Gujrati. Besides this, Yugantar Ashram published the following phamplets :

1. Ghadr di Gunj (Echo of Mutiny) . . .
2. Illan-i-Jang. (Declaration of War). .
3. Nia Zamana (New Era) . . .
4. The fourth pamphlet was 'Balance Sheet of rule in India' . . .

There occurred a few incidents which favoured the popularity of the doctrines of revolution. One such event was deportation of Bhai Bhagwan Singh,[2] the Granthi or priest of Vancouver Gurdwara. Bha Bhagwan Singh was a very enthusiastic revolutionary . . . Within a short time, he became one of the most popular figures. But the Immigration Department got him arrested on some technical ground and sent him back to Hong Kong. This brought great resentment among the Indians living here.

In May 1914, the venture of Komagata Maru shook the Indians living in foreign countries. The ordinance of the Canadian Government empowered the Immigration authorities to prohibit the entrance of any Asian into Canada unless he came from the country of his origin by direct voyage, and was able to produce 200 dollars. There were no ships by which Indians could go direct. In order to meet the Immigration authorities' technical objection Baba Gurdit Singh assisted by S. Daljit Singh, editor, the Punjabi Bhain, Ferozepur, chartered the ship-Komagata Maru—and renamed it Guru Nank Jehaz. Three hundred emigrants from various places were picked up. When this ship reached Vancouver

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1. Baba Jwala Singh by Dr. Bhag Singh (Gurmukhi), p. 26.
2. Bhai Bhagwan Singh left India in 1909 and proceeded to Penang where he became a Granthi. Later on, he went to Hong Kong as Granthi of the Gurdwara at Hong Kong. In 1913, he went to Canada and joined the Ghadr Party. He was a poet and used to move the audience with his stirring poems. Guru Nanak Jehaz de Musafir by Baba Gurdit Singh (Gurmukhi) , p. 8.

in May 1914, the emigrants were told that with the exception of former residents and a few students, no one could be allowed to land.

The passengers of Komagata Maru were subjected to all sorts of miseries and affictions. Some time after the arrival, provisions of the Komagata Maru ran short . . .

On 18th July, 1914, Canadian policemen attempted to take possession of the ship. The police were beaten back . . . . This brought the wrath of Dominion Government and the passengers found 3600 ton cruiser, the Rainbow's guns trained on them . . .

. . . After the outbreak of the First World War, it was the declared aim of Yogantar Ashram and other Indian organisations to arrange the return of Indians living in America for organising an armed rebellion for throwing off the foreign yoke.

The Government of India, on the other hand, became more vigilant and issued 'Ingress Into India Ordinance' on 5th September, 1914. This ordinance provided for control of the persons entering British India whether by sea or land. Later on, this ordinance was made the basis for Defence of India Act, 1915.

Soon after the issue of this ordinance, Komagata Maru arrived on the mouth of Hughli on 26th September. The ship was brought up the river to Budge Budge, where the special train was arranged for carrying them to the Punjab. The passengers did not want to go to their homes as paupers as most of them had left their homes with the hope of earning a livelihood abroad. They wanted to seek employment in a big city like Calcutta. The passengers, therefore, left the ship carrying Granth Sahib and a flag in front of them and moved towards Calcutta in procession. But they were forced back to railway station where a scuffle ensued and police opened fire. Twenty-one Sikhs were killed. Others were forcibly handcuffed and put in the train bound for the Punjab. Some of the passengers including Gurdit Singh escaped.

When the revolutionaries heard the fate of Komagata Maru, they decided to reach India by different ships. Tosha Maru reached Calcutta with some leaders of Ghadr Movement like . . . Sohan Singh Bhakna. But they were immediately arrested. Nidhan Singh, Jawala Singh, Jagat Ram and Kosar Singh came *via* Colombo . . . Nippon Maru brought Kartar Singh who also reached Punjab *via* Colombo.

The general situation in the Punjab was, favourable for the leaders of the Ghadr Movement. After the outbreak of war, the legend of invincibility of Germany gained currency. There was great discontentment among the Sikhs on account of various religious issues, such as proposal to limit the size of 'Kirpan' . . . In the beginning of 1914, the Government had demolished the wall of Gurdwara Rikabganj, New Delhi . . . Police firing on the passengers of Komagata Maru, who were mostly Sikhs, brought the Sikh masses some conviction that their brethern were unjustly being put to various troubles. All these factors prepared the ground for the leaders of the Ghadr movement for prompt action.

Ghadr Rebellion in the Punjab

The leaders of the Ghadr movement were Kesar Singh, Jagat Ram, Rur Singh, Rain Jawala Singh, Mulla Singh, Bhai Permanand of D.A.V. College, Lahore, Rash Behari from Benaras and Ganesh Das Pingley joined them later on. Jagat Ram was sent to Peshawar for purchase of arms. Bhai Permanand was entrusted with propaganda work. Dr. Mathra was appointed for to manufacture of bombs. In the beginning the Ghadrites were most active in the Amritsar District, and Amritsar was made the headquarter.

The leaders of Ghadr Movement met on the Diwali occasion at Amritsar and an annual fair at Nankana Sahib. Later on, a meeting was held at Khasa, District Amritsar . . . The next meeting was held on the monthly fair of Amavas at Tarn Taran and at Jhar Sahib . . . A meeting was also held on 17th November at Ludhowal where it was decided that Kartar Singh Saraba should lead the assault on Lahore Cantonment. Nidhan Singh, leader of Ferozepur district decided to lead the attack on Ferozepur Cantonment on 30th November but later on the date was post-poned.[1]

Later on Rash Behari joined the movement and at his suggestion headquarters were changed from Amritsar to Lahore.[2]

One of the major items of the programme was to persuade the troops to join the movement. Mulla Singh was appointed for this purpose. The Sowars of 23rd Cavalry especially Lachhman Singh, Lance Defedar,

1. Ghadr Conspiracy, published by Indian Police, pp. 69—72.
2. Sedition Committee Report, p. 154.

were won over and they had promised to march out and join the armed rebellion at the appointed hour . . . One returned emigrant enlisted himself in 22nd Cavalry. Nidhan Singh and Kartar Singh contacted men at Ferozepur. Piara Singh went to Frontier Cantonments. During the first two months of 1915, emissaries were sent to all Cantonments in Northern India.[1]

The revolutionaries badly needed money. Their gangs went to various villages (from where they tried to acquire funds by fair and foul means).

30th November, 1914 was fixed the date for general rising. Later on the date was postponed. Finally 21st February 1915 was appointed. . . The Ghadr leaders were to attack Lahore Cantonment and to secure ammunition and cooperation of the 23rd Cavalry. Kartar Singh, Balwant Singh and Randhir Singh were to secure co-operation of 26th Punjabis and ammunition at Ferozepur Cantonment. Besides this, telephone wires were to be cut and police stations . . . looted in order to secure arms.[2]

Collapse of the plot

The Amritsar police came to know of the activities of Mulla Singh and they appointed one Kirpal Singh to work secretly among the revolutionaries. Kirpal Singh, also a returned emigrant from Shanghai . . . was known to Nidhan Singh who admitted him in the inner circle of the workers. He reported to police the whole plot . . . and got arrested some of the revolutionaries at Amritsar. When leaders of the movement came to know that police had known their programme they changed the date to be 19th February . . . This was again communicated to the police and the Government strengthened all the Cantonments and took preventive measures. Mulla Singh was arrested . . .

On 19th February, 23rd Cavalry was kept on duty throughout the night hence nobody dared to move out. At Ferozepur, Kartar Singh was to assault the Cantonment. A party of about seventy persons was ready and Kirpa Singh was sent to bring these sepoys who had promised to join. But they never came and the party waiting for whole night

1. Sedition Committee Report, p. 154.
2. Ghadr Conspiracy, pp. 108—109.

dispersed after finding that the plot had been forestalled. After the collapse of the plot, Rash Behari fled from the Punjab and other leaders were arrested one by one.[1]

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Governor of the Punjab reported, "It is not desirable at present time to allow trials of these revolutionaries or of other sedition mongers to be protracted by ingenuity of counsel and drawn out to inordinate lengths by committal and appeal procedures which the criminal law provides.[2] Their trial was to be summary before the judges and there could not be any appeal.

The military men who were to join the rising were court-martialled and shot. Nine batches of conspirators were tried by Special Tribunal under the Defence of India Act. Twenty-four were sentenced to death and confiscation of property, twenty-six, to transportation for life. The Viceroy himself commuted the sentence of all but seven to that of transportation to Andamans. Among them were Sohan Singh Bhakna, Bhai Permanand, Pandit Jagat Ram, Baba Wasakha Singh, Baba Nidhan Singh, Harnam Singh, Gurmukh Singh, Prithvi Singh Azad. On 19th November, seven men including Kartar Singh Saraba, Bakshish Singh and Pandit Kashi Ram were executed.[3]" [4].

Agrarian unrest in the South-Western districts

"Towards the end of February, 1915, when the Ghadr troubles were at their worst and the anti-British Pan-Islamist movement had shown itself in the flight of the Lahore students in Kabul, our anxieties were increased by a sudden rising of the Mohammedan peasantry in the Mooltan, Muzaffargarh and Jhang districts of the South-West Punjab. This had no connection with either the Pan-Islamist or the Ghadr movement, except that like them, it was encouraged by the belief, fostered by certain seditious newspapers, that the Germans and Turks were advancing on India and that the British power was on the wane.

The Mohammedan peasantry of the South-West Punjab are a simple, credulous, and home-staying people, lacking the virile instincts of their

1. Ghadr Conspiracy, p. 110.
2. Sedition Committee Report, p.151.
3. The Sikhs by Khuswant Singh, pp. 131-132.
4. Singh Kirpal: Op. Cit. pp. 339—46.

martial brethern of the North-West Punjab. They were as a body heavily in debt to Hindu money-lenders and were suffering from the high prices and contraction of credit due to the War. There was also a severe epidemic of plague which drove many of the Hindus to the towns.

The word had gone round that the British had gone. In one case, emissaries had been sent to the district headquarters to see if the British flag was flying. It was a Sunday, and the offices were shut and the flag, hauled down. This strengthened the belief that the British had gone. The peasantry organised themselves in bands, and within a month from 22nd February to 20th March—committed some fifty gang-robberies on the Hindus, two of the leaders posing as the Kaiser and Crown Prince! There was great destruction of property, but little loss of life. Four or five Hindus died of their injuries and six or eight of the jacquerie were shot by the Police and villagers. Armed Police were rapidly rushed into these remote districts to restore order and round up the plundering bands. These made no resistance, and collapsed directly when they saw the strong hand of authority. During the outbreak, no Government property was looted, no Government servant, attacked. A few companies of British Territorials from Mooltan were marched through the affected tracts, an invaluable method in times of trouble . . . Some four thousand of the raiders were promptly arrested, and pending trial, confined in a concentration camp at Mooltan.

The rapid collapse of the rising was hastened by the passing at this critical stage (March, 1915) of the Defence of India Act, and the setting up of the Special Tribunals . . . The Mooltan Tribunal in a few months dealt with about eight hundred of the principal accused, convicted some five hundred, and sentenced them to exemplary punishments. The rest were discharged either because sufficient evidence was not forthcoming or because the law had been sufficiently vindicated. Several of the leading Mohammadans had exerted themselves to protect their Hindu neighbours and restore order; others had shown either apathy or sympathy with the raiders. These were dealt with, by executive action. A strong force of punitive police was posted in the disturbed areas at the charge of the offending inhabitants, and the lesson given was so sharp and prompt that serious crime of all kinds was reduced to a minimum. Naturally there was a residuum of bitterness, especially among the Hindus who had suffered so heavily. To restore good feeling conciliation Com-

mittees were established under tactful and impartial Mohammedan officers, and they, after due enquiry, persuaded the offending inhabitants to make good the loss of the Hindus and give fresh acknowledgement of the debts, the evidence of which had been destroyed.

It was made clear by me in a tour through the tract six months later, that, once good feeling was restored by these measures, I would be prepared to consider a reduction of the heavy sentences imposed on the raiders by the Courts and to withdraw the punitive police. Thus it was to the interest of both parties to come to an agreement, and though agitators from outside . . . attempted to keep them apart and make political capital out of the situation, the local people were sensible enough to come to an amicable settlement.

Within a year or two, I was able to withdraw the punitive police, and remit or reduce most of the sentences."[1]

Disturbances of 1919 and the imposition of Martial Law

"The complete victory of Great Britain and the allies in November, 1918, over the Central Powers and Turkey appeared to establish the British Empire on a securer footing than it had ever occupied. A few weeks after the Armistice I had two interesting, but widely different, outlooks on the situation from two of my Indian friends.

The first was the late Nawab Sir Fateh Ali Khan Kizilbash . . . In congratulating me on the succeess of the British arms, he said with pride that England, having crushed her enemies, was now the dominant power in the East and the West and had the world at her feet.

The visitor who followed him was a Hindu gentleman . . . he told me something very significant. This was that Gandhi had been heard to say that the British were now full of pride in their victory and considered themselves, the masters of the world; but that he was master of a weapon which would soon bring them to their knees. That, of course, was his policy of Passive Resistance used by him with effect in South Africa which he later . . . developed into the policy of the so-called "Non-violent Non-co-operation." My Hindu friend told me to be on the look out for Gandhi's next move.

1. O'Dwyer, Sir Michael: Op Cit., pp. 210—212.

About the same time an English friend, then a Judge of the Chief Court, warned me that there were constant rumours in the Bar rooms . . . and that the Punjab extremists, and he named three who took a leading part in the subsequent outbreak, intended to have a trial of strength with Government; but had not quite made up their minds whether to make their effort in my time (I was to retire in April, 1919) or to await my departure. I was, therefore, to some extent prepared for what followed.

There were many other indications that mischief was brewing. The sub-terranean revolutionary movements among certain sections . . . had indeed been crushed, . . . with the aid of the special provisions of the Defence of India Act. But the Armistice made resort to those exceptional war measures, more difficult. At the same time, the declaration of 20th August, 1917, the release, soon after, of Mrs. Besant, the apostle of Home Rule, and the Secretary of State's visit to India in November, 1917, had given a strong stimulus in the Punjab to political activity, which had been almost quiescent since the collapse of the Ghadr rebellion in 1915. Some of this activity was legitimate and constitutional; but in certain centres, especially Amritsar, it speedily assumed an extreme and anti-government form.

The Sikh community as a whole was then actively loyal . . . proud of the part it had played in the Great War. But the revolutionary movement still lingered among certain Hindu and Mohammedan elements, and with these, the extremist politicians speedily allied themselves. The opportunity of such an alliance was favourable. The collapse of Turkey and the rumours of her probable dis-memberment had led to increasing agitation by the (then) small but violent section of Pan-Islamists in the towns; the extremist Hindus were encouraged to claim "self-determination" on the analogy of Egypt, Syria and Irak. Both, for the moment were induced to unite against the Government which was believed to have been held white by the sacrifices of the War, and was represented as the deadly foe of Turkey and the represser of India's national aspirations.

This . . . alliance was most marked at Amritsar. From the middle of 1918, Dr. Kichlu, a Kashmiri Mohammedan. . .and Satya Pal, a Hindu assistant surgeon, were leading most violent anti-government agitation . . . The same anti-government propaganda characterised the extremist National Congress at Delhi in December, 1918. The Rowlatt Bill was attacked, the Reforms scheme, denounced and full provincial autonomy

was immediately demanded. At the instance of the Amritsar delegates, including the two mentioned above, the decision was taken to hold the next extremist National Congress at Amritsar. At Delhi, not only did the Congress and Muslim League hold joint sittings, but great efforts had been made to secure rural delegates from the Punjab. This had met with little success, and it was then decided by the Congress to carry on an active "political" propaganda among the rural classes in the Punjab, who had been so staunchly loyal throughout the war. . . .

The extremists, throughout Northern India, were all this time concentrating their efforts on stirring up trouble in the Punjab, as being the most vital point in the Indian Empire. But I am confident that there would have been no outbreak but for the Rowlatt Bill, which at this critical juncture, gave all the forces openly or secretly hostile to the British Government a pretext for combining in a great effort under Gandhi's leadership to 'bring the Government to its knees'. . .

The Bill was a . . . measure intended to take the place of the Defence of India Act . . . It dealt only with revolutionary and anarchical crimes, and was based on the report and proposals of a . . . committee . . . presided over by Justice Sir Disney Rowlatt of His Majesty's High Court . . . When the Bill was passed into law on the 18th March, 1919, not a single elected Indian member voted for it . . . This was the signal for the opening of Gandhi's passive resistance, which I had first heard of, in the previous November. The ground had meantime been prepared by his manifesto of March 1st, announcing his intention and formulating the pledge of passive resistance, by the menacing speeches of several members in the Legislative Council, threatening the authorities with an agitation of unprecedented violence if the Bill became law, by a series of most inflammatory articles in the Indian Press generally, and by the mobilisation in a campaign against the Act of every political or semi-political association . . . generally headed in the Punjab by extremist journalists, lawyers, and members of the Arya Samaj.

On the 23rd March, Gandhi, having marshalled his forces, began the war against the Act by proclaiming a Hartal or stoppage of all work throughout India on the following Sunday—30th March. In the Punjab the Hartals took place on that date only at Amritsar, Mooltan, and a few other places, as there was some doubt about the date . . .

Extremist Preparations in the Punjab

The Delhi disturbance added fresh fuel to the fire. The few who had lost their lives by defying the law were exalted into "martyrs" and glorified in the Press. Mr. Gandhi, instead of calling off . . . ordered another Hartal for Sunday (6th April). Meantime the attitude of the extremist Press became more violent, and in Lahore and Amritsar posters appeared urging the populace at Amritsar to "kill and die" . . . .

Realising that a storm was coming, we, in the Punjab did what we could do to prevent or minimise it. Proceedings were taken against some of the most dangerous firebrands and most violent newspapers, and in Lahore and Amritsar public meetings were forbidden without previous sanction. On the 6th April, the Hartals took place in nearly all the chief towns of the Central Punjab . . . in which College students—especially from the Arya Samaj institutions—played a leading part. The orders regarding public meetings were openly defied, menacing crowds with black flags paraded the streets, and only the presence of a large body of British and Indian troops . . . prevented them from forcing their way into the European quarter . . .

The Lahore mob that night made hostile demonstrations against prominent Indian gentlemen known to be supporters of the Government. Something similar was taking place at Amritsar, Kasur, Jullundur, Mooltan. At Mooltan, on the previous day, Gandhi's disciples,—the "passive resisters," refused to allow the 2/30th Punjabis to march through the city to receive the welcome arranged for them by the Municipality on their return from the War. At Amritsar . . . the situation created by the virulent agitation of Kichlu and Satya Pal, who were still influencing it, had become so critical that on 8th or 9th April I ordered their removal to a distant place and at the same time asked the military authorities to strengthen the garrison . . . But unfortunately, my request was not received by them till the 11th and the outbreak took place on the 10th . . .

It was at this critical stage that I received news that Gandhi was on his way to Delhi and the Punjab. I, at once, issued orders prohibiting him from entering, and the Government of India passed similar orders as regards Delhi and agreed to Gandhi, if he disregarded the orders, being sent back to Bombay. On the morning of 9th, he was served with the orders at a railway station on the borders of the Province, protested against them, but agreed to go back to Bombay by the next train . . .

Two days after my speech of 7th April, (to the Punjab Legislative Council) the local extremist organ—the Tribune—which had been holding up to admiration the Delhi "martyrs", came out with a savage attack on my warning in an article headed "A blazing indiscretion." . . . .

Finally, some at least were already invoking the aid of Afghanistan and the Frontier tribes—to whom emissaries had been sent from Delhi and Amritsar—in the attack on the British Government . . . All these plans either failed completely or did not materialise in time.

The Indian police, in spite of most insidious attempts to seduce them, remained . . . true to their salt. Among the Indian troops there were certain disquieting symptoms, especially in some of the new units . . . When challenged on this point, in . . . the Hunter Committee . . . I replied that I had a list of eighteen instances in which, to my own knowledge, attempts had been made to corrupt the Indian troops in April, 1919, and that in six of these cases, there had been some success . . .

The various risings in the Central Punjab between the 10th and 20th April, have been described as isolated episodes with sufficient accuracy in the majority report of the Hunter Committee and in the dispatches of the Government of India and the Secretary of State dated 3rd and 26th May, 1920. But their inter-connection and their significance, as part of a widespread and well-organised movement, have been over-looked. No impartial critic will now accept the conclusion of these authorities that there was no evidence of an organised conspiracy . . .

Amritsar Outbreak 10th—12th April

The outbreak at Amritsar, which was in any case inevitable after that of 30th March at Delhi, was undoubtedly precipitated on 10th April by the deportation, that morning, of. . .Kichlu and Satya Pal, both of whom were, afterwards, convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, but were speedly amnestied. The mob, which had been incited to defy the law by mouths of open and secret revolutionary propaganda, at once rose, endeavoured to force its way into the Civil Station . . . but was held up by the small British picquets on the bridges over the railway which connect the city with the Civil Station. The mobs attacked the troops with stones and sticks . . . were fired upon and suffered a few casualties ... .

I got a brief confused report of these doings at Amritsar that afternoon at Lahore—all telegraphic and telephonic communications except the railway telephone were cut at the beginning of the outbreak—and at once dispatched the Commissioner, Mr. Kitchin . . . to deal with the situation as he found it. Re-inforcements, British and Indian, were at once dispatched from Lahore ; and the Commissioner finding that the situation had passed out of civil control . . . directed the officer commanding to take the measures necessary to re-establish civil authority. The civil authorities did not abdicate; they remained in close touch with the military and helped them with advice and information.

Lahore Outbreak, 10th—12th April

Soon after receiving the terrible news from Amritsar, I was informed that mobs were assembling, in defiance of the legal prohibition, in Lahore city with the object of invading the Civil Station, where there were some thousands of Europeans . . . There were no troops nearer than Lahore Cantonment, five miles off. I sent urgent messages to the Divisional Commander, General Sir William Beyon, . . . to send in troops at once to take the same protective measures . . .

The District Magistrate and Police Superintendent, when they came up with the small police force on the Mall, found them being steadily pushed back into the Civil Station by a . . . mob of ten thousand people. . . and attempted to wrest their weapons from the police. The District Magistrate then ordered the police to fire. One or two of the mob were killed and four or five wounded—among them students from the Colleges. At this, the mob on the Mall began to fall back. But another mob attempted . . . to rush to the Central Telegraph Station, through which all the wires to the north pass. Fortunately, Colonel Frank Johnson had sent on an advance party . . . to protect it, and the mob were driven out at the point of the bayonet. . . The mob were steadily pushed back towards the city, but they were joined by thousands of others emerging from the city and at the Lohari Gate again put up a fight . . . The police were again ordered to fire by the magistrate after due warning. There were three or four more casualties—one fatal—and the hostile crowds, who had been shouting that the Indian troops had mutinied at Amritsar, and that Lahore city was in their hands, were driven back into the city . . .

But the city was still in the hands of lawless mobs, and the police had to be withdrawn till the 12th. On that date, a force of all arms, under Colonel Johnson, entered the city, dispersed the mobs, and was attacked. The police were again called upon to fire . . . There were a few more casualties, but authority was re-established. A strong military force . . . was left to hold the city gates and the waterworks in the middle of the city, and this was maintained till the end of May.

I asked the leading men of the Province, most of whom were in Lahore, to meet me next morning at Government House to discuss the action to be taken. Some thirty to forty attended . . . It was a critical occasion and . . . I invited free expression of opinion. Two of the Lahore urban representatives, one of whom, Sir Muhammad Shaffi . . . suggested opening negotiations, as at Delhi, with the mob leaders, who were now supreme in the cities of Lahore and Amritsar and openly encouraged the seditious movement. All the others who spoke were of one opinion, that only prompt and drastic action by Government would avert a serious rising. I told them that I would accept co-operation from all, honestly desirous to restore peace, but . . . I would not enter into negotiations with rebels (that was the mistake made at Delhi, and it prevented the authorities from subsequently bringing the seditious leaders to justice), and that Government was quite capable of restoring the situation by itself, but would do so more speedily with their co-operation . . .

However, Sir. Shaffi and Raja Narendra Nath, on their own initiative, entered into negotiations with the popular leaders—Harkishan Lal, Duni Chand, Ram Bhaj Dat, etc., (all three were lawyers and all were subsequently convicted of waging war and of conspiracy to wage war and . . . sentenced to transportation for life, but were amnestied later). They had been promoting or participating in seditious meetings of the most violent type . . . in the city on 11th and 12th . . . The mob left these gatherings intoxicated with the spirit of rebellion, tore down and stamped on the pictures of Their Majesties, shouting that the Sultan or the Afghan Amir or the Kaiser was their Sovereign, called on the police, . . . to join them, and established a Danda Fauj (Bludgeon Army) to coerce loyal citizens and bring about a general strike at the railway workshops . . . The leaders who were found by the Martial Law Commission to have organized and been present at the meetings which were soon followed by these manifestations were not likely to help the authorities in restoring order. In fact, however, some of them condescended to dictate terms as

the price of their assistance in quelling the disorders . . . The terms were *inter alia* :

(1) That the troops and police who had occupied the city on the 12th should be at once withdrawn.

(2) That those arrested for the criminal acts of 10th—12th April should be released on security.

(3) That for the future, Government should act only after consultation with a Committee, including some of the 'popular' leaders.

I need hardly say I refused to consider these terms . . .

Kasur Outbreak, 12th April. . .

On the same date (*i.e.* 12th April) I got news of a serious rising at Kasur . . . Mobs from the town had invaded the Kasur railway station; held up the trains; brutally murdered two British warrant officers; attempted to murder others . . . looted and burnt the station; cut the telegraph wires. They then attacked the Treasury, and were finally driven off after the police guard had opened fire. The railway staff, . . . had not moved a finger to prevent these outrages in which some of the bigger students, one of whom was afterwards sentenced to death for murder, from two of the local schools, had played the leading part. Kasur had followed the example of its great neighbours, . . . the trouble at once spread along the line from Kasur to Amritsar. Several railway stations were attacked and looted, and the Government Treasury at Tarn Taran was attacked that night.

Martial Law proposed, 13th April. . .

That evening (12th) I communicated news of the grave situation to the Government of India at Simla by telephone. Upto then, except at Amritsar, only the police had fired on the mobs, and I was told from Simla that the view there was that if troops "had to fire they should make an example". I noted this in my Diary, but kept it to myself, for I wanted to have as little bloodshed as possible . . .

That night I met at dinner, at the house of Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan, Sir Muhammad Shaffi, Raja Narendra Nath, and other Indian gentlemen

of "moderate" views who had been negotiating with the Lahore extremist leaders. By that time, they were not in a position to help . . . But I told them . . . that if the attitude of rebellion continued, martial law was inevitable . . .

At Amritsar, the centre of the rebellion, the situation was still extremely menacing. The rebel mobs were in complete possession of the city . . . No British official and no Indian policeman could venture into the city without a strong escort. Meetings to carry on the rebellion were being held in defiance of repeated proclamations, emissaries were being sent to incite the rural population, and on the morning of the 13th, the main railway line near Amritsar was torn up . . . and a train derailed.

Dyer's Action at Amritsar, 13th April

On the evening of 13th April, the inevitable collision between the defiant Amritsar rebels and the forces of law and order under General Dyer took place . . ."[1]

The firing at Jallianwala Bagh

"The action of the civil authorities, in asking the officer commanding 'to consider himself in charge of the military situation and to take such steps as he thought necessary to re-establish civil control,' it may be argued, amounted to the establishment of *de facto* martial law, but for the purposes of judging the Jallianwala Bagh incident, it is immaterial whether General Dyer was acting merely in aid of the civil powers or on his own initiative as the Military Commander at a place where *de facto* martial law existed. On the morning of the 13th of April, General Dyer issued a proclamation, the relevant portion of which order for this purpose is as follows :

> "No procession of any kind is permitted to parade the streets in the city or any part of the city or outside it at any time. Any such processions or gatherings of four men will be looked upon as unlawful assembly and will be disposed of, by force of arms if necessary."

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1 O'Dwyer, Sir Michael: op. cit., pp. 263—283.

Proclamation prohibiting meetings insufficiently promulgated

It appears that this proclamation was promulgated by General Dyer himself who went to certain parts of the town with the naib-tehsildar and others. The people were collected at certain places by beat of drum and the proclamation was made known to them in the vernacular; printed copies of the Urdu translation of the proclamation were also distributed ... There is no doubt ... that the proclamation was insufficiently promulgated, important portions of the town having been left out.

The number of people who could have heard the proclamation promulgated is put down at 8 to 10,000 people; the total population of the city is put down at 160,000 to 170,000. There was a large influx of people from outside owing to the Baisakhi fair ... and there was also a cattle fair ...

No attempt was made to put up printed copies of the proclamation at the entrances of the Jallianwala Bagh although it is said ... that it was the place where a number of public meetings had previously been held. General Dyer returned to his camp at Ram Bagh at 12.40 p.m. and on his arrival there, he learnt that a big meeting was going to be held at Jallianwala Bagh at 4.30 p.m. It appears that General Dyer, as soon as he heard about the contemplated meeting, made up his mind to go there with troops and fire. He intended to fire upon them with machine-guns but he was unable to use machine-guns owing to the accident of his being unable to take the armoured cars into the narrow entrance leading to the Bagh ... Similarly if he had more troops available than the 50 he had, according to him, he would have ordered all of them to fire. When he reached there, he saw a large meeting of people squatting on the ground and being addressed by a person from a small platform. The number of those attending the meeting are varyingly estimated from 15,000 to 20,000 but General Dyer at the time believed it to be 5,000 or 6,000. He put 25 Baluchis and 25 Gurkhas on the raised ground at the entrance and without giving any warning or asking the people to disperse, immediately opened fire at the people in the meeting who were at a distance of 100 to 150 yards. The people, as soon as the first shots were fired, began to run away through the few exits the place has got, but General Dyer continued firing till the ammunition ran short. In all, 1,650 rounds were fired, and the casualties have now been ascertained to be at least 379 killed and about 1,200 wounded.

His was not the case of a person who had to take a quick decision on a sudden emergency. After he received the information about the contemplated meeting, he had four hours to think before he started to go to Jallianwala, he took half an hour to reach there and he arrived there with his mind already made up as to the action he was going to take . . .

In the report he made on the 25th August, 1919, to the General Staff, 16th Division, General Dyer says, "I fired and continued to fire till the crowd dispersed; and I considered that this is the least amount of firing which would produce the necessary moral and widespread effect, it was my duty to produce, if I was to justify my action . . . It was no longer a question of merely dispersing the crowd; but one of producing a sufficient moral effect, from a military point of view, not only on those who were present, but more specially throughout the Punjab. There could be no question of undue severity . . .

Now, because certain people, on the 10th April, had committed certain outrages at Amritsar, to treat the whole population of Amritsar as rebels was unjustifiable; it was still more unjustifiable to fire at the meeting which was not engaged in doing any violence, in order to give them a lesson and to punish them, because they had disobeyed his orders prohibiting meetings. It is clear that there must have been a considerable number of people who were perfectly innocent and who had never in all probability heard of the proclamation. The Punjab Government in their case submitted to us, say that large crowds of villagers had collected for the Baisakhi fair; and that "there were a considerable number of peasants present at the Jallianwala Bagh meeting on the 13th; but they were there-for other than political reasons". They say in another part, "it is clear that a considerable number of them (villagers) did attend as spectators". It is, therefore, obvious that the crowd on which General Dyer fired, comprised of people who did not belong to the city of Amritsar at all, and who, therefore, could not even vicariously be held responsible for the acts of the hooligans on the 10th April . . .

It appears that the action of General Dyer was approved by General Beynon and also by Sir Michael O'Dwyer. General Beynon on the 14th April, sent the following telegrams; "Your action correct. Lieutenant-Governor approves." Sir Michael O'Dwyer in his evidence before us, states that General Beynon spoke to him over the telephone about the Jallianwala Bagh incident and said that he fully approved of it

and asked him (Sir Michael O'Dwyer) if he approved of it. Sir Michael O'Dwyer says that he at first said that it was not for him to criticise his (General Dyer's) action or to approve or disapprove of it. But General Beynon added that the situation in Amritsar had been completely restored . . . The entry in the War Diary of the 16th Division under date the 14th April, is to the following effect :

"At a conference at Government House, General Dyer's report on his action at Amritsar was considered and action taken was approved by the Lieutenant-Governor."

Sir Michael O'Dwyer told us that before General Beynon's telephonic message came on the 14th April, that morning he had got an account of the incident from the Deputy Commissioner, which contained the information that General Dyer had fired without warning . . .

We must say . . . that Sir Michael O'Dwyer . . . as it appears from his evidence before us . . . holds practically identical views with those of General Dyer in this matter. In his view, it did not matter if the people assembled at the Jallianwala Bagh, that evening, were different people from those who had committed murder and arson on the 10th, the very fact that they had assembled was enough to treat them as people who had committed murder and arson; and he also believes in the effect of General Dyer's action in crushing the alleged rebellion. In the written statement submitted to us he says : "The casualties were large and regrettable but the loss of life was inevitable, when a . . . mob which had already committed murder and rebellion, assembled to defy authority" . . .

The conduct of General Dyer, after the firing was over, was in keeping with the attitude which dictated the firing. He immediately left the place with his troops and did not do anything to see that either the dead were attended to, or the wounded received help . . . It is said that it would not have been quite safe for him to have stayed at the Bagh any longer . . . But for that purpose . . . he need not have waited at the Bagh, but he could have given the necessary directions . . . after reaching his headquarters at Ram Bagh . . .

When General Dyer, . . . said that when he got back, the people came and asked that they might be allowed to bury the dead and he gave the necessary permission, he was under a misapprehension. The asking and giving of such permission took place the next day, *viz.*, 14th April . . .

As already stated above, Sir Michael learnt on the 14th April from the Deputy Commissioner about the Jallianwala Bagh. . . It does not appear that any steps were taken by the Punjab Government for a long time to ascertain the real facts about so serious an occurrence and to find out the correct number of casualties. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, when asked about it, says in his evidence that, on the 15th April, he had an interview of about a quarter of an hour with General Dyer and that afterwards, the Punjab Government were awaiting General Dyer's report. Sir Michael O'Dwyer said that in the latter part of April, General Dyer had been taking movable columns to the various parts in the neighbourhood of Amritsar and that when he came back, he was sent early in May to the Afghan War. General Dyer did not make his report till the end of August, 1919, and that was made in response to a communication from the Adjutant-General dated the 19th July, 1919 . . . The Punjab Government did not appear to have taken any steps till the end of June to ascertain the casualties . . .

It appears that notices were issued on the 8th August, inviting people to give information regarding those who had met their death at the Jallianwala Bagh. During the discussion in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 19th September, 1919, in speaking about this matter, the Government enquiries showed dead casualties to be 291 . . .

In his evidence before us, Mr. Thompson amitted that certainly 379 dead casualties had taken place, and that there was possibly still a small margin for more."[1]

"Further outbreaks, 14th April, Gujranwala City

The 14th April was the high-water mark of the rebellion. On that date, I received reports of outbreaks at half a dozen places which took place before the news of Dyer's action at Amritsar on 13th April had time to spread, and were either directly incited from or inspired by the example of Lahore and Amritsar. The most serious was that at Gujranwala . . .

. . . The Indian Deputy Commissioner succeeded in getting the following telegram sent from an out-station . . .

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1. Disorders Inquiry Committee Report, Minority Report Chapter IV, Delhi, 1920, pp. 131—38.

"Hartal and disturbances going on. Mob active, more expected. Bridges on either side of station, burnt. Police insufficient. Military arrangements required."

On asking for troops to be dispatched, I was informed by the military authorities that no troops were available, and if available could not be got there in time. It was then that I suggested sending an aeroplane to drop bombs if necessary and if a good target (*i. e.* mobs engaged in arson and outrage) presented itself...

The military authorities at once dispatched a few aeroplanes . . . The aeroplanes speedily dispersed the rebellious mobs by bombs and machine-gun fire—causing some dozen death casualties, and restored the situation, pending the arrival of troops from the north late that night...

Other outbreaks in Gujranwala

How rapid was the spread of the rebellion is shown by the fact that from 14th to 16th April, before the news of Dyer's action got known, there was serious disorder at fourteen other places along the railway line in the Gujranwala district alone—including all the urban centres, Wazirabad, Akalgarh, Hafizabad, Ramnagar, Sheikhupura, Chuharkana and Sangla.

The Government of India in their dispatch of May 3rd, 1920, briefly summarise these. They say :

"At Wazirabad, a riotous mob was expelled by troops from the railway buildings, but did extensive damage to the telegraph system. It also set fire to railway bridges, sacked and burnt the bungalow of a Scotch (Irish?) missionary and made an unsuccessful attempt to wreck the main train. At Akalgarh and Hafizabad, extensive damage was done to the telegraph wires . . . In the Sheikhupura sub-division persistent and determined attacks on the telegraph and railway systems were made at Chuharkana, Sheikhupura, Sangla, and other places, at least railway stations being destroyed (after being looted), whilst savage assaults were made on certain railway employees and government servants (British). An armoured train was sent to the rescue from Lahore, and fire was opened from this at Chuharkana...

I may explain that on receiving the information of the rebellious outbreaks in various parts of Gujranwala on 14th April, I at once applied for and received sanction to the extension of martial law to that district . . .

. . . The sturdy Indian Magistrate (Rai Sahib Sri Ram) and Captain Flowerdew appeared on the scene with their armoured train. In two days, they restored order at a cost of some half a dozen death casualties. Colonel O'Brien, the Deputy Commissioner, and Mr. Bosworth Smith, I.C.S., then came on the scene, and completed the work of restoring order. . . Both officers were subsequently censured on the ground that their measures were too drastic, though the Government of India, on 14th April, had expressly laid down the necessity to prevent "by all means, however drastic" . . .

From Gujranwala . . . the rebellion spread along the line of railway north into Gujrat and west to Lyallpur . . . Each of these districts . . . has a population of about a million, but has no troops, . . . and only a few British officials.

Gujrat and Lyallpur outbreaks

In Gujrat and Lyallpur, as in Gujranwala, the risings were mainly the work of local agitators, mainly lawyers of the Congress party, who were in touch with what was taking place in Lahore and Amritsar and in a position to excite the town mobs . . . The Government of India thus summarise them :

"The chief features of the disturbances in these areas were attacks on railway communications and telegraph wires. At Gujrat on the 15th April, fire had to be opened on a riotous mob (attacking the railway station) which was dispersed without casualties. At Malakwal . . . a train was derailed on 17th April, and two lives were lost . . . Great tension existed for several days, and the situation of Lyallpur was an anxiety to Government on account of the memories of the previous troubles of 1907 . . . no actual violence however occurred except the cutting of telegraph wires at a few places in the district. The arrival of troops on the 17th April, prevented any further disorders." . . .

Martial law was extended at my suggestion to the Gujrat and Lyallpur districts about 20th April, among other reasons for the protection of the indispensable railway communications . . .

Gurdaspur

At the same time, the military authorities proposed the extension of martial law to the district of Gurdaspur, . . . There, a very serious situation menacing the scattered British community and the American Mission had arisen, and there were many attacks on railway, canal, and road communications, as well as threats to burn the civil station. Serious outbreaks were averted by General Dyer detaching troops from his small force at Amritsar on 12th and 13th April to protect the various danger points in Gurdaspur. But the danger continued till and after the 20th, when he marched a column from Amritsar to Gurdaspur and with the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner (Mr. Harcourt) made the seditious elements realise that Government was master of the situation. I, therefore, decided not to propose martial law . . .

Precautionary measures taken

Of the twenty-nine civil districts in the Punjab, with an average population of three-quarters of a million, more than half had no troops . . . On the 14th April, when I realised the widespread character of the risings and the organised nature of the attacks on communications all over the Province, I at once arranged for the dispatch of troops under a British Officer to all districts which previously had none. This measure was promptly carried out, and the appearance of the troops had an instaneous effect in strengthening the waning civil authority and preventing many fresh outbreaks. An equally effective measure was the dispatch of movable columns . . . through the most disturbed areas in Lahore, Amritsar, Gujranwala, Gujrat, Lyallpur, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur and Gurdaspur . . .

I believe the timely appearance of these columns, on and after 14th April, was a main factor in keeping the country-side steady and in preventing the Ghadr Sikhs, of whom there were some thousands in the affected districts, from joining the rebellion . . .

Another powerful influence in our favour was that of the Punjab Native States. These have a population of 4 ½ millions, a virile peasantry, and considerable bodies of troops. But all the Rulers, whether Sikh, Hindu or Mohammedan, with one exception, had given splendid proofs of their loyalty in the Great War and in the Ghadr disturbances of 1914-1915; nearly all were my personal friends, and at my instance, their services had received generous recognition. So, directly after the troubles

broke out, I addressed each of them personally, pointed out the dangers with which we were threatened, and asked for their assistance and that of their troops in restoring order, in protecting communications through their States, and in such other ways as circumstances required. One illustration will show how promptly and effectively they responded. The premier Prince, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, at once took over the protection of the entire length of railway line within his State, mobilised his troops, went straight off to see the G.O.C. at Amballa, and put himself and his men at the General's complete disposal . . .

Martial Law "Atrocities"

. . . The view of the Hunter Committee on this point may be quoted :

"As regards martial law orders and cases arising out of the breach thereof, we think it unfortunate that, in several important aspects, martial law assumed as intensive a form as it did . . . Some of the orders issued were injudicious. They served no good purpose and were not, in our opinion, drawn with sufficient tact to prevent undue annoyance to the Civil population."

They then refer to :

(1) General Dyer's "crawling" order (which no one attempted to defend).

(2) General Campbell's "salaaming" order, prescribing that the people of Gujranwala should accord to British officers "wherever met, the salutation usually accorded to Indian gentlemen of high social position in accordance with the customs of India."

(3) Colonel Frank Johnson's orders directing that the students of four, out of ten, colleges at Lahore which had been implicated in the disturbances should attend roll-calls four times a day to keep them spreading sedition.

(4) The order of the same officer arresting and interning in the Fort for twenty-four hours from fifty to one hundred students of a College where the martial law orders had been torn down.

(5) Public floggings (whippings with a cane) at Lahore and the excessive number of floggings generally.

(6) "Fancy" punishments by Captain Doveton at Kasur, *e.g.*, makirg convicted men touch the ground with their forehead . . . and skipping, in lieu of the ordinary but more severe punishments—such as whipping, fine and imprisonment.

It is not my business to justify orders for which I was not responsible. But, except for the "crawling" order, there is nothing very terrible, having regard to the situation which led to their issue, in any of these orders and certainly no intention of inflicting racial humiliation . . .

The Government of India's opinion on the matter of martial law administration was as follows :

"We accept the view (of the Hunter Committee) that the administration of martial law in the Punjab was marred in particular instances by a misuse of power, by irregularities, and by injudicious and irresponsible acts."[1]

The real nature of the disorders

"In order to arrive at a correct conclusion regarding the real nature of the disorders of April, 1919, it is necessary to bear in mind, the circumstances existing in the beginning of the year, 1919, in the country generally and in the places where these disorders broke out in particular . . . For four years and more, the resources of India, like those of the other members of the British Empire, had been strained to the utmost in the prosecution of the War. A large effective army had been supplied, the Punjab itself making a substantial contribution of 400,000. India raised three war loans and contributed £ 100,000,000 as its quota to the Empire's war expenses. Besides the direct contributions in men and money, there were indirect contributions of a substantial character in various ways. The prices of necessities of life and other commodities of daily use had increased immensely owing to the War, pressing very heavily on the middle classes and people of limited means. People with fixed moderate incomes were most hard hit in this direction, and among them were the subordinate railway officials who were, therefore, discontented. Curtailment of facilities of travelling and of import and export of merchandise had also created considerable hardship. The operations of the Defence of India

1. O'Dwyer, Sir Michael: op.cit., pp. 286—304.

Act and the rules thereunder and of the Press Act, had encroached upon the ordinary standard of liberty.

While the war was on, all the restraints and hardships, though felt bitterly, were suffered patiently, because of the common purpose of winning the War. But the people generally had hoped that the defeat of Germany and the successful ending of the War for the Allies would immediately end the abnormal conditions and bring into existence, a happy and prosperous era. After the armistice was concluded in November, 1918, the prevailing abnormal conditions, instead of vanishing, became aggravated, particularly in relation to high prices. The ordinary people naturally became discontented with their lot. There was widespread famine in the country owing to the failure of the monsoon of 1918, and the prevalence of influenza and other epidemics had resulted in a very heavy mortality. The new income-tax Act and the more searching methods of enquiry in relation thereto as well as the interference with trade conditions . . . had made the trading community restless.

The War had also created throughout the world a new outlook of freedom and liberty, and the same had visibly affected India. The Imperial Government had, as early as August, 1917, made a declaration of policy by which the attainment by India, of Responsible Government by successive stages was put forward as the goal and the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy, having gone round the country and ascertained the views of the public as to the manner in which that policy was to be given effect to, had published the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme. Great expectations were thereby raised, and when it was said that the Government of India were likely to suggest modifications therein of a somewhat illiberal character, that news had caused considerable irritation. The conclusion of the War has also brought forward the thorny questions of the terms on which peace was to be concluded with Turkey; and the Muhammadans in India were apprehensive that those terms would be severe.

The above statement describes the factors that were influencing the minds of the people throughout the country, including the Punjab, and the other places where these disorders took place.

Some of the above factors were more potent in the Punjab than elsewhere. As already observed, the Punjab had supplied by far the

largest number of combatants as compared to the other provinces in India, and it is quite natural that owing to casualties amongst them, war-weariness would be more pronounced in the Punjab than in any other province. Similarly, the restrictions on traffic must have been more seriously felt by the producer of the Punjab which every year exports a large quantity of food-stuffs. Lahore, Amritsar, Gujranwala, Wazirabad, Hafizabad, Sangla, Chuharkana, Akalgarh, Aminabad, Kasur, Patti, Khem Karan, came under the special income-tax and the increase was very large, ranging from 100 to 200 per cent. The seizure of wheat stocks under the Defence of India Act to stop speculation and reduce the price of grain to the poor was also naturally disliked by the traders affected thereby. Then the Punjab's Government under Sir Michael O'Dwyer had for various reasons come to be regarded by the educated and political-minded classes as opposed to their aspirations. His speech in the Imperial Legislative Council in September, 1917, was regarded as an attack on the educated classes and created considerable resentment. At the next meeting, he expressed regret that his speech had hurt people's feelings. During his administration, orders had been issued prohibiting politicians like Mrs. Besant and Mr. Tilak from entering the Punjab and reports of the proceedings of certain meetings had been prohibited publication unless they had been censored. He had objected to the Hon'able Dr. Sapru, the Hon'able Mr. Banerji and the Hon'able Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya being invited to attend the conference that was held at Lahore to support the reforms-proposals of the nineteen members of the India Legislative Council. Several newspapers had been prohibited entry into the Punjab; and the Press Act had been put into operation more vigorously there than in any other province . . .

6. On the 18th January, 1919, what are popularly known as the Rowlatt Bills were published and were introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 6th February, 1919. The bills evoked almost universal opposition in the country. They were opposed by almost all the Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council, of all shades of political opinion in the country. It was felt in India that, when she stood steadfastly by the Empire in the War and had thereby proved her right to be treated as an equal member of the Empire, repressive legislation of this character was being hurriedly passed while the Reforms Scheme for installment of Self-Government had not till then materialized. But the main objection to the legislation was that the Executive was being

clothed thereby with considerable powers . . . When an amendment moved by the Hon'able Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji for the postponement of the bill to the September session, pointing out that there was no harm in doing so as the Defence of India Act was still in operation, was negativ-ed, considerable feeling of resentment was created . . . One of the Rowlatt Bills were finally passed in the Legislative Council on the 17th March, 1919, and received the assent of the Viceroy soon afterwards. The agitation against the measure increased, and demonstrations of various kinds were made to secure the repeal of the measure. It appears that at any rate in the Punjab there were a lot of considerable number of mis-representations of the provisions of the Rowlatt Act but it was not suggested that any known or recognised leaders were responsible for these mis-representations. Although these mis-representations were current for a considerable time, Government had not taken any definite step to explain the Act to people at large; it was not until after the hartal of April 6th that the Punjab Publicity Board took steps to distribute copies of it in large numbers.

While the bill was still before the Legislative Council, Mr. Gandhi joined the agitation against the bills, which thereby received a great accession of strength. On the 1st March, 1919, the Satyagraha Sabha was established at Bombay; and it was announced that those taking the Satya-graha vow would civilly disobey the Rowlatt Act and such other laws as a committee of the Sabha may from time to time name . . . There was a Satyagraha Sabha established at Delhi and there was active propaganda in support of Satyagraha but the Satyagraha movement as such does not appear to have made appreciable headway in the Punjab; and we do not think that the disorders that took place there could be attributed to active presentation of the Satyagraha doctrine by organisation working in the province itself.

The question that first arises is whether these events were in the nature of a rebellion as commonly understood, that is, a rising for the purpose of turning out the British Government and were the result of an organised movement for that end. It was stated before us by some officials that these disorders were in their view the result of an organised conspiracy throughout the country to turn out the British Government, and it was said that such organisation was connected with the ferment in Egypt and the machinations in Afghanistan. One witness even suggested that it was

connected with, if not financed by, the Russo-German Bolshevik organisation. The views were based on inference from the nature of the occurrences themselves and no evidence in support of them was forthcoming. The Hon'ble Mr. Thompson, Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, admitted in his examination before us that there was nothing more than conjectural connection between the distrubances in the Punjab and the ferment in Egypt, the machination in Afghanistan or the Bolshevik influence . . .

On the evidence before us, we are of opinion that there was no rebellion in the sense we have mentioned nor any organisation for that purpose; further that there was no organisation even for bringing about the disturbances and the atrocities which were committed by the mobs seized by the frenzy of the moment. The Punjab Government in their case presented to us take the view that the disturbances cannot be rightly attributed to an organisation for that purpose but must be referred mainly to local causes. They say, "In many cases the hartal of the 6th April owed very little to a direct organisation of public men". The movement against the Act working up to the general demonstration of the 6th was not, of itself of an exceptional character. There was not as far as can be ascertained any general intention of carrying it beyond political agitation and passive resistance. "For the disturbances that ensued we must mainly look to local causes". Speaking about Amritsar where the worst disorders took place, the Punjab Government say that certain local factors resulted in turning what started as a protest in force against the deportation of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal into mob violence marked by murder, pillage and incendiarism."

At Lahore, they say, the disturbances followed the reported arrest of Mr. Gandhi and the news of the outrages at Amritsar. Speaking about the town of Gujranwala, they say "actual disorder was due rather to the desire to emulate the outrages of the mob at Lahore and Amritsar rather than to any long pre-meditated organisation for violent ends." As regards the disturbances in various places in the Gujranwala district, Mr. Bosworth, Joint Deputy Commissioner, Sheikhupura, says in his written statement, "Crowds flocked down to meet every train that passed through and the wildest rumours were afloat. The outbreak was immediately preceded by the Baisakhi festival. A large number of Sikhs and others went to Amritsar, some of them were shot or wounded there, and the wildest tales came back of Government oppression, which further

inflamed the population, particularly against Europeans. Of Kasur, they say that "it is safe to exclude any suggestion that disorders were long pre-meditated or due to an organisation to that end." As regards Gujrat they say, "that record of the disturbances in this district discloses no evidence of organisation. Such troubles as occurred were confined practically to two days and, with the exception of the deliberate derailment at Malakwal, reveal little concerted action to cause a serious breach of the peace . . . but the nature of the course taken by the demonstration does not suggest that there was at any time ever any danger of outrages so grave as those which occurred at Amritsar and Gujranwala.

It is also beyond doubt that the principles of Satyagraha as enunciated by Mr. Gandhi inculcate the doctrine of non-violence and that the Satyagraha vow enjoins abstention from violence. Although the effect on the masses of the propaganda of civil dis-obedience connected with Satyagraha was likely to create an atmosphere favourable to violence, it cannot be said that the promoters of the Satyagraha movement themselves intended that violence should result. The official evidence is unanimous in saying that the local leaders at Delhi, including Satyagrahis, were taken by surprise at the actual violence that occurred and did their best to assist the authorities in the restoration of law and order . . .

Mr. Orde, Superintendent of Policy, Delhi was specially charged to make enquiries about the Delhi disturbances with the particular object of bringing to light, the extentand methods of organisation believed to be responsible for the disturbances and its connection, if any, with similar outbreaks in the other parts of the country. His conclusion, arrived at, after full investigation, is that the rioting at Delhi was not the outcome of a conspiracy against the British raj but the natural consequence of economic hardships and political unrest. He further says that it was never intended by the members of the Satyagraha Sabha or others that their activities should result in violence. He adds that he could find no connection between the Delhi disturbances and the disturbances in other places. Similarly, Mr. Guider, who was specially deputed to conduct an investigation into the Ahmedabad disturbances said that he could find no organisation behind those disturbances, and that there was no connection between the Ahmedabad disorders and the disturbances in other places . . .

If there was no organised or concerted attempt to bring about these disorders, it follows that there was no organisation for a rebellion, and we think that it is not a correct description of these disturbances to call them rebellion in the sense we have indicated above. The first circumstances that invites attention in this connection is that in no place were the mobs provided with any fire-arms or swords or other weapons of that character. The evidence further shows that at no time was any attempt made by the crowds to obtain arms by raiding the houses of license holders or the ammunition shops in the disturbed areas . . . In several cases in the beginning of the disturbances, they had not come armed even with lathis or sticks. . . At Amritsar, when the crowd first started to go to the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow they were bare-headed and bare-footed and had no sticks and it was after they had been turned back by the firing that some of them armed themselves with sticks and pieces of wood from a shop near the railway station . . . Moreover, no serious attempt appears to have been made to get the rural population to join in the disturbances. The official evidence is unanimous that the rural population, as a whole, had nothing to do with these disturbances . . .

An examination of the progress of events in Amritsar and other places shows that the anti-Government or anti-British form that the disturbances took was a sudden development at the time. The Punjab Government testify to the fact that, on the 30th March and 6th April, when the hartal took place and on the 9th April which was the Ram Naumi day there was no hostility or even discourtesy shown at Amritsar to Europeans who moved freely through the crowd . . . Further when on the news of the deportation of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal, the crowd assembled and tried to proceed to the Deputy Commissioner they passed the banks and came across some Europeans but did not molest them. And the deplorable events in the city followed and did not precede the firing on the crowd at the Hall Gate Bridge . . . Only as showing that the anti-Government and anti-British outburst was not previously designed, but was the result of the frenzy with which the crowds became seized at the moment . . .

It is not incorrect to say that at Gujranwala, Kasur and other places the violent acts committed by the mob were more or less the result of a sudden determination to resort to such acts. In the town of Lahore itself the actual happenings in the way of destruction of life and property

were of so trivial a character that it would be a misnomer to describe them as acts of rebellion. In fact, there was no damage done to any property, Government or private, and there was no attempt to attack Europeans as such.

There is no doubt that in some places there were serious riots and the mobs committed destruction of life and property in consequence of and as a mark of resentment, however unjustifiable, against Government . . . but their intention was not to put an end to the British Government nor were the means adopted by them, calculated to effect that . . .

Mr. Kitchin, the Commissioner of Lahore and Amritsar, said that there was anti-British feeling before the 10th of April and Mr. Miles Irving expressed the same view. Mr. Bosworth Smith, Deputy Commissioner-in charge of Sheikhupura Sub-Division, said, "There was no anti-British or anti-European feeling to any appreciable extent with the exception of the Ghadr movement which was exotie; the indigenous population was neither anti-British nor anti-European all these years. Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien said that there was nothing to complain of before the 6th of April and that the people looked perfectly loyal; he says he was told that some people read outside newspapers of an objectionable character. Captain Godfrey who had worked as a missionary for many years in the Gujrat district and has, as he said, opportunities of intimately knowing the people, deposed that people were quiet, loyal and law-abiding and showed no anti-British feeling. The happenings of the 14th came as a surprise . . .

While there was no organised or concerted action to bring about the disorders and those disorders themselves were not in the nature of a rebellion, that is, done with the intention to overthrow the British government, the Punjab Government and its responsible officials and the military authorities had from the start persuaded themselves that they were the result of an organised and pre-concerted rebellion; and they began to deal with the situation on the footing of there being a state of war, the towns in which these disorders had happened as being in rebellion and the whole population of these towns, being rebels. And it is indeed on that footing that at any rate some of the measures taken by them can be explained. When the General Officer Commanding, the 16th (Lahore) Division, was informed about the disturbances at Delhi and thereupon took precautions about possible disorders at Lahore, the entry is made

in a book headed a "War Diary" and all subsequent events have been recorded in that book. No such title seems to have been adopted by the military authorities of Delhi and Ahmedabad although the events at the latter place were as bad as, if not werse than, the incidents at Amritsar. When intimation was first received at the Government House, Lahore, at 12.15 (noon) on the 10th April about Amritsar, the entry recording it was made in a book, headed the "Government House War Diary" and subsequent events were entered therein. A similar War Diary seems to have been kept for Kasur, Gujranwala, and other places. Sir Michael O'Dwyer stated to us that he did not know that such Diaries were kept, and said that he would certainly not have approved of the title. In any event, it shows to a certain extent how some of those surrounding Sir Michael O'Dwyer looked at the matter. Mr. Kitchin, the Commissioner of Lahore, said that in April he had formed the opinion that there was a revolutionary movement behind the disturbances, though he had since modified his opinion"[1]

1. Disorders Inquiry Committee Report, Delhi, 1920, pp. 107—114.

CHAPTER XV

Mian Fazl-i-Hussain*

His Early Political Career and Work as Minister

"The man who brought about a complete change of the political scene was Mian Fazl-i-Husain. He belonged to an old Muslim Rajput family, which was one of the few Muslim families to attain any distinction under the Sikhs. With the British occupation of the Punjab, the family lost its original importance and Fazl-i-Husain's father had to accept service under the British. By dint of ability and hard work, he rose to be a District Judge, and was able to send his son to Cambridge for higher education. Fazl-i-Husain, who was born in 1877 and was a class-fellow of Iqbal and a contemporary of Sheikh Abdul Qadir at Government College, Lahore, failed to qualify for the Indian Civil Service, but took a degree at Cambridge and returned as a Barrister. He started legal practice at Sialkot in 1901, and four years later, moved to the provincial capital.

Even while at Sialkot, Fazl-i-Husain used to contribute to the Observer and the Makhzan, but his activities in political and educational fields greatly increased when he moved to Lahore. In particular, he began to take active interest in the affairs of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam. He was elected a member of its Managing Committee in 1905 and next year became Secretary of the College Committee, which office he continued to hold till his appointment as Education Minister of the Punjab in 1921. As Secretary of the College Committee, Fazl-i-Husain played an important role in building up Islamia College, Lahore, in its initial stages. . .

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*Material for this chapter has been taken from the following books:

Nur Ahmed, Syed : Mian Fazl-i-Husain—A Review of his life and work, Lahore, 1936.

———: Martial Law Se Martial Law Tak (Urdu), Lahore, 1967.

Ikram, S. M. : Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan, Lahore, 1969.

Hussain, Azim : Fazl-i-Husain—A Political Biography, London, 1946.

Fazl-i-Husain also interested himself in politics and, according to his biographer, set up "the first organization in India to call itself the Muslim League." . . . Fazl-i-Husain's supporters included many progressive and talented young men like "Pir Taj Din, Malik Barkat Ali, Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din, Chaudhri Shahab-ud-Din, and Ghulam Bhik Nairang," but Mian Muhammad Shafi retained the control of the Provincial Muslim League till 1916. He, along with Justice Shah Din, had done valuable work for the uplift of the Punjab Muslims, but was out of sympathy with the growing League-Congress collaboration, and perhaps, also, to the more radical approach now adopted by the Muslim League. This brought him in conflict not only with the younger group in the province, but also with the All-India Muslim League. The result was that on 28th December, 1916, the All-India Muslim League disaffiliated the old Punjab Muslim League, headed by Mian Muhammad Shafi, and accepted the affiliation of the new body organised by the progressive group. Soon Fazl-i-Husain became the General Secretary of the new Punjab Muslim League, and continued to hold that office till 1920.

Even before this, Mian Fazl-i-Husain had entered active politics, but on another platform. He was a member of the Congress since 1905, but did not take a vigorous interest in political affairs till 1913."[1]

"From 1915 onward, politics claimed Mian Fazl-i-Husain more and more. In that year, he offered himself to the Punjab University constituency for election to the then Punjab Legislative Council. . . .

Before, however, he could claim a seat in that body, he had to learn what was perhaps one of the most striking lessons of his life—the lesson of the existence of communalism. . . .among even the most enlightened voters in the province. He had hoped that at least the voters of the University constituency would be ready to recognise his merit and his nationalism, ... his independence and integrity and the sincerity of his desire for the progress of his province. They did, in fact, recognise all these qualities in him. At least so the leading Hindu voters whom he approached for help, assured him; but they declined, with profuse

1. Ikram, S.M. : Op cit., pp. 213—215.

apologies and regrets, to support him against Hindu candidates of admittedly inferior merit.[1] ....

His strong common-sense and deep-rooted nationalism did not, of course, allow this incident to embitter his feelings or damp his patriotic ardour, for we find him during the next four or five years striving more and more to voice the common political aspirations of Hindus and Muslims. In fact, these were the years of his most active association with the Indian National Congress. The lessons of his first electioneering campaign, however, decided for him the practical question of joint versus separate electorates. He realised that, howsoever sound or attractive the system of joint electorates might be in theory, its adoption would in actual practice mean grave injustice to the community which might happen to be in a minority among the voters and would prevent Muslims from contributing their best talent to the national life of the country. . .

The communal question had another aspect which powerfully impressed him because it protruded itself on his attention almost every day. For a long time ... in fact, since the early eighties of the past century ... it has been the accepted and avowed policy of the Government to keep some kind of communal considerations in view in providing educational facilities to the people and in recruitment to public services. Muslims had taken to modern education much later.... and it was feared that a policy of *laissez faire* in the filling of Government posts and in the distribution of educational grants and facilities would only increase the distance between the two communities. Special help to the backward Muslims, was, therefore, considered necessary. The justice of this policy in general was conceded by Hindu as well as Muslim leaders, but in the absence of any fixed or definite rules for the guidance of officials, disputes very often arose when specific questions had to be decided. Every now and then a Muslim Anjuman would petition the authorities for the reservation of a post or a class of posts for Muslims or the grant of a certain facility to them. A Hindu body would promptly send a counter-petition opposing the demand of the Muslims, and the question would be decided by the official concerned in his discretion.

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1. Fazl-i-Hussain was elected without a fight, as the nomination papers, of his rival Raja Harnam Singh were rejected on the ground that he belonged to the Kapurthala State.

. . . Mian Fazl-i-Husain could not but feel that this process of petitions and counter-petitions was leading the country nowhere and was only robbing Hindus as well as Muslims of their self-respect and teaching them flattery. Why could not the communities settle between themselves the principles of the distribution of the loaves and fishes of office?. . . Mian Fazl-i-Husain undertook to urge upon the politicians as well as the Government, the necessity of settling these principles and his efforts in this connection remained a feature of his subsequent non-official as well as official political career.

This was, however, by no means the whole or even the most important part of his policy with regard to the communal question. While advocating communal devices, he never allowed himself to forget that they were only intended to serve the purpose, and contribute to the success of a dynamic national political programme. Communal electorates were necessary, but not as an end in themselves. They were only intended to enable the communities, particularly the backward and numerically weak Muslim voters, to contribute their due quota of numbers and talent to a common Indian national life . . . .

The idea of creating a united India by putting the communities in joint action and thus ultimately doing away with the communal devices was as important a part of his policy as the idea of enabling the communities by means of communal devices to take their due shares in the joint work. . . .

Mian Fazl-i-Husain advocated this policy as a Congress leader and adhered to it as a Minister and a parliamentary leader. This was not altogether his policy either, but that of the entire progressive India in 1915. The Congress leaders of those days seemed to realise that there was no other method of building a united India. The association of Muslims with the Legislatures, the Government services and other spheres of public activity was essential, if Hindus and Muslims were ever to develop any common national political ideals at all . . .

It was the willing acceptance of this view of the Hindu-Muslim problem by all prominent Indian leaders, including Mian Fazl-i-Husain, that produced in 1916, the only national pact that India has ever been able to produce. . . the Hindu-Muslim or the Congress-League Pact of Lucknow. Mian Fazl-i-Husain was among the authors of this Pact

which was subsequently ratified by political conferences held in different provinces. A conference was held for this purpose in the Punjab under the presidentship of Mian Fazl-i-Husain himself in October, 1917. . . .

The Punjab's unanimous support for Mian Fazl-i-Husain's views was voiced by the Tribune which, commenting on . . . his address, said : "We have no doubt that the whole province endorses these ideas and is prepared to carry out the political progamme. . . ."

The hopes built by Mian Fazl-i-Husain and other leading Indian politicians on the basis of this pact in 1917, were fulfilled for the time being; but the process of nation-building, embodied in the Pact, received a serious set-back almost as soon as effect was given to it in the Indian constitution. A section of the Hindu Press started a campaign of hostile criticism against its provisions and principles in 1921 or thereabout and this criticism grew in volume and intensity during succeeding years.. . .

Opposition against Sir Michael O'Dwyer over the question of constitutional reforms. ... ...

Mian Fazl-i-Husain decided in 1915 when he was elected to the Punjab Legislative Council, to do intensive political work outside the Council as well. There were special reasons which induced him to throw himself heart and soul into politics and to undertake the creation of a strong and united political front in the province. . . .

This was the time when, on the one hand, the Great War was following its deadly course in Europe and, on the other hand, constitutional reforms were being discussed in India. The way in which India had responded to the call of the Empire in its hour of need, had been widely recognised in Britain. This as well as the grounds on which British statesmen were justifying the Empire's participation in the War had created in India new hopes and aspirations which were finding expression for the time being in Dr. (Mrs.) Besant's Indian Home Rule movement . . . the bureaucracy in India however saw danger in the activities of Mrs. Besant and her comrades, particularly in the language which they were employing in their speeches. A dual policy of professed sympathy for the ideal, and repression of the agitation for its attainment was, consequently, being followed in the country.

In the Punjab, however, only one side of the policy was visible. An almost fanatically anti-Reforms Lieutenant-Governor in the person of Sir Michael O'Dwyer presided over the destinies of this province and was determined not to let political agitation spread into the area within his jurisdiction. In his opinion, the Punjab peasant wanted no change in the existing order of things and was content to carry on his daily labours under the unmitigated rule of a foreign Sirkar which had already given him peace and justice, new and fertile colonies and a wonderful system of canals. . . . As for the urban lawyer-politicians who talked of self-government, Sir Michael had nothing but contempt for them and their ideals. . . .

He, therefore, wanted to keep the Punjab out of any scheme of constitutional changes that the authorities might decide to introduce in other parts of India. In order to prove that there was no demand for political reforms in this province, he stiffened official control on the Press and the public platform and frequently banned the entry of political propagandists from other provinces into the Punjab. A special reason or excuse for suppressing political agitation and opposing the inclusion of the Punjab in any scheme of constitutional changes was furnished to him by the activities of a certain number of Sikhs who had brought with them to the Punjab, anarchical ideas and methods from foreign countries. . . . In the circumstances, the Government of India itself was not unlikely to yield to Sir Michael O'Dwyer's emphatic view that the Punjab should be treated differently, as the North-West Frontier Province was actually treated, from the other provinces in the matter of constitutional reforms.

Mian Fazl-i-Husain saw the danger of the situation and came to the rescue of the Punjab at this critical juncture. He re-organised the provincial branch of the Indian National Congress and as its accredited leader, started a determined fight against the Lieutenant-Governor's plans. . . .

When a draft scheme of constitutional reforms on the basis of the Lucknow Pact was jointly submitted by the Congress and the Muslim League to the Government, the intelligentsia of the Punjab felt the necessity of voicing the support of this province for the scheme and its protest against the Lieutenant-Governor's view. . . . The holding of a provincial political conference for the purpose was discussed. But

it was generally understood that Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Government strongly objected to this form of activity at this particular time and those . . .prominent in the public life of the province and in a position to command a hearing, were by no means unaware of the fact that they would incur Sir Michael's displeasure by identifying themselves too prominently with such a move. Mian Fazl-i-Husain stopped into the breach and accepted the presidentship of the conference which was held in Lahore in October, 1917, and which opened a new chapter of political activity in the Punjab. Lala Harkishen Lal agreed to serve as the chairman of the reception committee. . . .

Mian Fazl-i-Husain's presidential address was a masterly exposition of the political aspirations of the Punjab as a part of India and contained a complete answer to the local official opposition to the idea of introducing constitutional changes in this province or of holding a conference to discuss these changes.

Criticising the Punjab Government's opposition to the holding of a political conference, he said: "It was said that the people at a large did not understand the Reforms, that there was no demand for them and that only agitators were for them. . . . On the one hand, people were asked to show their credentials and to prove the general support of the people for their ideas and when they set about to meet this demand they were stigmatised as agitators and worse than agitators."

He emphasised that the Indian political movement, as he interpreted it, was neither anti-British nor for the benefit of the educated Indians alone. "What we object to," he said, "is the system of bureaucracy and the nationality of the bureaucracy has nothing to do with it. . . . What is wanted, is popular control over the services and remember that an Indian bureaucrat is no less a bureaucrat than a British one. . . . The characteristic features of the Indian bureaucracy are its faith in its own infallibility, in its right to do for the people—not what they want but what they ought to or are supposed to want, its absolute intolerance of criticism and its tendency to gag the Press and the platform. . . .

Admitting the force of the official argument that political speakers should not indulge in violent language, he said ; "But there is one thing

on which Indians are bound to insist and it is this, that Government should deal impartially with all cases of violent language. . . ."

Referring to the Punjab and the solicitude of Government towards the peasantry of this province, he enumerated the disabilities of the land-holding classes of the Punjab under the Minto-Morley Reforms and added : "To sum up my charge, the land-holding class of the province, from which the splendid army of which we are justly proud is recruited, is deprived of its right to elect its representatives for the Imperial Legislative Council. More than this, it has been denied the opportunity to take an effective and honourable share in self-government when it comes. . . ."

He went on to argue that the rule of bureaucracy in the Punjab might have been benevolent, but it had not been sufficiently educative. . . .

Reverting to the differential treatment meted out to the Punjab under the Minto-Morley Reforms, he said : "At every step one feels that it is the worst treated province in India. It has no Executive Council and no High Court. Its representation on the Imperial Council is not adequate and is ineffective. Its local legislature is far too small and is badly recruited inasmuch as nomination is very largely resorted to There is one thing that is most prominent and that is the 'iron heel of the executive. . . . The doors of the Punjab are barred against leaders of political thought in other provinces. . . .

He concluded : "Brothers delegates, do you realise that, unless you bestir yourselves, exert yourselves to secure what is due to you and to your less educated brethren, you cannot hope to win the position to which you aspire". . . .

These quotations from his address are, however, of interest not only because they contain ideas which later formed the basis of his policy as a Minister of the Punjab Government, but also because the conference at which this address was delivered, proved a turning point in the history of the Punjab. The immediate effect of the address was the awakening of the dormant political energy of this province. . . .

The politically lethargic Punjab had been galvanised into activity. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's argument that at least in his province there was no demand for constitutional reforms was shattered to pieces by

the success of the conference and its subsequent echoes. The idea of excluding the Punjab from the Scheme of reforms had to be given up. . . .

The political energy awakened in the Punjab in 1917 soon came into conflict with Sir Michael O'Dwyer's repressive policy, the conflict leading eventually to the unfortunate and too well-known incidents of 1919. During these two years of trial and tribulation for the province, Mian Fazl-i-Husain remained the most outstanding figure on its political stage. . . . He, however, preserved a cool head with a strong heart."[1]

"On 16 April, 1919, when Fazl-i-Husain had gone to Simla to persuade the Central Government to intervene in the Punjab, orders for his arrest were issued, but were withdrawn at the intervention of the Government of India."[2]

"He was equally ready in 1919 to sacrifice his popularity with the crowd for the sake of his life-long policy of constitutional action. . . . The popular protest in the Punjab against Rowlatt Act was running into unconstitutional lines. He tried to stem the tide of popular feeling, but could not. Political disturbances were followed by Martial Law and, then, the non-cooperation programme of the Congress came in the wake of these happenings. A provincial political conference was held in 1920 in Amritsar to voice the Punjab's response to the new programme. Mian Fazl-i-Husain would not let the province take what he considered to be a step in the wrong direction and put up a determined fight in the conference against the new cult."[3]

"Fazl-i-Husain continued to associate with the Indian National Congress, but when that body decided on a policy of Non-Cooperation and the boycott of Councils set up under Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme, he resigned. He offered himself for election to the Provincial Legislative Council and was duly elected."[4]

"Mian Fazl-i-Husain had reluctantly to part company with his erstwhile comrades. . . . It also fell to his lot to defend the Islamia College of Lahore against the attack of the non-co-operation movement. . . The students of the Islamia College made demonstrations against

1. Nur Ahmad, Syed : Fazl-i-Hussain, op. cit., pp. 12—33.
2. Ikram, S.M. : op. cit., p. 215.
3. Nur Ahmad, Syed : Fazl-i-Hussain, op. cit., pp. 33-34.
4. Ikram, S.M. : op. cit., p. 215.

him ; speakers at public meetings vilified him (but he remained steadfast in his policy).

The first election of the Punjab Legislative Council under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of constitutional reforms was held soon after. Other Congress leaders who had been pleading during the past five or six years for popular control over the government, turned their back on the election because the constitutional powers which the new constitution gave to popular representatives were . . . not large enough. Mian Fazl-i-Husain saw the opportunities no less than the shortcomings of the new constitution and decided to avail himself of the former and to fight against the latter. He got himself elected to the provincial legislature.

Mian Fazl-i-Husain entered the legislature under obvious handicaps. . . . He stood alone or practically alone. The party that had been his until 1920, was wandering in the wilderness of non-co-operation, forgetting all about its nation-building programme. . . . All that he could do, therefore, was to rally those whom the electorate sent to sit with him in the legislature in favour of those principles and practical objectives to which his party had subscribed in the pre-non-co-operation days and which he had himself outlined from the presidential chair of the Punjab Political Conference of 1917."[1]

"On 26th May 1919, O'Dwyer was succeeded as Lieutenant-Governor by Sir Edward Maclagan, a cultured and liberal administrator. By this time Mian Shah Din had passed away (1918) and in July 1919 Mian Muhammad Shafi had joined the Viceroy's Executive Council. Fazl-i-Husain was now the most prominent Muslim leader in the province."[2]

Appointment as Minister

"It is significant that when a Ministership was offered to him, he accepted it only after he had been allowed a voice in the selection of his Hindu colleague. The necessity of forming a party on the basis of a common political and social programme was even then present to his mind. . . . The Ministry had, of course, to be recruited from both communities, but he was anxious that it should have a common outlook

1. Nur Ahmad, Syed : Fazl-i-Husain, op. cit., pp. 34-35.
2. Ikram, S.M. : op. cit., p. 216.

on political and administrative questions so as to be able to put members of different communities in joint action in pursuit of common objectives. There was in the Council at least one Hindu leader, Lala Harkishen Lal, who had stood with Mian Fazl-i-Husain on the Congress platform of the pre-non-cooperation days and shared Congress ideals with him. The other Ministership was, therefore, offered to him in preference to Diwan Bahadur Raja Narendra Nath. . . .

In selecting Mian Fazl-i-Husain as a Minister, or rather in virtually allowing him to form a Ministry to administer the Transferred Departments under the new constitution, the then Governor only did what was obviously right. Mian Fazl-i-Husain had been the leader of the Opposition in the previous Legislative Council under the Minto-Morley scheme. He had been the accredited leader of the party which had demanded popular control over the Government . . .

Mian Fazl-i-Husain assumed office as a Minister on January 3, 1921, and put his whole heart into the work that lay before him. . . . The most important feature of the working of this programme by him was his practical emphasis on the interpretation of the words "people" and "masses" as meaning not only the politically conscious classes, not only the urban population, but the vast millions of the countryside as well. . . . The rural representatives in the Legislative Council felt gratefully surprised and willingly followed his lead. Mainly with their help, he formally organised a parliamentary party in 1923 under the name of the National Unionist Party, with himself as its leader.

Mian Fazl-i-Husain, was in charge of the important portfolios of Education, Medicine and Local Self-Government. From the Congress platform, he had criticised the inadequacy of the services which these Departments were rendering to the people. Moreover, their activities. . . were mainly confined to urban areas. As a Minister, he undertook to increase the scope of their work and to extend the benefits of schools, colleges, hospitals and local self-government to rural as well as urban areas. The money which was already being spent in the towns continued to be spent there, and reorganisation rather than increased expenditure was the principal method of accelerating the speed of their progress; but whatever additional funds he could persuade the Finance Member to place at his disposal were mainly spent on the progress of rural areas

where little or no money had been spent in the past on education, medical relief or other beneficent measures. ...

Only a limited amount of funds was available for the beneficent Departments. ... After exhausting it, he asked the rural classes to subject themselves to extra taxation in the form of a slight increase in water-rates to finance further schemes of rural education. They did so cheerfully in 1924. When, however, the prices of agricultural produce began to fall a few years later, Mian Fazl-i-Husain was among the first to urge the necessity of reducing agricultural taxation in which he succeeded. ...

During the five years of his regime as Education Minister, education in the province made unprecedented progress. ... A network of new schools, primary and secondary, was spread in rural areas; a programme of opening colleges in mufassil towns was taken in hand; the training of teachers was attended to; and primary education was made practically free throughout the province. ... the cost of education per pupil was also kept at a lower figure than in most other provinces".[1]

"While before the Reforms, the percentage of the total population in the Punjab receiving instruction in all institutions had been 2.42 per cent, after six years under the system, it was 6.71 per cent.[2] This was all the more remarkable as the increase in literacy had been obtained mainly by extension of education in the backward areas and amongst classes educationally backward. The Muslims greatly benefitted by this. During the first two years of Fazl-i-Husain's regime, 'the Muslims in all institutions increased by 42.3 per cent while the increase amongst Hindus was barely 19.6 per cent[3]'. This expansion was secured largely by a vigorous drive, by offering a number of free studentships and scholarships to backward communities, including Muslims, and by opening a large number of government educational institutions in educationally backward areas. The expansion was not only at the school level. In the sphere of higher education, Fazl-i-Husain launched a new experiment by opening Government Intermediate Colleges all over the province. Parents who could not afford to or did not want to send their children

1. Nur Ahmad, Syed : Fazl-i-Husain, op. cit., pp. 36—40.
2. Azim Hussain : op. cit., p. 132.
3. Ibid., p. 136.

to Lahore, were able to get them preliminary college education nearer home. Thus the way to higher education was paved.

The entire province benefited by the vigorous drive launched under Fazl-i-Hussain, but the Muslims received special attention. Hitherto, very few Muslims were able to gain admission to the prestigious institutions like Medical College and Government College of Lahore. Fazl-i-Husain ordered reservation of seats for them in these institutions in proportion to their representation under the Lucknow Pact (viz. 40%). . . . The principle of communal reservation of seats was extended to newly opened Government Intermediate Colleges and, in fact, to all Government institutions for higher education. With nearly half their students from amongst Muslims and increased appointment of Muslim staff, these institutions virtually became miniature Islamic Colleges. . . . The steep rise in educational standards showed itself, not only in developments within the province, but even in the competitive examinations for All-India Services. Next to Muslims from the U.P., which was par excellence the centre of Muslim culture and education, those from the Punjab were most successful. Mian Fazl-i-Husain also adopted the policy of giving representation on these lines to Muslims seeking positions in the departments under him, subject to their having adequate qualifications. These measures were bitterly criticised by the Hindu press and even disliked by some British administrators, but Fazl-i-Husain persisted in them, and such was his hold over the members of the Provincial Legislature that he successfully carried out his policy.

These measures improved the position of Muslims in administrative and education spheres, and gave them a new sense of confidence. Besides, Fazl-i-Husain took steps in the political field which made the Muslims, particularly from the rural areas, dominant in the affairs of the province. The basis for this had been laid under the Lucknow Pact, under which the Muslims had been given 50% of the elected seats. Fazl-i-Husain took full advantage of the position and even improved upon it. . . .

Coatman, an officer of the Imperial Police and later Director of Information, Government of India, wrote about him in 1932, "Sir Fazl-i-Husain . . . is a man of inflexible will and immutable purpose, with a mind like diamond which can cut its way through anything". This was a rare thing amongst those who co-operated with the Govern-

ment in that era, particularly in the Punjab where British bureaucracy was well entrenched and ministers were favoured for their pliability. Sir Fazl-i-Husain changed this. Not only did he stoutly resist all onslaughts from the Hindu press and the legislators, but had a show-down with some senior British officers, and won the day. Col. Sutherland, the Principal of Medical College, objected to the reservation of seats for the Muslims and had to step down as a professor. In 1929 Fazl-i-Husain, as Revenue Member, obtained the Governor's consent to hold a Durbar at Gujranwala to make certain announcements and asked Kenneway, the Commissioner of Lahore, to arrange the Durbar where he would have to rank lower than an Indian. The matter went up to the Governor, and Kenneway had to proceed on leave preparatory to premature retirement.

These and other incidents—some true, some half-true, some apocryphal—built up the Fazl-i-Husain legend. They did more. Hitherto the economic scene was dominated by the Hindu money-lender and the political scene by the Hindu lawyer. The University was controlled by the D.A.V. College. Now it looked as if the political power had passed to the Muslims, and that power could be used to redress balance in other spheres. The Muslims got a new self-confidence, while the Hindus were unnerved. When the determined attempts of The Tribune, Professor Gulshan Rai and the Hindu leaders to dislodge Fazl-i-Husain failed, they began to think of other measures. In desperation, Lala Lajpat Rai wrote a series of articles openly advocating that the Punjab should be divided into Eastern and Western zones. He saw the writing on the wall and wanted to salvage as much from the wreck as possible!

In spite of Fazl-i-Husain's determined efforts to provide for Muslims in various spheres in accordance with their agreed share at Lucknow, he was free from individual favouritism and was exceedingly careful and correct in all that he did."[1]

"The special needs of the unfortunate "untouchables" did not escape his notice. ... In order to break down their social barriers. ... Mian Fazl-i-Husain issued a Circular warning all recognised, state-aided and public schools alike against refusing admission to "untouchable" children. .. even private schools were to be removed from the list of

1. Ikram, S. M. : op. cit., pp. 216—219.

recognised institutions and lose Government grant, if they closed their doors against the "untouchables".

Measures of medical relief were similarly strengthened in the province and spread over the general mass of population. . . .

Progress was also made in the Indianisation of the higher services in the Education and the Medical Departments. In the latter Department, Mian Fazl-i-Husain initiated a succeessful fight for the release of a number of prize-posts from the hold of members of the Indian Medical Service. . . . a number of them were thrown open throughout India to members of the Imperial and the Provincial Medical Services alike.

In the field of local self-government, a scheme of reconstitution of municipal committees in the towns was taken in hand. The main features of this scheme which was carried out by means of legislation and departmental rules, were the lowering of franchise almost to the level of adult franchise, the reduction of the number of official and nominated members and provisions for the election of non-official in place of official Presidents. The communal composition of municipal committees was found to be suffering from serious defects. The proportion of seats for different communities had been fixed in the past on no principle whatsoever. Apparently, local officials had been making from time to time arbitrary recommendations. . . . In certain towns where Muslims were in a majority in the population and among the voters, they had been given a minority of seats on the municipal committees. In certain other towns, the Hindus were suffering from the same injustice. In those municipal committees which were elected by joint, non-communal electorates, the delimitation of wards in many cases imposed unjust disabilities on the voters of one community or another. . . . All these defects were removed. The system of communal electorates was maintained in municipalities where it was already in force. The system of joint voting was maintained in other municipalities. But definite principles were laid down for the distribution of seats in communally elected municipal committees and for the delimitation of wards in other municipalities in the communally elected municipal committees each community was to have a proportion of seats according to the mean figure of its numerical strength and its voting strength. In the case of municipal committees elected by joint electorates, the

wards were so re-arranged as to enable each community, in case voting in the election proceeded on communal lines, to return as many members as it would be entitled to, in accordance with its numerical and voting strength.

In addition to more than 100 Municipal Committees, he created about the same number of Small Town Committees in towns which had so far been without any institution of local self-government. In all these, the system of joint electorates was enforced. . . . For the benefit of large towns like Lahore and Amritsar he enacted a Town Improvement Act which he was, however, unable to put into operation during his Ministership . . .

The need of providing for villages an opportunity of learning the art of self-government also claimed his attention. The Punjab Village Panchayats Act was passed. . . . It made provision for the constitution of panchayats which might exercise certain judicial and administrative powers in their villages, besides the power of levying a cess and spending the proceeds for the good of the village communities. . . .

The hope which had prompted Mian Fazl-i-Husain in 1921 to seek the association of Lala Harkishen Lal with himself in the Ministry was not wholly fulfilled. . . . Lala Harkishen Lal did not take kindly to the "rural bias" of Mian Fazl-i-Husain's policy.

He and several others regarded with suspicion and alarm the emphasis which Mian Fazl-i-Husain laid on interpreting the terms "people" and "masses" as including the ignorant, backward, neglected and voiceless millions of villagers. . . .

This mental outlook on the part of a group of members and the enthusiastic support on the part of others for Mian Fazl-i-Husain's point of view provided a line of cleavage which finally gave him a basis for the formation of a parliamentary party. The idea was thus materialised in 1923 in the form of the National Unionist Party . . . . In the meantime a vigorous campaign of misrepresentation of Mian Fazl-i-Husain's policy had been going on inside and outside the Legislative Council and a commercially enterprising section of the Press in the Punjab had been trying to make money by arousing communal feelings in the province. This prevented many from appreciating correctly the

issues on which the new party was formed and the principles for which it stood; but even so, the party was soon able to claim in its fold, a considerable number of the representatives of Hindu and Sikh agriculturists.

After organising the party in 1923 and securing the adherence of a majority of non-official members to its programme, Mian Fazl-i-Husain claimed for it, the right to run the Transferred half of the Government. . . .

In 1924 he was able to secure recognition for the principle of party government as far as the Transferred Departments were concerned. A Ministry of the Unionist Party consisting of Mian Fazl-i-Husain himself and Rao Bahadur Captain Lal Chand (who was later succeeded by Rao Bahadur Chaudhri Chhotu Ram) was placed in charge of the Transferred Departments. The Unionist Party gained in the number of its Hindu and Sikh adherents; but the educative purpose of the process could be achieved only to a very limited extent. Whatever healthy effect the working of a non-communal party in the legislature was expected to exercise on the life of the province as a whole was successfully counteracted by a host of writers in the Press and speakers on the public platform, who continued zealously to feed communal controversies and fan the fire of religious fanaticism. . . .

Appointment as Revenue Minister

The forces of obstruction were greatly strengthened in 1927 by the policy of the then Governor, Sir Malcolm Hailey. By that time Mian Fazl-i-Husain had ceased to belong to the Unionist Party or to be an elected member of the Legislative Council, having accepted in 1926 the portfolio of Revenue in the Reserved half of the Government. Following a general election, a new Ministry had to be constituted and in choosing his Ministers Sir Malcolm threw overboard the principle of party government and divided Ministerial offices among the communities as such. This naturally tended to divide the House itself into communal blocks. The progress of the Unionist Party which was intended by its founder to function as a symbol of inter-communal co-operation in pursuit of common, national objectives received a serious set-back. If the party still continued to exist and to influence the course of administration it was only because of the presence in its

ranks of certain members who had learnt from Mian Fazl-i-Husain, his tenacity of purpose in the face of adverse circumstances.

Mian Fazl-i-Husain remained a Minister, virtually the head of the Ministry which was in charge of the Transferred Departments of the Punjab Government, for five years, except for a short interval of a few months in 1925 when he accepted a temporary seat in the Governor-General's Executive Council. In the beginning of 1926, the office of the Revenue Member in the Reserved half of the Punjab Government became vacant owing to the retirement of its former incumbent. This office. . . . was offered to Mian Fazl-i-Husain and was accepted by him.

His most important achievement as Revenue Member was the preparation and enactment of a Land Revenue Act for the Punjab. It placed the assessment of land revenue on a statutroy basis, lowered the maximum share that the Government could claim out of the earnings of the zamindar and placed limitations on the power of the Government to enhance land revenue by means of re-assessment. It was regarded at the time as quite a radical measure, so much so that the then Governor, Sir Malcolm Hailey, was unwilling to give his assent to it. Mian Fazl-i-Husain backed by the non-official opinion of the Legislature, fought for the acceptance of the measure. In the meantime Sir Malcolm Hailey retired from his office as Governor of the Punjab and his succcessor ended the controversy by giving his assent to the new measure. From a popular point of view, the Land Revenue Act of the Punjab is still believed to be the best law of the kind in force in any province.

Another notable achievement of Mian Fazl-i-Husain as Revenue Member was the adoption by the Government of a new policy in regard to remission of land-taxes and water-rates in the event of bad crops. Formerly remissions were made in actual practice only as a result of demands, petitions or agitation on the part of the zamindars of the areas concerned. Mian Fazl-i-Husain took the view that the remission of these taxes should be regarded as due to the zamindar whenever certain conditions existed and should be allowed as a matter of course . . . Happily, the Governor fully approved of this view which was translated into a definite policy and detailed rules were framed to ensure its successful working. . . .

Mian Fazl-i-Husain was responsible for several other administrative reforms and popular schemes, like the revision of the rules about the grant of Taqawi loans and the encouragement of educated men to take interest and pride in agricultural pursuits. In pursuance of this objective, he initiated a scheme of creating model villages or, as they were called, "educated chaks" in the new colonies of the province. All these schemes and reforms reflected his supreme ideal.... *i.e.* the ideal of uplifting the masses and making them self-respecting citizens....

During his term of office as Revenue Member Mian Fazl-i-Husain was absent from the Punjab for a few months in 1927 when he was selected to represent India in the Assembly of the League of Nations.... He was again absent from the Punjab for a few months in 1929 when he occupied for a second time a temporary seat in the Governor-General's Executive Council.

Appointment as a Member of Governor-General's Executive Council

In the spring of 1930, he was again selected to fill this seat for a full term of five years. His membership of the Government of India coincided with an eventful period in the history of the country. A new constitution for her was in the making and important issues connected with it were engaging attention in England as well as India.... Mian Fazl-i-Husain made conspicuous and far-reaching contributions to the solution of the hosts of political problems which arose in this connection ... In this respect he had to fi ht a double battle. On the one hand, he wanted the transfer of political rights to India to be as liberal as possible ; on the other hand he wanted, in accordance with his life-long ideals, these rights not to be concentrated in the hands of a distinct and already advanced section of Indians, but to be shared in actual practice by all classes and strata of the population.....

Soon after his appointment as a Member of the Government of India, political unrest in the North-West Frontier Province engaged his special attention. There was trouble on the border and political demonstrations had to be dealt with by the military in the streets of Peshawar. Firing was resorted to in the famous Kissa Khani Bazar of that town, not perhaps very far from the house where Mian

Fazl-i-Husain was born. He was deputed by the Governor-General to visit Peshawar in June, 1930. During this visit, he brought about a settlement between the provincial authorities and the people of Peshawar and laid the foundation of constitutional reforms for the Frontier Province. . . .

In 1930 Mian Fazl-i-Husain also made his first great contribution to the official viewpoint regarding the main issues of constitutional reforms for India. This was reflected in the proposals contained in the Government of India's famous Dispatch on the subject. Compromises had necessarily to be made in order to secure for the proposals, the authority of unanimous support of the Government of India; but Mian Fazl-i-Husain distinctly succeeded in winning several important points. In every respect the Government of India's Dispatch marked a considerable improvement on the Simon Commission's recommendations on the subject. . . .

The amount of work which Mian Fazl-i-Husain had to do in securing a settlement of these questions (communal decision) in connection with the new constitution had a terrible effect on his already frail health which was now irreparably broken. He had to seek temporary relief from work and went on a four months' leave to Abbottabad in 1932.

Soon after his return from leave, the question of solving the communal problem in the recruitment of public services was raised in the Government of India. Mian Fazl-i-Husain was anxious to have this question settled before the inauguartion of the new scheme of Reforms. It remained, however, under consideration for about two years and a decision was finally announced when Mian Fazl-i-Husain was nearing the completion of his term of office. The decision was in keeping with what had always been his view on the subject, that the due share of the communities concerned should be defined in terms of percentages and guaranteed to them, provided the communities concerned were able to provide the requisite number of qualified men.

Besides his steady, patient, laborious and effective contribution to the solution of these questions, he was, of course, tackling other important problems that arose from time to time. In 1931, he proposed a law imposing import duty on wheat. This law which

proved of considerable help to the peasantry of the Punjab w as enacted for a temporary period in the first instance and renewed from time to time during subsequent years. In 1931, he also le d a deputatio to South Africa to discuss with the authotrities there, the grievances and disabilities of Indian settlers. . . .

He had also found no difficulty, . . . in carrying the opinion of the Government of India as a whole with him. His Excellency the V ceroy and Members of his Executive Council had given him their full support. . . .

During his tenure of office as a Member of the Government of India, Mian Fazl-i-Husain also took part in the Indo-Japanese trade negotiations during which he secured favourable conditions for the sale of Indian grown cotton. He secured recognition for Indian Medical degrees by the Medical Council of Great Britain, thus rendering conspicuous help . . . to the Indian medical profession. The impetus which he gave to the work of the All-India Council for Agricultural Research was another achievement . . . In connection with the work of agricultural research, he organised an All-India Wheat Conference, a Crop-planning Conference and a Co-operators' Conference and gave general encouragement to schemes of economic development. In order to promote marketing facilities for agricultural produce, he added a Marketing Section to the activities of the Council of Agricultural Research and shortly before his retirement from office revived the Advisory Board of Education to help the co-ordination of educational efforts in different parts of India."[1]

II

His Role in Muslim Politics

"In 1920, on account of the adoption of the non-cooperation programme, Fazl-i-Husain and his Moderate associates left the Muslim League. . . .

In 1924 an agitation was started by the Hindus against separate electorates. In the Punjab the agitation assumed alarming proportions, and it was said to have been aggravated by the policy followed by Fazl-i-Husain with regard to communal representation in services,

1. Nur Ahmad, Syed : Fazl-i-Husain, op. cit. pp. 41—5

local bodies and educational institutions. Fazl-i-Husain felt that in order to prevent the Muslims from being overwhelmed by the agitation and to impress their point of view on the Muddiman Committee which was preparing the ground for the next instalment of Reforms, the All-India Muslim League must be revived and made to recover the distinct identity it had lost during Khilafat agitation. He revived the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, and invited the All-India Muslim League to hold its session at Lahore. (This session was held under the presidency of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah).

The importance of the resolutions passed at this session cannot be over-estimated, because they . . . indicated the trend of Muslim feelings which continued to inspire them for the next ten years.

The League decided that :—

"(*a*) The existing provinces of India shall all be united under a common Government on a federal basis so that each province shall have full and complete provincial autonomy, the functions of the Central Government being confined to such matters only as are of general and common concern.

"(*b*) Any territorial re-distribution that might at any time become necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and N.W.F.P.

"(*c*) The mode of representation in the legislature and in all other elected bodies shall guarantee adequate and effective representation to minorities in every province subject, however, to the essential provision that no majority shall be reduced to a minority or even to an equality.

"(*d*) Full religious liberty, *i.e.* liberty of belief, worship, observance, propaganda, association, and education shall be guaranteed to all communities.

"(*e*) The idea of joint electorates with a specified number of seats being unacceptable to Indian Muslims on the ground of its being a fruitful source of discord, to achieve the object

of effective representation of various communal groups, the representation of the latter shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present, provided that it sha be open to any community, at any time to abandon its separate electorates in favour of joint electorates.

"(*f*) No bill or resolution or any part thereof affecting any community which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the elected body concerned, shall be passed in any legislature or in any other elected body, if 3/4th of the members of that community in that particular body oppose such a bill or resolution or part thereof".

During the next two years while the League reiterated the Resolutions it had adopted in 1924, the Hindu Mahasabha swept the polls against the Congress and the communal antagonism deepened."[1]

"In 1927 the British Government announced the formation of a Statutory Commission commonly known as Simon Commission, to propose further reforms in India. The appointment of this Commission, apart from creating controversies, also urged upon the Indian leaders to reach an acceptable agreement. Quaid-i-Azam had not, as yet, lost his faith in the possibility of such a common plan. He, therefore, held a conference in Delhi in March, 1927. The conference formulated its proposals which, later on, became known as the 'Delhi Proposals'. These proposals served as the basis of negotiations between the Congress and the Muslims during 1927—29. The appointment of all-white Simon Commission also split up the Muslim League. Mian Shafi wished to make full use of this opportunity and place the demands of the Muslims before the Simon Commission. For that reason, he did not agree with the Central League's decision to boycott the Commission. He also did not attend the League session held at Calcutta in 1927, and instead, convened a rival meeting of his own supporters in Lahore to welcome the Commission.

The Congress held an All-Parties Conference in Delhi in February, 1928. It also appointed a committee under the presidency of Motilal Nehru. The Muslim League (led by Jinnah) had expressed its willingness to forego Muslims' right of separate electoraters, provided their

1. Azim Hussain : op. cit. pp. 243-245.

demands for the separation of Sind, introduction of reforms in N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan , reservation of Muslim seats in the Punjab and Bengal on the basis of population and of one-third seats in the Central legislature were conceded by the Congress. Mian Shafi again did not agree with the Central League (led by Jinnah) and expressed his bitterest opposition to its offer for accepting joint electorates. The Congress Committee formulated its recommendations in form of the 'Nehru Report.' Though the Committee agreed to accept the Muslim League's offer to adopt joint electorates, it rejected its demand for reservation of seats according to population in Punjab and Bengal. Reservation of seats was to be allowed only in those provinces where Muslims were in small minorities and that too was to be determined strictly in accordance with their strength in population. Similarly Muslim demands for reservation of one-third of seats in the Central legislature was also turned down on the plea that Muslims formed only one-fourth of the total population of British India. With regard to the separation of Sind, the Committee recognised its necessity but laid down that it was to be implemented only after (*a*) full investigation was made with regard to its ability to sustain itself in its financial responsibilities, (*b*) in case of its not being financially self-supporting, the people expressed, through a referendum, their willingness to undertake their responsibilities in that respect. The Committee however recognised the necessity of introducing reforms in N.W.F.P., but it omitted Baluchistan in its original draft which was however included later on.

The 'Nehru Report' thus failed to grab the hand of friendship which the Muslim League, in spite of the bitterest opposition from some of its own members, had offered with the object of solving communal problem and determining a common platform for constitutional struggle. An All Parties Muslim Conference convened in 1928 under the presidency of Sir Agha Khan, also registered its bitter hostility to it. The Hindus and the Congress seemed in no mood to concede Muslim demands. The National Convention held in December 1928, negatived even Quaid-i-Azam's very moderate demands regarding the Nehru Report. In spite of the opposition of Muslims and other minorities, the Congress called upon the British government to accept the Nehru report and enforce the constitution before December 31, 1929."[1]

1. Editor.

"The Independence Resolution of the Congress required a restatement of the Muslim position. Muslims looked around for a leader and hopelessly groped in the dark for a lead. Fazl-i-Husain came to Delhi on April 1, 1930, and at once decided to organise the Muslims and to formulate their demands with the unity and force which characterized the Congress demands . . .

Fazl-i-Husain revived the neglected All-India Muslim Conference, and soon made it the most powerful organ of Muslim opinion of India. Such it continued to remain till the Government of India Act of 1935 was passed, and safeguards for Muslims in the new constitution, assured. He first consolidated the financial position of the Conference by obtaining, through his personal influence, large sums of money from Hyderabad, and the Aga Khan, and supplemented those funds with smaller contributions from all over India . . . He also set out to create unity and to overcome disruptive tendencies in the ranks of the Conference.

The standpoint of Fazl-i-Husain for the forthcoming Reforms was that the safeguards provided for the Muslims in 1919 should be retained; and as there was going to be some further transfer of power, fuller safeguards should be provided for them. He prepared a comprehensive and detailed programme, which was repeatedly endorsed by the All-India Muslim Conference and advocated by him through his friends and followers throughout the three Round Table Conferences both in India and in England.

The constitutional safeguards for Muslims, he believed, were not anti-national, and there was a sound national basis for Muslim politics in India. It would be harmful to India, he said, if Muslims as a minority were crushed by Hindu nationalism. . . . Muslim India, therfeore, should not be absorbed into Hindu India, but should be allowed to exist as a separate and independent entity, living peacefully side by side with Hindu India. . . . Nationalism should be fostered through diversity within unity, and not through a unity to be attained by suppression of all diversity. The Muslims were struggling against absorption, and for this they needed constitutional safeguards.

Fazl-i-Husain maintained that hitherto the safeguards for Muslims were separate electorates, weightage, official blocks in the provincial and central legislatures, special powers of the Governor, and no responsi-

bility at the Centre. But now that political advance and further devolution of power were coming, and official blocks would be removed from the provincial and central legislatures, the Muslims would be entirely at the mercy of the Hindus. In the federation, therefore, some units should be areas where Muslims preponderate so that there may be Indian States rather than a Hindu United States. In pressing for these views, he made it clear to Government that if his views were disregarded he would consider it his duty to take up the work of Muslim agitation outside the Government. The Viceroy as time passed appreciated the just claims of Muslims, and the Government of India's Despatch on Reforms provided adequate safeguards for the Muslims and incorporated in it, most of the demands of the Muslim Conference.

In order to bring to bear on Government every possible pressure from outside which would reinforce all that he said inside the Executive Council, Fazl-i-Husain organized Muslim public opinion in a thorough manner. To begin with, he consolidated Muslim opinion in the Punjab and Bengal. He got most of the Muslim members of the local legislatures and other prominent Muslim public men to issue joint statements. . . . In Bengal Sir Nazim-ud-Din helped to solidify Muslim opinion, and brought together various parties. Every effort was made to urge the Working Committee of the Congress to accept the views of the Conference.[1]

He was also anxious to ensure the acceptance of Muslim claims at the Round Table Conference. This was particularly important because the Labour Party had just got into power with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald as Premier, and the Secretary of State for India had announced that separate electorates were against British democratic principles and required re-examination. In India, some Muslims talked of "another annulment of the partition of Bengal". In view of this, it was imperative that Muslim representatives to the Round Table Conference should have identical views, although they might belong to different schools of political thought.[2] He accordingly used all his influence and powers of persuation in the selection of a Muslim Delegation consisting of members in accord with the policy of the All-India Muslim Conference. The problem was to select Muslims who would not only represent his viewpoint but do so effectively, and at the same time have considerable popu-

1. Letter dated April 12, 1931, to Mian Amir-ud-Din.
2. Letter dated April, 1, 1930 to the Aga Khan.

larity as Muslim leaders in various provinces. . . . Fazl-i-Husain, therefore, wrote to Sir Malcolm Hailey to support the nomination of Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan . . . Dr. Shafaat Ahmed was accordingly nominated. As a representative of the Talukdars, the Maharajah of Mahmudabad was selected but when he failed to go on account of his illness, Fazil-i-Husain had him replaced by a confirmed supporter of the Muslim Conference.

At the Second Round Table Conference, Government was keen to secure the co-operation of the Congress, and the Viceroy proposed to nominate Dr. Ansari and Sir Ali Imam. As both were staunch supporters of the Nehru Report, Fazl-i-Husain protested, and in spite of Lord Irwin's commitments to Gandhi, it was agreed not to nominate Dr. Ansari. Fazl-i-Husain secured the nomination of four new members who were members of the Muslim Conference and this averted all possible dangers to the unity of the Muslim Delegation. The Aga Khan, as its leader, held all the members together and prevented disruptive tendencies from growing up among them . . . Throughout the three Round Table Conferences, Fazl-i-Husain took infinite pains to coach his 'key' men, such as the Aga Khan, Chaudhri Zafrullah Khan, and Dr. Shafaat Ahmed; he gave them detailed instructions and kept them well posted with weekly air mail letters containing 'notes' and 'points'. Similar views were constantly put forward in the India Council before the Secretary of State by Malik Umar Hyat Khan Tiwana.

All this, however, did not mean that he pursued a sectional policy. He realized that the main difficulty was to induce the British Government to part with power,[1] and on this account the Muslims should not apear unduly obstructive. "Why", he asked one of the Muslim delegates, "are communal differences magnified so much in political talks and at the Round Table Conference. The Muslim position should be that there are no communal differences to speak of and that the so-called communal difference have been settled on more or less equitable lines".[2] Again, writing to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad he said: "I think the first formula that the Muslim representatives should enunciate is a genuine and keen desire of the Muslims to come to a friendly and botherly understanding with the Hindus as to the things which the Muslims consider vital for the

1. Letter dated December 1, 1930, to Sir Muhammad Shafi.
2. Letter dated December 1, 1930, to Sir Zafrullah Khan.

well-ordered development of nationalism in India, *viz.*, the development of India as a whole and not of one community at the expense of the other.... If this principle is conceded, the rest is a matter of detail. Muslims in the six minority provinces demand nothing more than a bare right to exist; while in the Punjab and Bengal they have a certain amount of responsibility in shaping the development of these provinces, where they are having an opportunity to make a contribution which will be for the good of the country. When they want the Frontier Province to be a separate province, it is in no sense their desire to lord it over others, but with the sole object of having an opportunity to show what contribution Muslim thought and Muslim culture can make towards the United India of the future...."

Nevertheless, both in India and in England, the Mahasabha Hindus maintained a violent agitation in the Press and on the platform against Fazl-i-Husain,[1] and blamed him for sacrificing India to communal considerations. Some extremist Hindus wrote letters threatening to murder him, but he took no notice of those letters and consigned them to the waste paper basket.

At the first Round Table Conference, the Muslims found their position somewhat difficult to maintain. Fazl-i-Husain wrote in his diary: "Labour Government is proposing to abdicate British responsibility in India, *i.e.* complete Provincial Autonomy, and responsibility at the Centre in all except the Army, Industry and Political Departments and without any settlement of the communal issue as to the constitution of the legislatures. Horrible ! The Simon Report and the Government of India despatch in the waste paper basket. Parliamentary proposals gone to the dogs."[2] This convinced the Hindus that the Labour Party would support the Congress through thick and thin and they, therefore, rejected most of the Muslim demands. Certain Muslims, who were already advocating joint electorates, agreed to explore conditions under which joint electorates could be acceptable, and held an informal conference with Sardar Sampuran Singh, Sardar Ujjal Singh and Dr. Moonje to thrash out a formula. Fazl-i-Husain received the news of these developments with misgivings...He at once wrote to Sir Muhammad Shafi to say : "There is no question of nationalism, but only of dominating

1. Diary—October 9, 1930.
2. Diary—November 15, 1930.

over Muslims by the India Government of the future. No one is ready to sacrifice the Muslim community and its culture, and its future to hasten the bringing of the end."[1] He blamed the Muslim delegates for saying "Amen to all general platitudes about advance and obtaining full responsible government and Dominion Status and so on, in order to look large in the English public press and in their own minds, and in trying to establish their own reputation for patriotism, for being non-communal and for being obliging to the Labour Government".[2]

After these admonitions, he agitated the matter in the Muslim Press, which at once and strongly condemned the joint electorate parleys in England. Several Muslim Organizations sent telegrams to various members of the Delegation and the Prime Minister, refusing to be bound by these 'talks'. . . Fazl-i-Husain approached the Secretary of State through the Viceroy and told him that since the Muslims had refused to accept the Nehru Report and had, therefore, kept away from Civil Dis-obedience, it was unfair on the part of Government now to force Muslims to accept what the Nehru Report had already offered to them. The British Government was going against the recommendations of local Governments, the Simon Commission and the Government of India. He boldly stated that if separate electorates were taken away, weightage for Muslims in minority provinces done away with, and the Punjab and Bengal denied a bare majority, "I and with me a large number of Muslims will feel called upon to try our luck in the political reconstruction of India through the Congress rather than submit to gradual obliteration through the proposed reformed constitution.. . .As a result of this intervention, the joint electorate proposals failed and the first Round Table Conference ended with the declaration that there would be a federation, but no decision about the communal question was arrived at. . . .

In this controversy the position of the Congress Muslims was a difficult one. The proposals put forward by the All-India Muslim Nationalist Conference and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, except for joint electorates and weightage to Muslims in minority provinces, were the same as the demands made by the All-India Muslim Conference. The weakness of their position was that they pre-supposed adult franchise which was obviously for the time being impracticable. What was more, even these proposals were never

1. Letter dated January 5, 1931, to Sir Muhammad Shafi.
2. Letter dated December 20, 1930 to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan.

adopted by the Congress and the Hindu Press received them badly. On the other hand, after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, Gandhi met some representatives of the All-India Muslim Conference, but he refused to accept their demands unless they were supported by the Congress Muslims. . . . He expressed willingness to surrender completely if the Muslims reached complete unanimity among themselves. . . .

Before going to attend the second Round Table Conference, Gandhi issued a statement on the communal question, but it failed to satisfy Muslims; the All-India Muslim Conference rejected it and Gandhi had to proceed to London without solving the communal question. This lost him his full representative position, and his participation in the Conference was unfruitful. The failure of the first Round Table Conference to settle the communal question was repeated. Gandhi, contrary to the policy of the Congress from 1917—27, opposed separate electorates and instead of narrowing down points of difference, widened the gulf. The Minorities Committee broke down and the Prime Minister had to announce that in the absence of a mutual settlement of Hindus and Muslims, Government would enforce a provisional scheme.

Fazl-i-Husain's opposition to the Congress on the question of safeguards for the Muslims, however, did not mean that he otherwise lent himself to purely communal movements among Muslims. He was not a slave to popular communal enthusiasm and refused to be carried away by transitory movements. . . .He stood for common nationhood based on mutual co-operation to achieve which, Muslims must be brought in line with the Hindus who had stolen a march over them. Further, Muslims should not fritter away their energy in pursuit of the unattainable, or of what did not concern their welfare directly. While recognizing the force of popular movements (*i.e.* Hijrat, Khilafat, Pan-Islamism, Palestine) as a means of unifying Muslims with India, he regarded them as intrinsically pointless. He tried to induce Government to adopt policies which would prevent the development of such movements".[1]

"The Communal Award was announced by the British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald on August 16, 1932. It conceded the right of separate electorates and maintained the principle of weightage with some modifications in Muslim-minority provinces. Inspite of Muslims'

1. Azim Hussain : op. cit. pp. 247-61.

proportion of 56 per cent in the total population of the Punjab, they were given only 86 out of the total number of 175 seats. Similarly in Bengal, they were allowed 119 seats out of 250, though they were 54.8 per cent in the total population of the province.[1]

The Sikhs received 32 seats whereas they formed only 13.2 per cent in the population of the Punjab. With regard to other provinces, the position of the Muslims was, as follows : [2]

Province	Muslim Percentage of Population	Total Number of Seats	Number of Seats Reserved for Muslims
Madras	7.9	215	29
Bombay excluding Sind	9.2	175	30
The United Provinces	15.3	228	66
The Central Provinces	4.7	112	14
Assam	33.7	108	34
Sind	70.7	60	34
N.W.F. Province	91.8	50	36
Bihar and Orissa	10.8	175	42

The Muslims were not fully satisfied with the Award. They however reluctantly decided to accept it. The All-India Muslim League, passed a resolution in its session held in November 1933, which stated that "though the decision falls far short of the Muslim demands, the Muslims have accepted it in the best interests of the country reserving to themselves, the right to press for the acceptance of all their demands".[3] The Hindus however launched a bitter campaign against it; they were especially opposed to the granting of separate electorates to the Muslims. They tried

1. Waheed-uz-Zaman, Towards Pakistan, Lahore, 1964, p. 70.
2. Vide Khalid Bin Sayeed : Pakistan—The Formative Phase, London, 1968, p. 78.
3. Khan, Liaquat Ali (Com.) Resolutions of the All-India Muslim League, from May 1924 to December 1936, Delhi (n.d.), pp. 57-58.

to bypass the Muslims' support for the Award by holding a so-called Unity Conference at Allahabad from November 3 to 15, 1932, in which a few nationalist Muslims were also invited. The Conference reiterated the Congress demand for the substitution of joint in place of separate electorates. A formula was thus prepared for representation on the basis of joint electorates. The Muslims were to receive majority in the Punjab and Bengal (again on the basis of joint system) provided the Sikhs were given 20 per cent of representation in the Punjab and 5 per cent in the 'Central Legislature[1]. Though the Nationalist Muslims tried to represent the views of all the Muslims of the sub-continent, the Conference, however, failed to assume a truly representative character. Hence a joint meeting of various Muslim organizations was held at Delhi by Sir Fazl-i-Husain. The meeting rejected the Allahabad proposals in the following statement:

"The joint conference of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim Conference, the Council of the All-India Muslim League and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind (Cawnpore) have carefully considered the text of the draft resolutions recently passed by the Committee of the Allahabad Conference and while registering appreciation of the endeavours made by a wing of Musalmans to arrive once again at some settlement with the Congress and Mahasabha Hindus and with the Sikhs on the communal problem, desires to place on record its opinion that the proposed basis of the agreement is injurious to Muslim interests, impractical and unacceptable[2]."[3]

"After the third Round Table Conference, the stages of the Consutative Committee, the White Paper and the Joint Select Committee were still ahead . . . The Mahasabha was anxious to unsettle the Award, so that the danger of Muslims losing ground was very great. It was necessary to re-create and maintain the unity in the Muslim ranks which had existed before the Communal Award. Within the Muslim Conference, there was some friction on account of a party being opposed to the existing office holders. Fazl-i-Hussain composed their differences. Cordial relations were also established with the All-India Muslim League, and in conjunction with the League it was decided to form a Parliamentary

1. Waheed-uz-Zaman, op. cit. p. 71.
2. Quoted by Mohammad Noman: Muslim India—Rise and Growth of the All. India Muslim League, Allahabad, 1942, p. 318.
3. Editor.

Majlis with a view to contesting elections to the Central Assembly. In order to fortify Muslim solidarity, a successful meeting of the Muslim Conference was held in February, 1934.

The task of restoring unity within the All-India Muslim League was more difficult. The Jinnah and Shafi groups were the main parties. Fazl-i-Husain closed the ranks of the League... He secured the acceptance of Mr. Jinnah as President, both sections met, the gap was bridged, and the League passed resolutions similar to those of the Muslim Conference. The following year, the League and the Conference met again and passed the same resolutions. Fazl-i-Husain wrote to Mr. Jinnah approving of the resolutions, to which Mr. Jinnah replied: "I am glad that you approve of the resolutions passed by the All-India Muslim League. It is a great comfort to me that I have the approval of a man whose judgment I value".[1] Henceforth, the Muslim Conference and the Muslim League worked together in close collaboration to uphold the Communal Award.

As a result of these efforts of Fazl-i-Husain, the Muslim League was stronger than ever before; the Bengal Presidency Muslim League, which had sceded, returned to the fold and passed a resolution in favour of the Award; the Congress Muslims were never so weak as they were now. Thus Fazl-i-Husain proved that Muslim India was united in supporting the Communal Award. Malviya and some others exhibited lack of insight into political affairs by their agitation for the modification of the Award.

Fazl-i-Husain eventually won from the Congress, a recognition of Muslim claims. The Congress Election Manifesto, issued in 1934, said: "It (the Award) is anti-national, but the Congress cannot refuse to take into account, the attitude of the Musalmans in general who seem to want the Award, nor can the Congress accept it, as the Hindu and the Sikhs reject it". Thus the Congress admitted that the communal problem had to be solved before the solution of the constitutional tangle, that the principle of geographical electorates cannot be forced upon the Muslims; and that separate electorates may be adopted for the proposed Constituent Assembly. Individual Congressmen went beyond this neutral attitude. Babu Rajendra Prasad said that the present constitution was based upon the Lucknow Pact which had not been rescinded by the Congress, and that no programme could be made in the country without

1. Letter dated May 11, 1934.

the acceptance of the Award. C. Rajagopalachari declared, "We cannot force joint electorates on Muslims if they as a community finally and definitely refuse at present to accept that method of recording their vote". Jawahar Lal Nehru said that Legislatures elected on the basis of adult franchise by separate electorates would be truly representative of the Muslim community, and any decision arrived at by a majority will be treated as a decision of the Muslim community, and that he would be prepared to accept it as such. . . .

The Muslim position under the new constitution was adequately safeguarded, and the demands first put forward in the Delhi Resolution (1929) were to a large extent secured. The N.W.F.P. became a Governor's Province. Sind was separated from Bombay and declared to be a Governor's Province. The Muslim share in the public services was fixed at 25% of all Imperial appointments. With regard to residuary powers, it is true that the Muslim demand that they should be vested in the provinces was not accepted, but as desired by Muslims they were not vested in the Centre, but were to be exercised by the Governor-General in his discretion. The demand for 33⅓% representation in the Cabinet, Central and Provincial, was not met in the Act, but provision for giving effect to it was made in the Instrument of Instructions issued to the Governor-General and the Governors. Muslims were to be represented by separate electorates without prejudice to the weightages obtained by the Muslim minorities under the Lucknow Pact; Muslims in the Punjab were given a statutory majority. The only demand in this respect which was not conceded, was in the case of Bengal, because of the necessity for providing representation for Europeans. The principle of religious liberty was accepted and an assurance was given that the culture of the minorities would not be interfered with. All this put the Muslim mind at rest, and it also concluded the labours of Fazl-i-Husain for five years in the Government of India.

Fazl-i-Husain was away from the Punjab for five years, but whilst at Delhi he kept himself in constant touch with his province, and at critical moments did not fail to give directions and purposes to its political development in several ways. He had devoted his entire public life of over twenty-five years to his province and could not cease to think of it and ponder over its future even when he was away from it. When he was appointed member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, he was indeed loath to leave the Punjab. . . .

He was anxious that the Punjab should remain free from the Civil Dis-obedience movement, just as it had been free to a large extent from the Non-Co-operation movement. Whenever, therefore, the administration acted in any manner which was likely to stimulate the movement, he advised Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, the Governor, to the contrary, and Sir Geoffrey, who valued his advice, invariably acted on it. . . .

Rural areas had hitherto remained unaffected and when the Congress made some efforts to reach the masses, Fazl-i-Husain counter-acted its activities by strengthening the Punjab Provincial Zemindara League . . . When Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency was fired at and wounded at the Panjab University Convocation, Fazl-i-Husain seized the opportunity and asked his friends to make a strong demonstration against terrorism as a political weapon.

These few illustrations indicate how vigilantly he watched developments in the Punjab and helped to keep Civil Dis-obedience and terrorism at bay. *Prima facie* this policy suggests the bolstering up of the bureaucracy with the help of the rural population against the national movement. But the fact is that while Fazl-i-Husain had no sympathy with the bureaucracy, and fully understood its policy and its intentions (which he never hesitated to criticize), and was in no sense opposed to the National movement, he wanted successfully to counter Civil Dis-obedience and terrorism. . .

Fazl-i-Husain was anxious that the Unionist Party should not weaken, and that the party system of Government should develop in the Punjab. In 1926, Sir Malcolm Hailey had formed a non-party communal ministry, but it was hoped that Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, the new Governor, would act constitutionally and form a non-communal party ministry. The Unionist Party became weak during Sir Malcolm Hailey's regime and almost split as soon as Fazl-i-Husain left the Punjab. There was at the time no other outstanding Muslim leader who could place party interests above his personal interests. The outgoing Ministry consisted of Firoz Khan Noon (Unionist), Jogendra Singh (non-party) and Manohar Lal (Mahasabha). Fazl-i-Husain wanted the Muslim minister's charge to include Education Department, and Firoz Khan Noon to remain the Muslim nominee of the Unionist Party. It was also his wish that the ministry should be constituted entirely from the Unionist Party, and that the other Ministers should be Chhotu Ram and Harbakhsh Singh, failing

which the Party should oppose the non-Muslim part of the Ministry.[1] Some Muslim leaders, however, ruined the chances of a purely Unionist Ministry. Chaudhri Shahab-ud-Din (President of the Council), supported by Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana wanted to become a minister, or at least to prevent Firoz Khan Noon from becoming a minister again. . . . Besides, there was considerable discontent among urban Muslims against Firoz Khan Noon who during the elections had helped some of his rural friends against urban Muslims. As Chaudhri Shahab-ud-Din had not many chances of becoming a minister he asked Chaudhri Zafrullah Khan to offer himself for the Ministry,[2] but Fazl-i-Husain at once wrote to Chaudhri Zafrullah Khan advising him to the contrary. . . Fazl-i-Husain was anxious to avoid rivalry for leadership between two members of the Party. He wrote to Firoz Khan: "In the matter of ministership, so far as I can see, the number of your supporters from among the Muslim members of the Party is at least double the number of those likely to support Zafrullah Khan. Therefore, I strongly advise you not to make the mistake of forming alliances with Hindus or Sikhs with the object of strengthening your position. This is likely to react unfavourably on you and not to be helpful".[3]

While Firoz Khan Noon was away at his village in Shahpur district, intrigues continued in Lahore. Certain leading urban Muslims formed themselves into a deputation and saw the Governor and asked for the appointment of one of themselves as a minister.[4] Most of them, however, felt that Chaudhri Zafrullah Khan was the only one among them who, on grounds of merit, had the greatest chances of success against Firoz Khan Noon. Chaudhri Zafrullah Khan told them that he was unwilling to offer himself for ministership, but if they convinced him that here was strong support behind him, he might do so. Chaudhri Shahab-ud-Din and Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana tried to secure signatures of members promising to support him.[5] On hearing of this, Fazl-i-Husain

1. Letter dated Sept. 27, 1930, to Chaudhri Zafrullah Khan.
2. Diary—October 2, 1930.
3. Letter dated October 2, 1930.
4. "Things in Lahore are made lively by Shahab-ud-Din's intrigues and he is coming out in his true colours. My influence for good on people does not appeal to be of any lasting nature. But where has it been in the history of the world?" (Diary—October 4, 1930).
5. Diary—October 7, 1930.

wrote to Sir Sikander Hayat : "This is very much to be regretted in asmuch as if some members convass support for one candidate, others must convass support for the other candidate, and both sides will decry each other's candidates. This does harm to both.[1] . . . .

As the contest proceeded apace, Fazl-i-Husain observed in his diary: "Punjab affairs are all topsy-turvy. Some people have been too selfish and personal"[2]. . . . Some time later he recorded : "The Punjab Muslims are today weaker than even before. Firoz Khan on one side, Shahab-ud-Din supported in part by Ahmad Yar on the other side , and Sikander supported by Ahmad Yar on the third. Shahab-ud-Din is at war with both Firoz and Sikander, but more with Firoz than with Sikander. Sikander has neither the power nor the inclination to produce unanimity and is not likely to sink his personal advancement."[3]. . .

Fazl-i-Husain was disappointed and wrote to Chhotu Ram, ". . .I would prefer a ministry of two, both ministers being non-Muslims, as long as they belonged to the Unionist Party which is the majority party. The Muslim minister came in only because of the possibility of a third minister not belonging to the Party. The position of the Party being reduced to have but one-third share, and that of a communal nature, is intolerable and one which the Party, if united, could have violently protested against."[4] He also wrote to Harbakhsh Singh in the same strain: "It hurt me very much indeed to see personal squabbles doing such immense harm to the Party and the cause. It was quite . . . immaterial as to who became minister. . . .What the Party could have stood for, was that there should be two ministers from the Party, a Muslim and a non-Muslim, the choice of the men being left entirely to the Governor. . . .It has been my great ambition and in fact, my only ambition in life to see established in the Punjab a school of thought which proceeds on principles, vital principles, and not on creeds. . . .Personally, I would have preferred a ministry of two only, and both non-Muslims, provided it came from the Party."[5]

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1. Letter dated October 3, 1930.
2. Diary—October 10, 1930.
3. Diary—October 14, 1930.
4. Letter dated October 13, 1930.
5. Letter dated October 13, 1930.

The effect of the weakening of the Unionist Party and the formation of a communal ministry was disastrous to the province. The prestige of the ministry was lowered and the Governor became stronger than he ever was before. Sir Gokal Chand Narang, the Mahasabha minister, placed two measures on the Statute Book which crippled local self-government in the Punjab—the Municipal Executive Officers Act, 1931, which deprived the elected representatives of the people from exercising executive power, and the Punjab Municipal (Amendment) Act, 1932, which increased Government control over municipalities through Government officials and the Local Self-Government Board. Under the leadership of Sir Chhotu Ram and Malik Din Mohammad, the Unionists opposed both Bills tooth and nail, and held a walk-out in the Council on the ground that the Bills took away the powers given to the people under the Reforms and invested the executive with autocratic power to override local bodies. Sir Gokal Chand Narang, however, carried the Bills with the support of urban Hindus and the official bloc. Apart from retrogression in local self-government, there was an appalling decline in the progress of education; and by 1935 the Punjab, which in 1926 had been the third best province in India, became educationally one of the most backward. The bureaucracy now resumed powers it had shed during the first ten years of the Reforms, and became intolerant of public opinion. Favouritism and nepotism corrupted the administration: the standard of efficiency declined....The worst development of all was an increase in communal antagonism, of which the Shahidganj agitation was the most alarming outbrust. In view of these developments, it was but natural that Fazl-i-Husain should wish, on the conclusion of his term of office with the Government of India, to return to the Punjab, and once again be at the helm of affairs.

When Fazl-i-Husain returned to the Punjab, he found provincial leadership in a deplorable state. Writing about it in his diary he observed: "Government policy is responsible for there being no leader in any community. As soon as Government officials find an Indian weilding influence, their tendency is to counteract his influence.... In the case of Hindus, the excuse was that they are Congresswallas, and so opposed to Government. In the case of Muslims, when there is no excuse, resort is had to underhand propaganda so as to prevent the community from developing strength which unity brings....And what is the result? Government has freedom of action—can do what it likes,

but if things do not work out as desired by them, there is no one to help them. Members and ministers cannot be really useful if their position is no better than that of glorified Tahsildars to do the bidding of the Governor."[1] . . .

Sir Sikander Hyat,[2] who was soon to play an important part in the Punjab politics, deserves some attention. Under the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, Sir Sikander Hyat entered the Punjab Council, but on account of his heavy financial liabilities was interested more in commercial, industrial and banking concerns than in politics.[3] In 1929 when Fazl-i-Husain went to the Government of India for four months, the Governor wanted to appoint Chaudhri Shahab-ud-Din, President of the Council, as officiating minister. Chaudhri Shahab-ud-Din, after Fazl-i-Husain, was the most prominent Muslim member of the Unionist Party, and was accepted as a leader of the Muslims within the Party. A pledge to this effect was given to him by Chaudhri Zafrullah Khan, Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana, and Sir Sikander Hyat. Sir Sikander Hyat had a devoted friend in Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana, who through his intercession with Chaudhri Shahab-ud-Din, his brother-in-law, made the latter agree to let Sir Sikander Hyat become Revenue Member in the officiating vacancy, on condition that when in the following year, the question of a permanent vacancy arose he would not stand in his way but would support him for it. Sir Sikander Hyat made a favourable impression on the Governor, so that when the permanent vacancy arose in 1930, he was appointed Revenue Member. . . .The Governor, who could not have two Muslim members of his cabinet differing from each other, was anxious to make Sir Sikander Hyat Revenue Member, but not if Firoz Khan Noon was unwilling to have Sir Sikander Hyat as his colleague. Sir Sikander Hyat appealed to Fazl-i-Husain and he pleaded with the Maliks and brought about a reconciliation between the two families. . . .

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1. Diary—July 18, 1935.
2. 1892—1942.
3. "He was on the Board of Directors of about eleven different concerns including three Railway Companies. Messrs. Owen Roberts, the Punjab and Portland Cement Limited. He also acted as the Managing Director of the Wah Stone and Lime Company and was the Managing partner of the Mining Syndicate" (Sir Sikander Hyat Khan : Institute of Current Affairs, 1943, p. 9).

. . .Sir Sikander Hyat worked hard but pursued policies of which Fazl-i-Husain could not but disapprove. In 1932, he moved in Council that His Majesty's Government be asked to provide a Second Chamber for the Punjab. Fazl-i-Husain, who was trying his best to have the proposal for a Second Chamber in Bengal, Bihar and U.P. abandoned, was horrified and asked Chhotu Ram to oppose it as leader of the Unionist Party. Chhotu Ram declared that the proposal was constitutionally retrograde, while financially, it would be a "white elephant.". . .

In 1932, during the illness of Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, Sir Sikander Hyat officiated as Governor, and got Mr. H. Calvert, I.C.S. to officiate in his own place; although the opportunity could have been availed of, to appoint an Indian from public life. Fazl-i-Husain disapproved, but since the transaction was presented to him as a *fait accompli* there was little that he could do. A similar situation arose in 1934 when the Governor, Sir Herbert Emerson went to England. Sir Sikander Hyat officiated again as Governor for four months, and a Revenue Member had to be appointed temporarily. Sir Sikander Hyat, in agreement with Sir Herbert Emerson, decided that Mr. Miles Irving, I.C.S., should be appointed and should continue to be Revenue Member when Sikander Hyat proceeded on four months' leave to England on the conclusion of his term as Governor. As soon as Fazl-i-Husain heard of it, he sent for Sir Sikander Hyat and asked him if it was true. Sir Sikander Hyat denied it, and said that the matter was still unsettled, but that he was helpless because Chaudhri Zafrullah Khan had refused to accept the post. Fazl-i-Husain then sent for Chaudhri Zafrullah Khan, and asked him to inform Sir Sikander Hyat that he would be willing to accept the post. Chaudhri Zafrulla Khan obeyed, but discovered from Mr. Miles Irving that the decision had already been taken. . .

As soon as Sir Sikander Hyat reached London, he gave a statement to the Press to say that "I have the fullest confidence as to the effective working of the administrative machine under the Reforms. Both as a member of Government and acting Governor, I received the fullest co-operation from the I.C.S., the Police and other services. In the Punjab all the communities repose confidence in the British officers of Government, and we hope that under the new Constitution, there will be a substantial leavening of the British element in the services." Fazl-i-Husain at once wrote to him: "It (your statement) conveyed ideas which

have always invited criticism."[1]...Writing to Chaudhri Zafrullah Khan he commented: "A great deal of the publicity was given to Sikander's statement to the Press about the White Paper and the last part of it... has naturally aroused disappointment in certain quarters and indignation in others; and some papers have commented that proposals as to his permanent appointment as a Governor are being matured in London."[2]

On his return from England, Sir Sikander Hyat was appointed Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank on a salary of Rs. 5,500 per mensem....

The only person who held aloft the banner of the Unionist Party in the absence of Fazl-i-Husain was Chhotu Ram, the leader of the Party since 1926. Fazl-i-Husain wrote in his diary: "Chhotu Ram is hard-working, intelligent and clear-headed, distinctly and considerably above the average. If my health permits me forming a ministry under the Reforms, it will not be without Chhotu Ram."[3]...

Throughout his political career, Fazl-i-Husain advocated separate electorates and regarded this mode of representation a vital safeguard for the Muslim community. This, however, did not mean that he made a fetish of it, or that he discarded other methods of representation without critically examining them. Separate electorates were not an end in themselves, they were only a means towards an end, namely, adequate representation of the Muslim community. If this object could be secured by an alternative method more acceptable to other communities, he was willing to adopt it. The Communal Award, announced in August 1932, conceded separate electorates but Hindus and Sikhs regarded this mode of representation anti-national and wanted joint electorates to be substituted by mutual agreement. In the Punjab, Sir Jogendra Singh and Sir Gokal Chand Narang proposed joint electorates on the condition that:

(*a*) seats are reserved for Muslims and Sikhs in the same proportion as in the Communal Award;

(*b*) Muslims and non-Muslims are equally represented in the Cabinet;

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1. Letter dated July 16, 1934.
2. Letter dated July 16, 1934.
3. Diary—October 19, 1935.

(*c*) a Public Services' Commission is constituted to recruit 50% Muslims, 30% Hindus and 20% Sikhs.

These proposals were agreed to by Sir Sikander Hyat, Chaudhri Shahab-ud-Din and Ahmadyar Khan Daultana on condition that Fazl-i-Husain had no objection to their acceptance. Fazl-i-Husain said that he had no objection to the acceptance of joint electorates provided the Muslims did not suffer in their representative capacity; or in other words, their population strength was reflected in the electorates. As it was although the Muslims constituted 56% of the population, they formed only 44% of the electorate, while Sikhs who were only 13% of the population, were 24% of the electorate, the Hindu population being almost fully reflected in the electorate. He wanted, therefore, to remove the disparity between the percentage of the population and the percentage of the electorate by adjusting the franchise of the three communities. He was prepared to accept joint electorates provided:

(*a*) the franchise reflects the population of the three communities in the voting register;

(*b*) the reservation of seats as prescribed in the Award is confined to general constituencies and not to special constituencies which have joint electorates;

(*c*) there would be no time-limit for the reservation of seats as the hands of future legislatures cannot be tied;

(*d*) that arrangements will be made whereby areas having the largest population of any community will return most of the members of that community under the reserved seats system.

Sir Jogendra Singh and Raja Narendra Nath accepted . . .but failed to persuade their co-religionists to accept them. Sir Jogendra Singh could get only seven out of thirteen Sikh members of the Legislative Council to sign the proposed agreement. Sardar Ujjal Singh, Sardar Sampuran Singh, Master Tara Singh and Sardar Sant Singh objected to the differential franchise. . .and started a tearing campaign against the so-called Punjab Formula. At the next meeting of the Khalsa Durbar, it was proposed that Singh Sabhas should expel those who had signed the agreement. Sir Jogendra Singh confessed that he was unable to implement his promise as long as the differential franchise was not given up, but Fazl-i-Husain was not prepared to do so. The truth of the matter

was that the Sikhs wanted representation in the electorate more than the other communities and were unwilling to give up the advantage which high franchise qualification gave them.

Raja Narendra Nath's voice was a voice in the wilderness and generally the Hindus were strongly against it, and only one Hindu member of the Legislative Council signed the agreement. Sir Gokal Chand Narang, who was hoping that the Hindu-Sikh combination (who were 57% in the existing electoral roll) would be able to dominate the Punjab, refused to abide by the agreement and started a campaign against it. He was fully supported by the Hindu Press in spite of the fact that the Congress and the Hindus had been advocating adult sufferage and on that account logically should have had no objection to the Muslim population being reflected in the voting register. The Punjab Provincial Hindu Youth League held a meeting to protest against the Punjab Formula, and Bhai Parmanand threatened to lead an agitation on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha against it. The Hindus, like Sikhs, who enjoyed a weightage of 6%, were not prepared to forego the advantages which the Communal Award had secured them in the Punjab...

Thus the opposition of the Hindus and Sikhs to work joint electorates in case the Muslims had majority of votes in the voting register according to their population strength clearly showed the selfishness of the Hindu leaders of provinces where they were in a minority, and it also revealed that separate electorates was not the creed of the Muslims but of minorities irrespective of religion. It appears that the Punjab Hindus had been pressing for joint electorates not because they believed in joint electorates, but because the Muslim voting strength was weak and they could dominate the province. Fazl-i-Husain's readiness to discuss a formula of joint electorates tore asunder the veil that shrouded their designs and the intense selfishness of a minority community wanting to rule over the majority was exposed.

...As soon as it was known that Fazl-i-Husain was entertaining proposals for accepting joint electorates certain...Muslim leaders like Dr. Iqbal, Sheikh Rahim Bakhsh and Sheikh Din Muhammad raised their voice in protest. Dr. Iqbal held a joint meeting of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and the Punjab Muslim Conference and condemned the Punjab Formula....The Inqilab opined that although the Muslims were indebted to Fazl-i-Husain for many things,

they would reject this proposal, just as similar proposals made by Dr. Ansari and Abul Kalam Azad had been rejected by the Muslims, and that they could not allow him to lead the Muslim League or the Muslim Conference or any other Muslim organization.[1] Fazl-i-Husain felt that the Muslims who opposed the formula did not understand it and at once wrote to Dr. Iqbal: "As things stand, you know perfectly well that I am definitely against joint electorates but it does not mean that in the Punjab under no circumstances can I be for joint electorates. The Lothian Franchise Committee and His Majesty's Government agreed to have a differentiating franchise in the case of depressed classes and in the case of women, but refused to have it in case of Muslims in the Punjab. Under the proposed agreement, Muslims, who hitherto have been a minority in the voting register will gain a majority in the electorate and can, therefore, have no justification in asking for separate electorates. . .To sum up, of the eighty-four constituencies reserved for Muslims, Muslims will have majorities in every one of them, while of the seventy-three Hindu and Sikh constituencies, in as many as twenty-six, Hindus and Sikhs will not have their majority, with the result that the election in these twenty-six constituencies can be controlled by Muslims, or to put it differently, over and above the seats reserved for Muslims, in twenty-six out of seventy-three, Muslims have considerable influence in getting reasonable, fair-minded and just Hindus and Sikhs returned, and surely this is bound to make for stability of parties and establishment of responsible government".

These arguments and several others. . .convinced Dr. Iqbal and his supporters. . .and most of them agreed to support the proposals. Objections, however, appeared from another quarter, namely, the Muslim delegates[2] to the Round Table Conference in London, and the Aga Khan speaking for the leading members of the Delegation, protested on the grounds that:—

"(*i*) it will break up the solidarity of Muslims in India. It is only after a great deal of work that we have been able to build up a united programme for Muslims which is supported by every Province throughout India. Our community will then be disorganized and split into innumerable fragments;

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1. Dated May 28, 1933.
2. The Aga Khan, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad, Chaudhri Zafrullah Khan, A.H. Ghaznavi.

"(*ii*) it will produce a very deep cleavage between the Muslims of the Eastern and Western Punjab, and Muslims belonging to the rural areas and those who come from the urban areas;

"(*iii*) it will be difficult to prevent every part of the Communal Award being topsy-turvy, and Muslims in minority provinces will be dragged into the discussion of the percentages to which they would be entitled as a result of this pact between the Hindus, Sikhs and others of the Punjab. The Punjab question does not and cannot stand alone, it is a part of the All-India question and, however strongly and persistently we may try to localize this issue, it will be found that the whole question of communal proportions throughout India will be re-opened for discussion:

"(*iv*) We have succeeded in settling this problem after years of strenuous work of campaign for our rights which is unparalleled in the history of modern Islam in India. If this question is re-opened for discussion, I am very much afraid that all our efforts will be thrown away;

"(*v*) The Diehards here are very active and there is a very great fear indeed of Provincial Autonomy being shorn of a great deal of its vigour. I very much fear that if this communal question is raised afresh we will play into the hands of the Diehards, who will insist on preserving law and order throughout India."[1]

Fazl-i-Husain explained the proposal as he had done to Dr. Iqbal and *inter alia* added: "Indian Muslims cannot ignore a patent fact that they have been left in the lurch so far as Bengal is concerned, and that is entirely due to the fact that the British representation on the local legislature is excessive. The only province where, therefore, Muslims can consolidate their position and not remain at the absolute mercy of the Governor or other communities, is the Punjab, provided in the province they can secure co-operation of certain sections of Hindus and Sikhs. If the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab are prepared to concede this (differential franchise) to Muslims, why should Muslims, provided they ose nothing thereby, refuse to make friends? It seems to me, therefore,

1. Letter dated May 10, 1933 from Aga Khan.

that if Hindus and Sikhs support this arrangement, it would be wrong on the part of Muslims not to take advantage of it."[1]...This convinced the Muslim delegates in London that the Punjab Formula was highly desirable both from the Muslim and the national point of view, and they agreed to stand by it, if the Hindus and the Sikhs accepted it. But the Hindus and the Sikhs refused to agree and the negotiations failed."[2]

"Once he was in Lahore, his friends and admirers pressed him to return to politics and before long, he was in the thick of affairs. He set to work with his usual thoroughness, and re-organised the Unionist Party, in readiness for the coming elections. His exclusive pre-occupation, however, with the provincial requirements brought him in conflict with the Quaid-i-Azam. His stature in national life, ability and services to the Muslims were known to the Quaid, who was now re-organising the Muslim League. The Quaid was very keen that Fazl-i-Husain should give "a lead to the Mussalmans of India" at this crucial moment, and on 5th January 1936 wrote a letter inviting him to preside over the coming session of the League. This letter is of great interest as containing the Quaid's views about Fazl-i-Husain, expressed six months and four days before the latter's death. He wrote :

"At the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, it was the unanimous wish of everyone that you should be asked to preside over the next session of the League. As soon as I suggested your name, it was cordially welcomed. I, alongwith many others, feel that at this moment no one can give a better lead to the Mussalmans of India than yourself. Of course, it will be a great honour to the League to have you to preside over our deliberations and I am confident that you will be welcomed universally and I trust that you will accept the call at this moment. I think that you can render the greatest service at this moment, and add to your laurels, and I am very anxious that you should give me your authority to announce your name. We want a man of your calibre and experience, and nobody can so well, at this critical moment as far as I can see, perform that duty and render that service to the community as you would be able to. I am afraid I have perhaps not expressed adequately how strongly I feel that your presence is necessary mainly and solely in the interests of the community, but I hope you will under-

1. Letter dated June 5, 1933.
2. Azim Hussain, op. cit. pp. 263-285.

stand and if you can, do send me a wire "Accept it". Your refusal will be the greatest misfortune and a terrible disappointment to me personally".[1]

قائد اعظم سے ۱۹۳۶ء کے انتخابات کے مسئلہ پر اختلاف

"جب ہندوستان کے نئے آئین نے پارلیمنٹ کے مختلف مراحل طے کرنے کے بعد گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا ایکٹ ۱۹۳۵ء کی شکل اختیار کر لی تو ابھی صرف اس کا ایک حصہ صوبائی خود مختاری کے متعلق نافذ ہونے والا تھا - مرکز کو نئی فیڈرل صورت دینے کا مرحلہ بہت دور اور غیر یقینی تھا - اس سے پہلے والیان ریاست کے ساتھ گفت و شنید اور فیڈریشن کے ساتھ اُن کے الحاق کی شرائط طے کرنا ضروری تھا - عبوری دور کے لیے مجوزہ فیڈریشن کے اختیارات موجودہ مرکزی حکومت کے سپرد کر دئیے گیے تھے -

صوبائی خود مختاری کے نظام کو عملی شکل دینے کے لیے صوبوں میں انتخابات کی آمد آمد ہوئی تو ایک نکتے پر مسٹر جناح اور مسٹر فضل حسین کے درمیان پھر اختلاف پیدا ہو گیا - بظاہر نقطۂ اختلاف صرف یہ تھا کہ مسلم اکثریت کے صوبوں کی اسمبلیوں کے لیے مسلمانوں کو فرقہ وارانہ پارٹیاں بنانی چاہئیں یا یونینسٹ پارٹی کے نمونہ پر غیر فرقہ وارانہ پارٹیوں کے ذریعے کام کرنا چاہیے - مسٹر جناح نے اپنے ذہن میں یہ پروگرام بنایا کہ تمام صوبوں میں مسلم لیگ کے ٹکٹ پر انتخاب لڑے جائیں . . . وہ مسلمانوں کو مسلم لیگ کے زیر قیادت ایک آزادی پسندانہ پروگرام پر چلانا چاہتے تھے جس کی عملی صورت اس مرحلے پر ان کے نزدیک یہی تھی کہ صوبائی انتخاب کے ذریعے پورے ملک میں مسلم لیگ کے ٹکٹ پر مسلمانوں کی ایک پارلیمانی پارٹی ابھر آئے جو ملک کی آزادی کے سوال پر کانگریس کے ساتھ تعاون و اشتراک عمل کرے - یہ پروگرام اس ذہنی مفروضے پر مبنی تھا کہ کانگرس بھی اپنی طرف سے اس بات کی ضمانت دینے کو تیار ہو جائیگی کہ آزادی

1. Ikram, S.M. op. cit., pp. 225-26.

کے آئین میں مسلمانوں کو کم از کم وہ تحفظات حاصل ہوں گے جو کیمونل ایوارڈ میں درج تھے ۔ آزادی کے لیے اس آئینی جنگ کے ساتھ ساتھ مسٹر جناح صوبائی مسلم لیگ پارٹیوں کو وزارتیں بنانے اور وزارتوں میں حصہ لینے کی اجازت دینا منظور کرتے تھے ۔ ان کا خیال تھا کہ اس پروگرام پر مسلمانوں کے مختلف گروپوں اور مکاتیب خیال کو جمع کر سکیں ....

سر فضل حسین کو مسٹر جناح کے پروگرام سے کیا اختلاف تھا ۔ فی الحقیقت اختلاف کی بنیاد یہ تھی کہ مسٹر جناح کے نزدیک اصل اور اہم سوال ملک کی آزادی کا تھا اور سر فضل حسین کی توجہ صوبائی خود مختاری کے مواقع پر مرکوز تھی۔ تصویر کا دوسرا رخ جو سر فضل حسین پیش کرتے ہیں وہ بھی اپنی جگہ دلچسپ تھا ۔ وہ کہتے تھے کہ فرض کیجئے میں مسٹر جناح کے پروگرام کے مطابق پنجاب میں مسلم لیگ کے ٹکٹ پر انتخابی مہم شروع کروں ۔ اس کے دو لازمی نتائج ہوں گے (۱) میں اپنے امیدوار زیادہ سے زیادہ چھیاسی (۸۶) مسلم حلقوں میں نامزد کر سکوں گا (۲) فرقہ وارانہ نعرے پر میری انتخابی مہم کا لازمی رد عمل یہ ہوگا کہ ہندوؤں اور سکھوں میں بھی فرقہ وارانہ پارٹیوں کو تقویت ملے گی اور چھوٹورام گروپ کے لیے اپنے حلقوں میں سخت مشکلات پیدا ہو جائیں گی۔ گویا خود اپنے عمل سے میں اس غیر مسلم گروپ کو شکست کے اسباب مہیا کروں گا جو بارہ سال سے مضبوطی کے ساتھ مسلم کیمپ کا ساتھ دے رہا ہے ۔ اس کے بعد کیا ہوگا ؟ ۸۶ نشتیں صوبائی اسمبلی کے کل ایک سو پچھتر کے ایوان میں پہلے ہی اقلیت کی حیثیت رکھتیں ہیں ۔ لیکن عملی بات یہ ہے کہ انتہائی کامیابی کی صورت میں بھی مجھے پانچ دس فیصد حلقوں میں شکست کے لیے تیار رہنا چاہیے ۔ لہذا میری پارٹی انتخابات سے لازماً ایک اقلیت کی صورت میں برآمد ہوگی ۔ اس کے بعد میں ایسے گروپ کی تلاش کروں گا جو میرے ساتھ کولیشن کرنے کو تیار ہو اور دوسری پارٹیاں میری پارٹی کے بالمقابل کولیشن قائم کرنے کی کوشش

کریں گی - ایسے غیر یقینی حالات میں گورنر اگر چاہے گا تو مسلمان لیڈر کی وزارت بنا دے گا - اور دونوں صورتوں میں وزارت اُس کے ہاتھ میں کھلونا بنی رہے گی - یہی صورت بنگال میں پیش آئے گی - مسلم اکثریت کے یہی دو بڑے صوبے ہیں - مقصد یہ ہے کہ مسلم اکثریت کے صوبوں میں نئے آئین کے تحت مسلمانوں کو سیاسی اقتدار پر قبضہ کرنے کے لیے جو مواقع ملے ہیں - اُن سے فائدہ اُٹھایا جائے تو یہ طریقہ اُس مقصد کو حل کرنے کا نہیں بلکہ ضائع کرنے کا ہے اس کے بالمقابل وہ اپنا پروگرام یہ بتاتے تھے کہ یونینسٹ پارٹی کے نام میں ایسے پروگرام کی بنیاد پر جو مسلمانوں کے علاوہ غیر مسلموں کے ایک پسماندہ طبقے کے لیے بھی اقتصادی کشش رکھتا ہو - تمام مسلم حلقوں اور کم از کم نصف غیر مسلم حلقوں میں انتخاب لڑنا چاہتا ہو - پنجاب کی دیہاتی آبادی کو سود خوار مہاجن کے قرضے سے نجات دلانا اس مہم کا بنیادی نعرہ ہو گا - اس طرح مجھے کم از کم یہ موقع ملتا ہے کہ میں ایک قطعی اکثریت رکھنے والی پارٹی لے کر اسمبلی میں جاؤں جس میں مسلمانوں کو غالب عنصر کی حیثیت حاصل ہو اور ایک مضبوط اور فعال وزارت بناؤں . . . .

ان دلائل کے پیش نظر اُن کی رائے یہ تھی کہ مسلم لیگ کو صوبائی انتخابات میں دخل ہی نہ دینا چاہئیے - صرف مرکزی اسمبلی میں مسلم لیگ پارٹی بنانی چاہیے البتہ صوبائی انتخابات میں دخل دئیے بغیر اُسے مسلمانوں کے ایک متحدہ سیاسی پلیٹ فارم کی حیثیت سے (اُس سے پہلے اُس کی یہی حیثیت تھی) اپنے آپ کو اور اپنی آواز کو زیادہ مؤثر بنانا چاہیے - اس کی صورت اُن کے خیال میں یہ تھی کہ صوبائی انتخابات کے بعد مسٹر جناح تمام صوبوں کے منتخب شدہ مسلمان ممبروں کا اور مرکزی اسمبلیوں اور کونسل آف سٹیٹ کے منتخب شدہ ممبروں کا ایک کنونشن طلب کریں اور اس کنونشن کو مستقل صورت دے کر اسے مسلم لیگ کی تنظیم میں بنیادی اور کلیدی جگہ دیں - اُنھوں نے آل پارٹیز مسلم لیگ کانفرنس کے اگزیکٹو بورڈ کے ایک اجلاس میں

جو ۱۶ فروری ۱۹۳۶ء کو آغا خاں کی صدارت میں دہلی میں منعقد ہوا یہ خیال بھی ظاہر کیا کہ انتخابات کے بعد اگر مسٹر جناح نے اس قسم کا کنونشن بلانے کی تجویز کو قبول نہ کیا تو میں خود اس کا اہتمام کروں گا . . . .

(سر فضل حسین کے مطابق) مسلمانوں کو صوبائی انتخاب اس مقصد اوّل کے ساتھ لڑنا چاہیے کہ چار خود مختار صوبوں میں سیاسی اقتدار حاصل کرنے کے لیے جو مواقع موجود ہیں اُن پر مضبوطی کے ساتھ قبضہ کریں یہ مقصد حاصل ہو جائے اور مسلمان اپنی مرکزی تنظیم کو بھی مضبوط رکھیں تو آگے قدم بڑھانے میں مدد ملے گی . . . . ۱۹۳۶ء کے آغاز میں مسٹر جناح نے اپنے نقطۂ نگاہ کے مطابق مسلم لیگ کے زیر اہتمام انتخابی مہم کی تیاریاں شروع کیں اور لاہور میں سر فضل حسین نے اپنے مخصوص طریق کار کے مطابق . . . . خطوط لکھوانے اور ملاقاتیوں کے ساتھ سیاسی گفت و شنید کا سلسلہ شروع کر دیا۔ مسٹر جناح کو ابتدائی گفت و شنید میں سب سے زیادہ حوصلہ افزائی کامیابی یو - پی میں ہوئی جہاں مسلم یونٹی بورڈ کے لیڈروں نے اپنے آپ کو مسلم لیگ کی انتخابی مہم میں مدغم کرنے فیصلہ کر لیا . . . .

مسلم لیگ کے مرکزی پارلیمانی بورڈ کا اعلان کرنے سے پہلے اپریل ۱۹۳۶ء کی آخری تاریخوں میں مسٹر جناح لاہور تشریف لائے۔ یہاں مشترک دوستوں نے اُن کی سر فضل حسین کے ساتھ ملاقات اور بالمشافہ گفتگو کا انتظام کیا ۔ ملاقات جو ان دونوں کی آخری ملاقات تھی سر فضل حسین کے مکان پر ہوئی . . دونوں نے اکٹھے چائے پی اور ایک دوسرے کو قائل کرنے کی کوشش کی ۔ اس گفتکو کے متعلق بعد میں جو کچھ معلوم ہو سکا اس میں ایک نکتہ بہت دلچسپ اور اہم تھا۔ مسٹر جناح نے دوران گفتگو اپنے میزبان سے پوچھا فرض کیجئے آپ کی مخلوط پارٹی کو ہندو حلقوں میں کامیابی حاصل ہو لیکن وہ مسلم حلقوں میں شکست کھا کر عملاً ہندو اکثریت کی پارٹی بن جائے تو آپ کیا کریں گے ؟ سر فضل حسین نے کہا میرا اصرار یہ ہے کہ اگر مسلمان

من حیثت الجماعت میرے منصوبے کو قبول کریں تو وہ آپ کے منصوبہ کی نسبت بہتر نتائج حاصل کرنے کی توقع کر سکتے ہیں ۔ لیکن اگر مسلمان میرے منصوبے کو مسترد کر دیں تو میں یقیناً اسے ترک کر کے نہ صرف میدان آپ کے منصوبے کے لیے خالی کر دوں گا بلکہ اس کی کامیابی کے لیے حتی الوسع زور بھی لگاؤں گا ۔ ایک سوال پر سر فضل حسین نے اُن سے پوچھا اگر مسلمان ممبروں کی اکثریت میرے ساتھ ہو اور چند مسلم نشستیں مسلم لیگ جیت لے تو وہ پارٹی کیا کرے گی ؟ مسٹر جناح نے فرمایا ۔ اس بارے میں اس کے سوا کیا کہا جا سکتا ہے کہ مسلم لیگ پارٹی وہی قدم اُٹھائے گی جو اس کے نزدیک مسلمانوں کے اور ملک کے مفاد میں ہو گا ۔ اس گفتگو کے بعد مسٹر جناح اور ان کے ساتھ چوہدری شہاب الدین مکان سے باہر نکلے تو تین اخبار نویس اُن کے منتظر تھے ۔ مسٹر جناح نے مسکراتے ہوئے اُن سے کہا ۔ صاحبان ہم دونوں ''باتوں میں آپس میں متفق ہو گئے ہیں ۔ ایک اس بات پر کہ ہم دونوں کی رائے میں اپنا اپنا راستہ درست ہے اور دوسرے اس بات پر کہ انتخابات کا نتیجہ نکلنے کے بعد ہم پھر ملاقات اور تبادلہ خیالات کریں گے ۔ لیکن اس ملاقات کی نوبت نہ آسکی کیونکہ اس گفتگو سے تقریباً تین ماہ بعد ۱۱ اگست ۱۹۳۶ء کو سر فضل حسین اس دینا سے رخصت ہو گئے ۔ صوبائی انتخابات میں ابھی کئی مہینے باقی تھے ۔''[۱]

"(Fazl-i-Husain) did not anticipate how quickly the British were to leave or how real the power of the ministers would be in 1937. He does not seem to have realised that the final phase of the struggle— "the war of succession"– was about to begin. Not only did he decline the opportunity to preside over the momentous session of the All-India Muslim League but gave no encouragement to the League leader when he visited Lahore in the last days of April 1936. He wrote to Sir Sikander Hyat on 6 May 1936: "Jinnah's move in establishing a Central Parliamentary Board of the League was a wrong move, detrimental to Indian Muslim's Interests, and firmly set his face against any interference in

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۱ ۔ سید نور احمد ۔ 'مارشل لاء سے مارشل لاء تک' صفحہ نمبر ۱۷۲ تا ۱۸۰

provincial politics by the All-India Muslim League. Two iron wills were, now, in headlong collision. . . .

Fazl-i-Husain's differences with the Quaid have received a great deal of publicity, but apparently the attitude of the prominent Muslim leaders in other majority areas was not very different. Fazl-i-Husain's discussions with the Quaid took place in April, 1936. The first meeting of the All-India Muslim League Parliamentary Board was held at Lahore several weeks later. About the response from Bengal, Hasan Ispahani writes: "Of the forty members from Bengal, only Abdul Rehman Siddiqi and I went to Lahore to attend the meeting of the Board."[1] At that time, two major groups had emerged in Bengal to fight the coming elections. One was the United Muslim Party of Bengal, of which the leaders were Khawaja Nazimuddin, Nawab Habibullah of Dacca, Nawab K.G.M. Farooqi of Ratanpur, H. S. Suhrawardy and others. . . . The other group, viz. Krishak Proja Samity, contained younger and more radical elements —like the pro-Congress Nausher Ali, Shamsuddin Ahmed, Humayun Kabir, Nawabzada Hasan Ali of Bogra,—and was headed by A. K. Fazal-ul-Haq. Neither of these two groups, continues Isphani, "wanted to have truck with the All-India Muslim League".[2] Fazl-ul-Haq's group opposed the Muslim League at the elections, but even the United Muslim Party, which later merged with the League, had, at least till the beginning of June 1936, strong objections to the elections being fought on the League ticket and to the establishment of a Muslim League parliamentary party in Bengal. The letter which Husain Shaheed Suhrawardy wrote, on behalf of the United Muslim Party, to the President of Muslim League on 4 June 1936, is an interesting document. . .In this, Suhrawardy wrote . . ."While the Party feel it would be certainly advantageous to have a central party formed on an All-India basis, they at the same time are of the opinion that local conditions may compel the Muslims for the purposes of the forthcoming Provincial elections to make local arrangements. We desire to assure you that the United Muslim Party, Bengal, in no way clashes with the All-India Muslim League or its Provincial Body. It has been formed with the same objects as suggested by the League in its excellently-worded resolutions, namely, that the Muslims

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1. M.A.H. Ispahani, 'Quaid-i-Azam—As I knew him', p.16 Presumably forty members were not from Bengal but constituted the bulk of the Board. Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman gives a full list of fifty-four members, out of whom only seven were from Bengal (pp. 416-17).
2. *Ibid.*

should organise themselves as one party with an advanced and progressive programme facilitating the education of the electorate and co-operation between groups with proximate aims and ideals".[1] Next, he gave reasons for setting up of the United Muslim Party and, while offering support and co-operation to the League, emphatically requested the League leader not to run the elections in Bengal on the League ticket. He wrote:

"We, therefore, are definitely of opinion that the elections should not be run on the ticket of Muslim League. It will only create confusion, and bring about a cleavage in our ranks which we are most anxious to avoid and which will ruin the cause of the Muslims in Bengal, and, possibly in other places, for decades to come"[2]...

Hatim A. Alavi has given details of what happened in Sind, and it makes depressing reading. When the Quaid wished to visit Sind to prepare the ground for the coming elections, he wrote to Alvi who tried to arrange a dinner in his honour, at which prominent Muslim leaders were to become joint hosts. Alavi made this proposal to a number of prominent Muslims. "The extent of demoralisation of Muslim public men in those days may be imagined from the fact that none of them was willing to be included in the list of hosts ..."[3] In the elections "Muslim League could win no seat". Alavi also "with Mr. Jinnah's permission joined the United Muslim Party"[4].

The position of N.W.F.P. was similar. Farigh Bukhari has given an account of the visit paid by the Quaid to Peshawar in 1935. At that time, the two prominent public leaders in Peshawar city were Khan Pir Bakhsh Khan and Sardar Abdul Rab Nishter. In the mofussil, the Khan Brothers and their Khudai Khidmatgars were dominant, but "even the two acknowledged leaders of Peshawar city gave no encouragement ot the Quaid".[5] Sahibzada Sir Abdul Qayum considered the Quaid's activities harmful to his interests. The response was so poor that no more than 200 attended the public meeting held in the extensive Shahi Bagh. Not a single League candidate was successful in the provincial elections.

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1. Mukhtar Masood, ed. Eye Witnesses of History, January 1968, pp. 8—9.
2. Ibid p. 10.
3. Vide Hatim Alvi's article "The leader I knew best" in 'Quaid-i-Azam as seen by his contemporaries' (compiled by Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad) p.59.
4. Ibid p. 60
5. Safia Sultana Anwar, Ed. 'Quaid-i-Azam Meri Nazar Men', p. 190.

Response from the Muslim minority provinces was better, especially from those groups which had no objection to co-operation with the Congress, but the dismal situation, which confronted the Quaid in 1936, —and the measure of his ultimate achievement —may be judged by the fact that at this juncture even Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, who had been elected Secretary of the All-India Muslim League in 1936, kept away from the League platform. After pointing out that U.P. sent a strong contingent to the meeting of All-India Muslim League Parliamentary Board held at Lahore in June 1936, Ispahani says, "The one who was missing and later became General Secretary and one of the pillars of the Pakistan movement and its first Prime Minister after Independence was Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan,[1] who with Nawab of Chattari and Nawab Muhammad Yusuf had disassociated himself from the Muslim League Parliamentary Board because fifty per cent of the seats in the Provincial Board had not been given to the National Agriculturist Party of which they were members and also because of the suspicion that, to use Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan's words, 'this group (Chaudhry Khaliquzzamans party) is regarded with suspicion by the majority of Muslims as having a veiled kinship with the Congress".[2] Liaqat did not join the Muslim League Party (in U.P. Assembly) till the beginning of 1938,[3] i.e. long after the Lucknow session of Muslim League (October 1937), at which Fazl-ul-Haq and Sikandar Hayat Khan, the chief ministers of Bengal and Punjab, respectively, had declared that Muslim members of their parties would join the Muslim League.

Perhaps, in fairness to the stalwarts like Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan and Khwaja Nazimuddin, it is necessary to point out that in 1936—and in fact till after its assumption of office in 1937, the Congress completely cold-shouldered the Muslim League—the Quaid's political policy had not crystallised on the lines which were adopted later. So far he had been keeping very close to the Congress and his obvious desire was to come to a fair settlement with that body and jointly fight the battle of national independence. This is clear from the close harmony which he maintained at that time with the Congress leaders in the Central Legislature. The League fought the 1936 elections with an eye on Congress-League coalitions in the provinces. The bitter struggle which later ensued

1. This is not supported by Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman who names Liaqat as one who attended (p. 144) but Liaqat kept away from the Provincial Parliamentary Board.
2. M.A.H. Ispahani, op. cit., pp. 18-19.
3. Ibid, p. 18.

between the Congress and the League should not obscure the fact that till the middle of 1937, the position was quite different. On 1 March 1936 (i.e. less than two months before the abortive Jinnah-Fazl-i-Husain talks) Jinnah declared in a gathering at the Town Hall of Lahore:

"Whatever I have done, let me assure you, there has been no change in me, not the slightest, since the days when I joined the Indian National Congress .... It might be I have been wrong on some occasions. But it has never been done in a partisan spirit. My sole and only object has been the welfare of my country. I assure you that India's interest is and will be sacred to me and nothing will make me budge an inch from that position."[1]

The sort of reputation which Jinnah enjoyed in the middle of the thirties may be seen from the observations of Sir James Grigg, Finance Member of the Government of India from 1934 to early 1939, "...Mr. Jinnah was the nationalist from Bombay whose anti-British record was almost as clear as Gandhi's own..."[2] About Jinnah's position at that time Professor Coupland's assessment is similar. "He had been a sectional rather than a communal leader, a man of the left, the exponent of a forceful anti-British nationalism which had seemed to conservative minded Muslims to show that he was dangerously 'Congress-minded".[3]

This opinion may, today, appear overcharged, but, considering its prevalence in responsible British circles, it is not difficult to see why in 1936—especially during the uncertain pre-election days—Muslim leaders in the majority provinces were hesitant about committing themselves to the League. Apparently, Jinnah had to move somewhat to the right and join hands with men like Sir Sikander Hayat Khan and Sir Nazimuddin before his leadership became broadbased and he could become the leader of the Muslim people. Before Muhammad Ali Jinnah could become the Quaid-i-Azam, he had to move nearer to the path shown by Syed Ahmed Khan.

At any rate, if a veteran Leaguer like Liaqat Ali Khan could not adhere to the Muslim League political party in 1937, it should not be difficult to understand Fazl-i-Husain's hesitation in 1936.

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1. The Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore, 3 March 1936 (p. 4).
2. J. Grigg, 'Prejudice and Judgement', p. 282.
3. R. Coupland, 'Indian Politics' 1936—42, p. 183.

Mian Fazl-i-Husain's acute controversy with the founder of Pakistan during his last months has cast a shadow on his memory. Even otherwise, the policy followed by him during his last years was severely criticised by his old friend Iqbal in a speech delivered in 1935. He accused Fazl-i-Husain of accentuating rural-urban differences among Muslims of the province and of supporting "some third-class men" for high offices so that there may be none to challenge his supremacy. Mian Fazl-i-Husain's son and biographer has attributed the position regarding leadership to the material at the disposal of his father, but adds, "There is, however, this to be admitted that in spite of the existence of the Unionist Party for over 12 years, Fazl-i-Husain found the party towards the end, destitute of first-rate Muslim leaders".[1]

Fazl-i-Husain's actions towards the end of his life have obscured his true image. The disastrous attitude which the Unionist Party took upon the very eve of the partition has further estranged public opinion. In making an overall assessment, however, activities of a lifetime have to be taken into consideration, and there is no doubt that during the twenties and early thirties, Fazl-i-Husain played a most important and constructive role. If a single man is to be selected as the "maker of the modern Muslim Punjab", perhaps the title would be his. But his work was not confined to the provincial sphere. Beginning with his help in 1924 to revive the Muslim League and demand majority representation for Muslims in provinces where they were in a majority, the struggle he kept up for safeguarding Muslim separatism at a time when even the future Quaid-i-Azam said, "I am a nationalist first, a nationalist second and nationalist third" (1925) and above all through the efforts, he made to safeguard Muslim interests during the crucial years of 1930-35, Fazl-i-Husain materially strengthened the basic forces which ultimately led to the establishment of Pakistan. Willingdon is reported to have said that in his opinion only two leaders of Indian Muslims had rendered solid, lasting service to the community and they were Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Mian Fazl-i-Husain.[2] This statement was made before the Quaid-i-Azam entered the most fruitful period of his career, and his achievements easily overshadow those of all his contemporaries. Amongst the Muslim men of affairs, Syed Ahmed Khan—the Father of the Modern Muslim India—and the Quaid-i-Azam—the Father of Pakistan—

1. Azim Hussain: op. cit., p. 318.
2. Abdul Majid Salik, Sarguzasht (Urdu) p. 361.

rise, incomparably, above everybody else. Those who directly took part in the final struggle for Pakistan—i.e. after 1940 or, at any rate, after 1937 (when Fazl-i-Husain was dead)—also stand in a class by themselves. Amongst the rest, Mian Fazl-i-Husain has as good a claim as anyone else to pre-eminence, on account of his solid, fruitful services to the Muslim cause".[1]

1. Ikram S. M., op. cit., pp. 226—233.

CHAPTER XVI

Sikandar Hayat Khan, Jinnah-Sikandar Pact, Shahid Ganj Tragedy, Hindu-Muslim Relations and other important matters 1936—1942.*

Sikandar Hayat Khan and the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact

Sikandar Hayat Khan was born in 1892 at Multan . . . Soon after his father's death he was sent to Aligarh where he joined the Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental Collegiate High School, and later went to England for higher education. Some trouble arose during his stay in England and he returned in July 1910 without a degree. During the First World War, Sikandar rose to be a Captain and got an M.B.E., but he was also interested in commerce and industry and was Director or Managing Director of a number of industrial concerns. In 1921 he was elected to the provincial legislature, but his election was set aside and he had to wait till 1924 before he could enter the Legislative Assembly. His first important assignment came in 1928 when he headed the Punjab Reforms Committee set up by the Provincial Legislative Council to work in collaboration with the Simon Commission. After that, his rise was very rapid. In 1929 he became the Revenue Member of the Government of the Punjab and acted as Governor in 1932. In 1936 he was elected leader of the Unionist Party after the death of Fazl-i-Husain . . . .

In the elections of 1936, the Unionists won 96 out of 175 seats, thus gaining a clear majority in the Assembly, but Sikandar formed a coalition cabinet with three Muslims, two Hindus and one Sikh. He left the choice of non-Muslim representatives to the non-Muslim members and did not attempt to impose on them persons of his or his party's choice . . . . At the elections, the Unionist Party had opposed the Muslim League,

*Material for this chapter has been taken from—

Ikram, S. M.	Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan, Lahore, 1969.
Batalvi, Ashiq Hussain :	Iqbal Ke Akhri Do Sal, Karachi, 1960.
Ahmed, Syed Nur Ahmed :	Martial Law Se Martial Law Tak, Lahore, 1967.
Allana, G:	Pakistan Movement : Histori Documents, Karachi : 1967.
Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah, Lahore, 1956.	

The Daily Paisa Akhbar.
The Daily Inqilab.
The Indian Annual Register.

but when, after assumption of office, the Congress refused to take true Muslim representatives into cabinets and there was great bitterness amongst Muslims all over the country, Sikandar joined hands with the Quaid-i-Azam. The Punjab Premier and the Quaid came to a compromise[1] and at the Lucknow session of the All-India Muslim League, the former announced that he was advising all the Muslim members of the Unionist Party in the Punjab to join the League. This was the shining hour of Sikandar's political career.

M.A.H. Ispahani in his book *Quaid-i-Azam as I Knew Him*, has taken a completely different view of Sikandar's action. According to him, Sikandar Hayat, "with his Unionist followers, joined the Muslim League not out of deep conviction but merely as a matter of necessity. . . .As an astute politician, Sikandar realized the potential danger to his Ministry. He knew that the Unionist Ministry by itself could not withstand the tide of Congress totalitarianism unless he secured the support of a Muslim organization functioning on an all-India plan". . . .

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1. The terms of the "Pact" were as follows :

سر سکندر نے آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کے سالانہ اجلاس میں مندرجہ ذیل بیان پڑھا جو سکندر جناح پیکٹ کے نام سے مشہور ہوا

"(۱) پنجاب میں واپس پہنچ کر میں یونینسٹ پارٹی کا خاص اجلاس طلب کروں گا۔ اور پارٹی کے تمام ارکان کو جو اب تک مسلم لیگ ممبر نہیں ہیں۔ لیگ کا ممبر بننے کا مشورہ دوں گا تاکہ وہ لیگ کے منشور پر دستخط کر دیں۔ بعد ازاں انہیں آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کی مرکزی اور صوبیجاتی جماعتوں کے آئین و ضوابط کا پابند ہونا پڑے گا۔ اس بات کا اتحاد پارٹی کے تازہ منشور عمل پر کوئی اثر نہیں پڑے گا۔

(۲) آئندہ انتخابات یا ضمنی انتخابات میں جو اس میثاق کے نافذالعمل ہونے کے بعد آئینی مجالس کے سلسلہ میں ہوں گے مسلم لیگ اور یونینسٹ پارٹی ان امیدواروں کی مشترکہ اور متحدہ طور پر تائید و حمائت کریں گی جنہیں یہ جماعتیں باھمی صلاح و مشورہ سے کھڑا کریں گی، مجالس متفقہ کے مسلم ارکان جو مسلم لیگ کے ٹکٹ پر منتخب ہوئے ہیں یا جنہوں نے مسلم لیگ کے ٹکٹ کو قبول کر لیا ہو اتحاد پارٹی کے اندر مسلم لیگ پارٹی قائم کرنے کے مجاز ہوں گے۔ موجودہ پارٹی اپنا نام یونینسٹ پارٹی قائم رکھے گی۔" پیسہ اخبار مورخہ ۲۱ - اکتوبر ۱۹۳۷ء

There seems, however, no basis for the view that in October 1937 "the tide of Congress totalitarianism" posed a threat to the Unionist Ministry in the Punjab. The elections had been fought only a year earlier, and the poor show of the Congress in the Punjab indicated the size of the threat from that direction. Indeed, by joining the Muslim League (and securing ONE additional vote in the Assembly!) the Unionists ran a greater and more immediate risk of alienating a large block of Hindu supporters. Sikandar adriotly avoided this, but on the basis of the data available, it is difficult to endorse Ispahani's thesis. For one thing, efforts for the League-Unionist *rapproachement* had started long before the Muslim Mass Contact Movement or even the Congress success at the elections. In *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*, published by the Quaid, there is a letter written on 25th June 1936 (pp. 9-10) indicating Sikandar's plans to see the Quaid in Bombay, and containing the basic compromise formula which, after elaboratoron and amendment, was adopted at Lucknow in October 1937. There is another letter dated 23rd August 1936 on the same subject (p.10). In *Eye Witnesses of History* also there is a letter dated 22nd August 1936 from Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana in which he writes to the Qauid: "I am writing to Sikandar to have a talk with you and try to come to a working settlement". Ahmad Yar Khan became the Chief Parliamentary Secretary in the New Unionist Ministry in April 1937. Early next month, he issued an important public statement in which it was emphasized that all Muslims of the Punjab, whether Unionist or non-Unionist, were with Mr. Jinnah in All-India matters, and the only difference was owing to the Unionists' reluctance to disband a useful, non-communal party[1]... Syed Nur Ahmad ... also gives details about the efforts of Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Nawab Shah Nawaz of Mamdot to bring about this settlement. What he writes also explains why Sikandar-Jinnah agreement came only after a break between the League and the Congress. Giving reasons for Sikandar's earlier hesitation, he says, "Hitherto, it was not clear what shape the efforts for the League-Congress understanding would take. If there was an understanding, what would be its terms? Would the Unionist Party in the Punjab be able to abide by them?[2] The League-Congress RAPPROACHEMENT[3], if it had come, would have not

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1. *The Civil and Military Gazette*. Lahore, 7th May 1937 (as cited by Dr. Ashiq Husain Batalvi, op, cit., p. 477).
2. Syed Nur Ahmad, *Martial Law Se Martial Law Tak*, p. 188
3. After analysing League's election manifesto and understanding its close similarity with the Congress manifesto, Professor Coupland infers that JINNAH wanted to revive the League-Congress concord of 1916 (R. Coupland, *INDIA—A RESTATEMENT*.)

only affected the position of the Hindu Unionists like Sir Chhotu Ram, but—what was more important in the peculiar conditions of the Punjab—it would have also influenced the attitude of the Governor and the British bureaucracy towards the Unionist Party, if it had been allied with the League. The break between the League and the Congress simplified the position. It was now possible, for the Muslim Unionists to join the League without alienating the Governor and the bureaucrats"...,

The arrangements at Lucknow were in the nature of a compromise or a half-way house and were intended to safeguard the interests of both the Muslim League and the Unionist Party. It is also true that when the Muslim League gradually gained strength and not only tightened its discipline, but also adopted new political objectives which were not easy to reconcile with those of the Unionist Party, the position of Sikandar became increasingly uncomfortable. In this situation, especially when trying to defend the Unionist Party before his critics in the Punjab—e.g. in a speech in the Punjab Assembly on 11th March 1941—he expressed views, which....did not fully accord with the Muslim League point of view. The Punjab Premier was trying "to sail in two boats"—the arrangements at Lucknow were calculated to facilitiate that—but it is worth noting that on the occasions when choice became inevitable—i.e. when on 11th September 1941 (i.e. long after his speech of 11th March 1941) the Quaid-i-Azam decided that Muslim members of National Defence Council should resign, Sikandar faithfully carried out the League mandate. In fact, not only did he promptly resign from the National Defence Council, but also undertook to persuade A. K. Fazl-ul-Haq to do the same....

The most violent criticism of Sikandar came from a group, which had formed itself into the re-organized Punjab Provincial Muslim League, soon after the breakdown of Jinnah-Fazl-i-Husain talks. This organization was later refused affiliation on technical grounds by the All-India Muslim League, but it had the powerful support of Iqbal and had done usefu. ..ork after it was set up in June 1936. Its point of view is expressed in Iqbal's strongly-worded letter of 10 November 1937[1], which

1. (The letter is :

10th November, 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

After having several talks with Sir Sikandar and his friends I am now definitely of the opinion that Sir Sikandar wants nothing less than the complete control of the League and the Provincial Parliamentary Board. In your pact with him it is mentioned

(*Foot-note continued on p.* 487)

Ispahani quotes at length, and more fully in Dr. Ashiq Hussain Batalvi's book, *Iqbal Ke Akhri Do Sal*. It is however, noteworthy that in this controversy between Sikandar and the group claiming Iqbal's support, the Quaid-i-Azam did not endorse Iqbal's point of view. As Dr. Batalvi mournfully points out at the end of his *Iqbal Ke Akhri Do Sal*, when the All-India Muslim League Council met at Calcutta on 18-19th April 1938 (i.e. two-three days before the death of Iqbal) 25 out of 35 seats on the Organizing Committee set up for the League work in the Punjab were given to Sikandar's nominees and only 10 to the group which

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(*Continued from p. 486*)
that the Parliamentary Board will be reconstituted and that the Unionists will have majority in the Board. Sir Sikandar tells me that you agreed to their majority in the Board. I wrote to you some time ago to enquire whether you did agree to the Unionist majority in the Board. So far I have not heard from you. I personally see no harm in giving him the majority that he wants but he goes beyond the pact when he wants a complete change in the office-holders of the League, especially the Secretary who has done so much for the League. He also wishes that the finances of the League should be controlled by his men. All this to my mind amounts to capturing of the League and then killing it. Knowing the opinion of the province as I do, I cannot take the responsibility of handing over the League to Sir Sikandar and his friends. The pact has already damaged the prestige of the League in this province and the tactics of the Unionists may damage it still further. They have not so far signed the creed of the League and I understand do not mean to. The session of the League in Lahore they want in April instead of February. My impression is that they want to gain time for their own Zamindara League to function in the province. Perhaps you know that on his return from Lucknow, Sir Sikandar constituted a Zamindara League whose branches are now being made in the province . . .

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Mohammad Iqbal.

Dr. Iqbal had written another letter, on this topic to the Quaid about ten days earlier as well.

30th October, 1937.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

. . . The rumour is that part of the Unionist Party does not mean to sign the League creed. So far Sir Sikandar and his party have not signed it and I heard this morning that they would wait till the next session of the League. The idea, as one of themselves told me, is to slacken the activities of the Provincial League . . .

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Mohammad Iqhal

(Both the above mentioned letters, have been taken from *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*. op. cit. pp. 29,31-32).

In reply, Quaid-i-Azam wrote the following letter to Malik Barkat Ali.

20th November, 1937.

Dear Mr. Barkat Ali,

I have received a very long letter from Ghulam Rasool and also from Sir Mohammad Iqbal and from yourself. I have not been well enough to tackle the various details that are referred to there. But it seems to me that it is unnecessary to stress

(*Foot-note on p.* 488).

had Iqbal's backing. This was not the only indication of the Quaid viewing the situation in the Punjab differently from Iqbal. As Batalvi relates, "In June 1936, when the session of All-India Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board met at Lahore and the Unionist Party was in open conflict with the League, Iqbal asked Mr. Jinnah to expel from the (Muslim) League Council those Muslim members of the Unionist Party who were also members of the All India Muslim League Council, but for certain reasons Mr. Jinnah did not consider it appropriate to take penal action against those rebel members".[1] When the annual session of the League was held at Lucknow in October 1937, Iqbal reiterated his views, saying that the members of the Unionist Party numbering 28 had "no right to remain in the League Council and in their place 28 sincere persons should be nominated. Doctor Sahib (Iqbal) himself prepared the list of 28 persons and gave it to Ghulam Rasul Khan, but the 28 members of the Unionist Party continued in the League Council."[2] The climax came when the All-India Muslim League Council, in its meeting held on 3rd April 1938, refused to accept the affiliation of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, although Iqbal was still[3] associatesd with the organization.

(*Continued from p.* 487).

points of details. May I just state one principle, that once the Muslim members of the Unionist Party or any Mussalman who becomes a Leaguer and pledges himself to the creed, policy and programme, he is no longer anything else but a Leaguer, and those who have been already in the League are not better than the Leaguers. Perhaps you might say that the others have now realized that the policy and the programme which we initiated are the right ones, and hence they whole-heartedly join us. After that, there is no such thing as this group or that group, or that party or this party, because then it really means various cliques. And I assure you that if you people have a little patience these small matters of detail will be adjusted fairly and justly and mainly in the interests of the cause for which we stand.

I hope you will show this letter to Sir Mohammad Iqbal and Ghulam Rasool. I have appointed some members to the Central Parliamentary Board which were suggested by Mr. Sikandar Hayat, but that does not mean that I am not going to appoint some other members representing Punjab which may be suggested by Sir Mohammad Iqbal, Malik Zaman Mehdi Khan, Ghulam Rasool and yourself.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M.A. Jinnah.

(This letter has been taken from G. Allana's *Pakistan Movement: Historic Documents*, op. cit. pp. 167-68).

(These three letters have been included by the Editor).

1. Batalvi, op. cit., p. 483.
2. Ibid., p. 484.
3. *Vide* Malik Barkat Ali's letter to the Quaid, quoted in ibid., p. 634.

The differences between Iqbal and the Quaid were not merely of approach towards the League organization in the Punjab. They were more general and even fundamental of temperament and basic philosophy of life. They both were supermen in their own spheres and, compelled by a common desire to serve their people, they worked together for a limited but crucial period of national history, but their *main* spheres of activity were so different that they needed different kinds of equipment. Iqbal was a great thinker and seer, but he was primarily or at least simultaneously a great poet. The result was that he saw events with a poet's intensity of feelings. He was normally cool-headed and clear-eyed, but at times his feelings overlay his thought. . . .The Quaid, on the other hand, prided on being "a cold-blooded logician". He also had pondered long and hard over issues confronting his people and had a well-considered philosophy of his own, but his primary role was that of a political leader. . . .

For example, Iqbal strongly felt on the question of Palestine-like most Muslims in India. His feelings were so strong that at a time when the Congress was at the peak of its power and before the Muslim League had shown any sign of new life, Iqbal suggested—on the eve of the League session at Lucknow—that not only should the League "pass a strong resolution on this question" but also "decide on some sort of positive action in which masses may share in large numbers". He was obviously thinking of a Civil Disobedience campaign as he added, "Personally I would not mind going to jail on an issue which affects both Islam and India."[1] Similar was the attitude of Iqbal and his group towards the Shaheed Ganj issue. They wanted the Special Session of the League to be held at Lahore, as the Muslims of the Punjab felt very strongly on the issue and it was desirable that the League session should be held in the midst of the people who would have to bear the brunt of a mass movement, in case the League decided on civil disobedience.[2]

The Quaid, also, was unhappy on these two issues, but he saw more clearly than Iqbal that at a time when the Muslim India was entering a life-and-death struggle with the Congress on the outcome of which would depend its future for centuries, it was wrong to divert its attention to issues which, however popular, were not so basic as the main

1. *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah* p.26.
2. *Vide* letter dated 17th Feb. 1938 from Ghulam Rasul (for Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal) addressed to the Quaid, quoted by Batalvi, op. cit., p. 609.

problem confronting the Indian Muslims. Accordingly a strong resolution on Palestine was passed, but no action involving participation of the masses was decided upon. Similarly, the special session on Shaheed Ganj was held but not at Lahore. It was held at Calcutta and, although the Muslim opinion on the question was strongly voiced, only constitutional course of action was approved. . . .

Dr. Batalvi has attributed the holding of the League Council session at Calcutta rather than at Lahore to a letter improperly written by Sir Shah Nawaz of Mamdot. Similarly, he has attributed the rejection of the affiliation of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and other unfavourable steps to the influence of Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan. These insinuations, apart from being uncharitable. . . .rest on the presumption that the Quaid could be led by others, and did not exercise his own judgment.

The differences between the League High Command and Iqbal's group are capable of a fairer and more charitable explanation. To some extent, they must have resulted from a difference in perspective—central leadership looking at the issues from an all-India angle while Iqbal and his companions found local problems more pressing. The League leaders may also have formed a rather poor opinion of the performance—and capabilities—of the Lahore group and might have considered it unsafe to put all eggs in their small basket. . . .

If different attitudes towards the so-called Sikandar-Jinnah Pact are carefully examined, the differences appear to represent not so much a clash of personalities as the usual differences between the left and the right wings of a party, or between the radicalism of the youth and the cautious conservatism of the old age. Perhaps, the earliest systematic criticism of the arrangements at Lucknow was published by Sajjad Zaheer, the well-known communist writer, who in his pamphlet *LIGHT ON LEAGUE-UNIONIST CONFLICT* criticised the Pact and put forward the view (p. 19) that "the whole arrangement, in practice and actual fact, worked entirely to the advantage of the Unionists and to the detriment of the League". Sajjad Zaheer was not a Leaguer, but even Dr. Ashiq Husain Batalvi, who is often accepted as the spokesman of the Muslim League, does not seem to represent the "middle of the road" group in that organization or at least the viewpoint of what came to be called the League High Command. Apart from his personal

squabbles[1] with Sikandar, some of which found expression in acrimonious debates in the Muslim League Council meetings, he himself states that he formed a Muslim League Radical Party and was in correspondence with Dr. Muhammad Ashraf, the Office Secretary of the All-India National Congress Committee, and later a prominent communist Leader.

Batalvi's formation of Muslim League Radical Party, and his contacts with Dr. Ashraf make it clear that Batalvi belonged to the Radical Section of the Muslim League. . . .Both Batalvi and Ispahani cite Iqbal's strongly-worded letter of 10th November 1937 to the Quaid-written, it appears, essentially to strengthen the case of a colleague (Ghulam Rasul), who had "done so much for" their common institution—but as Batalvi points out, Iqbal in his last two years was a changed man. In fact, he says, "the remarkable thing is that in the proportion in which his (Iqbal's) illness increased, in the same proportion he became extremist in politics (p. 553)" . . . Iqbal and the Quaid were both giants in their own spheres and were our greatest benefactors, but the suggestion that the Quaid possessed less "courage and daring" than Iqbal is simply not true. The Quaid waited till 1944 for a showdown with the Unionists, not because he was lacking in courage, but because he was a realist and a more practical politician than Iqbal, the great poet. . . .It is not possible to deal fully with the subject here but it may be pointed out that even Sajjad Zaheer admits that the Muslim League derived several benefits

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1. *Vide* Ashiq Husain Batalvi, op. cit., p. 641, and his article in *Quaid-i-Azam Meri Nazar Men* edited by Safia Sultana Anwer, p. 48. In fact, Batalvi alleges that taking advantage of his correspondence with Dr. Ashraf (which was being censored) Sikandar got two letters fabricated through a government officer. These letters indicated that "for running the Muslim League Radical Party and for carrying on propaganda against Sir Sikandar, I (Ashiq Husain Batalvi) was receiving financial help from the Congress" (*vide* Batalvi's article in *QUAID-I-AZAM MERI NAZAR MEN*, p. 63). After this, there could be no love lost between Sikandar and Batalvi, but it is intriguing that when he wrote to the Quaid against Sikandar's hostile actions after the former had started the Muslim League Radical Party, he received no reply (ibid, p. 62). Later, when he personally saw the Quaid, he was asked to send all the letters he had received from Dr. Ashraf, and, apparently, even then no action was taken (ibid., pp. 63-4). Presumably this was the beginning of coolness between the Quaid and Batalvi as they did not see each other for the next four years (ibid., p. 52). The last two meetings were brief and incidental, and in the final meeting in 1947, the Quaid was particularly discouraging (ibid., p. 53) (Does the Quaid's later behaviour explain Batalvi's frequent reference to him merely as Jinnah or Mr. Jinnah and not as the Quaid-i-Azam in his Iqbal lectures delivered in the Senate Hall, Lahore, in 1967, inspite of the protests of the audience?)

from the arrangements at Lucknow. . . .Apart from its advantages in all-India sphere, this policy "was adopted because the League was weak in 1937; it had still to become the mass organization which it became six years later. . . .because the League had become much stronger in 1944, it was possible for it and its leader to demand from the Unionists that they submit to the discipline and carry out the policy of the Muslim (League) Party to which they claimed to belong".[1]

Batalvi, who was probably the most youthful member in Iqbal's or, rather, Barkat Ali's group of Muslim Leaguers, does not properly appreciate the forceful considerations which weighed with the Quaid in not endorsing Iqbal's attitude towards the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact, but the information which he incidentally gives, in his brilliantly written book, about the position in the Punjab fully bears out the wisdom of the Quaid's approach.

Iqbal had promised full support to the Quaid after the breakdown of his talks with Mian Fazl-i-Husain. On 9th May he issued a statement in support of the Muslim League, and soon started energetic action in support of the Organization. Yet, what was the result? When in June, the President of All-India Muslim League arrived to preside over the Parliamentary Board, there were only eight or ten persons to meet him at the railway station. This did not escape the keen-eyed leader, who remarked on arrival, "The strength of your organization can be easily judged by the fact that onlty eight or ten of you are here."[2] The reception was better a few months later when special steps were taken, but even then the public meeting held outside Delhi Gate for the inauguration of election campaign, by the Quaid was "brief and poorly attended."[3] The basic position of the organization deteriorated further when the election fever died down. The League had just Rs. 1000 to run the organization, provided to Iqbal by some unnamed individual (Sir Shah Nawaz of Mamdot?)[4] When these limited funds were exhausted, the sole office clerk had to be retrenched. The office of the League had to be closed and the record shifted to the residence of the Secretary.

1. Sajjad Zaheer, *LIGHT ON LEAGUE-UNIONIST CONFLICT*. pp. 27-28.
2. *Vide* Batalvi's article in *Quaid-i-Azam Meri Nazar Men*, p. 46.
3. Batalvi, op. cit., p. 352.
4. "Nawab Sahib secretly sent some money (naqd narain) to Hazrat Allama (Iqbal) to start the election campaign of the Punjab Muslim League" (Meem Sheen in Nawa-i-Waqt. 25th December, 1963).

The response to the efforts made by Iqbal and his companions to raise funds, as described by Batalvi, casts a lurid light on the situation in the Punjab, but it also brings out the measure of their "success". Iqbal sent his leading co-workers to see Sardar Muhammad Nawaz Khan, a public-spirited landlord of Kot Fateh Khan. Accordingly, Malik Barkat Ali and Raja Ghulam Rasul Khan saw Sardar Sahib. The first question which he asked the visitors was about their relations with Sikandar Hayat Khan. When the true position was explained to him, he frankly pointed out his difficulties in helping them. He suggested a way out, but this was not acceptable to the deputationists, and they returned empty-handed. Same was the result of the visits to Sargodha and Montgomery. The only redeeming feature was the promise given by the ancient Gilani family of Multan to stand by the League, in the event of a showdown, but one swallow does not make a summer. The miserable show of the League in the Punjab elections had already exposed its position in the province. Only two of its candidates were elected, and, out of these, one[1] crossed the floor to join the Unionists. Can, under these circumstances, the Quaid be excused of want of courage, if he refused to put all eggs in the basket provided by the enthusiasts of Lahore and force an immediate showdown with the Unionist Party?

The arrangements at Lucknow were in the nature of a compromise, and involved advantages as well as disadvantages to both parties. It was not a one-sided affair, but judging by hind-sight and dispassionately, the greater beneficiary seems to have been the Muslim League. It gained the prestige of being associated with the ruling group in an area where power was worshipped. Extensive contacts were established between the League leadership and the landed aristocracy which dominated the Punjab politics at that time and ultimately the League found powerful recruits even in the leading Unionist families, like Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan (son of Sikandar), Nawab of Mamdot (son of Sir Shah Nawaz of Mamdot) and Mian Mumtaz Daultana (son of Nawab Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana). Ultimately, the League leader was able to have a successful showdown with the Unionists. It is not without reason that Sikandar is not popular amongst the Unionist diehards, who consider Sikandar-Jinnah Pact to have been "the beginning of the end."!

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1. Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan.

The fact that we share Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman's opinion rather than that of Hasan Ispahani or Ashiq Husain Batalvi regarding Sikandar Hayat Khan does not mean that there is nothing to criticise in Sikandar's actions or policies. He had two or three obvious and serious shortcomings. He was admittedly trying to "sail in two boats." As his local critics rightly pointed out, he was an eloquent and enthusiastic speaker on the platform of the All-India Muslim League, but within the province he was the head of the Unionist Party and a vigilant guardian of its interests. This clearly meant that his support to the League was not whole-hearted. To maintain this quality of approach he, at times, made ambiguous and even conflicting statements, which caused misunderstanding and gave a handle to his critics.

What was equally harmful was his softness in dealing with the British bureaucrats. It is true that the position in the Punjab—with almost an equal strength of the Muslims and the non-Muslims in the Assembly and the readiness of other prominent Unionists (and non-Unionists) to turn against the Premier at the behest of the Governor—was such that no Premier could survive without the goodwill of the Governor and the European bureaucrats. It is also true that after Sikandar had built up his strength, he asserted himself more vigorously than is generally recognised,[1] but by and large the position in the Punjab under the Provincial Autonomy was completely different from what it was in the Congress provinces and what it would have been under a man like Fazl-i-Husain.

These were serious weaknesses, but while Sikandar was basically a loyalist, there was another facet of his personality. This was his attachment to Islam and interest in the welfare of the Indian Muslims. He was known to be a devout Muslim, who rarely missed a namaz or a roza. It is doubtful whether he would have taken the far-reaching steps which he took for the renovation of the Badshahi Masjid, involving fresh taxation, unless he had felt a powerful urge to do so.

His father was a prominent co-worker of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and it would be quite natural for him to acquire an interest in the welfare of the Indian Muslims. He was a loyalist—like his father—but his Aligarh background was also an important factor in his personality. He found it hard to ignore the Muslim opinion or be

1. E.g. on selection of Thall in preference to Bhakra Scheme (favoured by Chhotu Ram), on representation of the Punjab in Viceroy's Executive Council.

indifferent to the Muslim interests. When he resigned from the National Defence Council, many people in the Punjab were puzzled. One of them solemnly told the present writer that he asked Sikandar for the reason and his reply was, "When I die, my JANAZA will have to be carried on the shoulders of the Muslims. I cannot possibly give them up".

During the last year or so of Sikandar's life, his relations with the Quaid were not at their best. On some points there were real differences, *e.g.* in approach towards the war effort. As Batalvi says, the question of war effort was "a very big cause of the bitterness and misunderstanding which arose between the Muslim League and the Punjab Premier Sikandar Hayat Khan.[1] On this question Sikandar held strong and decided views. Apart from the fact that soldiering had traditionally been a source of substantial income and other advantages to the Punjab, he felt that this position was a great source of strength to the Muslims in All-India affairs. When in December 1938, Z. H. Lari brought a resolution before the meeting of the League Council to criticise Sikandar, the latter made a fighting speech. He warned against the danger of Britain relying on the Congress governments for aid in the war effort and urged that it was in Muslims' interest to maintain the present position. The Quaid-i-Azam supported Sikandar, praised his services in glowing terms,[2] called him a strong pillar of the Muslim League[3] and asked Lari to withdraw his resolution, but as the war progressed and the situation changed, pressure on the Quaid from the younger and more radical elements increased. This occasionally led to difficulties. On some other points, there may have been only misunderstandings. The Hindu press—and perhaps some British Officers—tried to accentuate these differences. Sikandar made a public reference to them some five weeks before his death and his words were memorable: "People exaggerate petty differences. Although at times, I may differ from the Quaid-i-Azam on an issue, yet I shall never fail to carry out his orders". Looking to his previous record, this does not seem to have been empty rhetoric. It is safe to assume that Sikandar would have done everything humanly possible to avoid a break with the Quaid and the defiance of Muslim opinion, which occurred during the days of hissuccessor.

Sikandar died on 26th December 1942 in circumstances of great poignancy."[4]

1. Ashiq Husain Batalvi, *HAMARI QAUMI JADD-O-JAHAD* (1938), p. 53.
2. (Weekly) Inqilab, Lahore, dated 6 Dec. 1936.
3. Ashiq Husain Batalvi, *HAMARI QAUMI JADD-O-JAHAD*, p. 141.

شہادت مسجد شہید گنج

"لاہور کے ریلوے سٹیشن سے دہلی دروازے کی طرف جائیں تو ٹکنیکل سکول کے عقب میں ایک بہت پرانی مسجد کھڑی ہے جسے عام طور پر مسجد شہید گنج کہا جاتا تھا ۔ یہ مسجد شاہ جہان کے عہد میں ایک شخص عبداللہ خاں نے تعمیر کی تھی ۔ عبداللہ خان دارا شکوہ کا خانساماں تھا اور اپنے آقاؤں کی مہربانی سے کچھ عرصہ کے لیے لاہور کا کوتوال بھی بن گیا تھا ۔

پنجاب کے مغل صوبیدار نواب معین الدولہ نے جب پنجاب سے سکھوں کی شورش مٹانے کے لیے جنگ وجدال کا سلسلہ شروع کیا تو مسجد کے متصل کوتوالی تھی جہاں مجرموں کو سزا دی جاتی تھی ۔ تقریر و تادیب کے اسی دور میں ایک شخص تارو سنگھ بھی اس مقام پر مارا گیا ۔ بھائی تارو سنگھ سکھوں کی نگاہ میں ایک بڑی مقدس اور برگزیدہ ہستی تھی ۔ چنانچہ سکھوں نے اس جگہ کو مسجد شہید گنج کا نام دے دیا اور وہاں ایک سادھی بھی تعمیر کروا دی ۔ رنجیت سنگھ کے دور سے پہلے تو سکھوں نے بھائی تارو سنگھ کی سادھ کے قرب سے فائدہ اٹھا کر اس مسجد پر قبضہ کر لیا چنانچہ اس وقت سے یہ مسجد سکھوں کے قبضے میں چلی آ رہی تھی ۔

مولوی نور احمد چشتی نے ۱۸۶۴ء میں اپنی کتاب "تحقیقات چشتی" مکمل کی تھی ۔ ان کے بیان کے مطابق ۱۸۶۴ء میں اس مسجد پر گنڈا سنگھ اور گورودت دو بھائی قابض تھے جو مسجد کی دوکانوں کا کرایہ بھی وصول کرتے تھے اور مسجد کے صحن اور دالان کو لنگر خانے کے طور پر استعمال کرتے تھے ۔"[1]

۱۔ عاشق حسین بٹالوی ۔ "اقبال کے آخری دو سال" صفحہ ۵۶۷ تا ۵۶۸

"انگریزوں کی عملداری قائم ہونے کے پچاس ساٹھ سال بعد ایک شخص نے اپنے آپ کو مسجد کا متولی ظاہر کر کے اسے (بلکہ زیادہ تر ملحقہ دوکانوں کو) سکھوں کی ملکیت سے واگذار کرنے کے لیے دیوانی دعویٰ کیا جو ایک صدی کے قبضہ کی بنا پر خارج ہو گیا - ۱۹۳۵ء میں سکھ گوردوارہ ایکٹ بنا جس کے تحت سکھوں کے گوردوارے اور ان کے ساتھ وقف جائیدادیں (جو کروڑوں روپیہ کی تھیں) مہنتوں کے قبضہ سے نکال کر سکھوں کی گوردوارہ پربندھک کمیٹی کے سپرد کرنے کے لیے ضابطہ مقرر کیا گیا ۔ اس ایکٹ کے تحت جو ٹریبونل قائم ہوا ۔ اس کے روبرو مسجد شہید گنج پر قابض سکھوں نے اس عمارت اور ملحقہ دوکانوں وغیرہ کو ذاتی ملکیت ظاہر کرکے عذرداری کی - جب یہ مقدمہ چل رہا تھا تو انجمن اسلامیہ پنجاب کے سیکرٹری سید محسن شاہ نے بھی ایک درخواست دے دی کہ مسجد کی عمارت گوردوارہ بھی نہیں اور سکھ قابضین کی ذاتی ملکیت بھی نہیں ہے بلکہ ایک مسجد ہے اسے انجمن کے حوالے کیا جائے ۔ ٹریبونل نے تمام عمارتوں کو گوردوارہ کی ملکیت قرار دیا اور سکھ قابضین نے اس کے خلاف ہائی کورٹ میں اپیل کی - انجمن اسلامیہ نے کوئی اپیل نہ کی - ہائی کورٹ کے ایک ڈویژن بنچ نے اپیل نامنظور کر دی ۔ یہ فیصلہ دسمبر ۱۹۳۴ء میں ہوا اور ضابطے کی ضروری کاروائیوں کی تکمیل کے بعد ان عمارتوں کا قبضہ گوردوارہ پربندھک کمیٹی کی مقامی شاخ کے حوالے مارچ ۱۹۳۵ء میں کر دیا گیا ۔

اس کے بعد پربندھک کمیٹی نے احاطے کی درستی اور عمارتوں کی شکست و ریخت کا کام شروع کر دیا - ابھی معمار و مزدور مسجد کی عمارت تک نہ پہنچے تھے کہ مسلمانوں کی طرف سے بعض لوگ احتجاج کرنے لگے اور کئی ٹولیاں وقتاً فوقتاً اس عمارت کے قریب کچھ احتجاج اور کچھ محض تماشائیوں کے طور پر جمع ہونے لگے - اس وقت ایک عجیب واقعہ ہوا ۔ احاطے کے اندر کسی بوسیدہ دیوار

کو گراتے ہوئے ایک سکھ معمار ملبے کے نیچے دب گیا اور ہلاک ہو گیا ۔

یہ خبر چند اخباروں میں چھپی اور اس کی بنا پر یہ افواہ پھیل گئی کہ معمار نے مسجد کو گرانے کا ارادہ کیا تھا جس کی سزا اسے ملی ۔ اگلے دن مسلمان کافی تعداد میں جمع ہو گئے ۔ باہر مسلمان تھے اور احاطے کے اندر سکھ ۔ ڈپٹی کمشنر ایس پرتاب (جو سکھ سے عیسائی ہو گیا تھا) اور سٹی مجسٹریٹ (یہ بھی سکھ تھا) خطرے کے پیش نظر موقعہ پر پہنچا ۔ انہوں نے سکھوں کو حکم دیا کہ وہ دوسری عمارتوں پر کام کرتے رہیں ۔ مسجد کی عمارت کو ابھی ہاتھ نہ لگائیں ۔ انہوں نے مسلمانوں کو سمجھا بجھا کر منتشر کر دیا اور احاطے کے ارد گرد پولیس کا پہرہ بٹھا دیا ۔ یہ حکم سکھوں کو ۲۸ جون ۱۹۳۵ء کو دیا گیا ۔ شہر میں فضا کشیدہ ہوگئی مسلمانوں کا دعویٰ یہ تھا کہ مسجد کو مسمار نہ ہونے دیا جائے گا ۔ سکھ اپنے قانونی حق کے دعویدار تھے ۔ ۲۸ جون سے چند دن پہلے گوردوارہ پربندھک کمیٹی نے مسلمانوں کے خطرے کے پیش نظر جوابی مظاہرے کیے ۔ باہر سے سکھ جتھے بلوانے کا انتظام کر لیا تھا ۔ اب یہ جتھے مسلمانوں کا مقابلہ کرنے کے لیے لاہور میں جمع ہونے شروع ہو گئے ۔ اس بات نے مسلمانوں میں مزید اضطراب پیدا کیا ۔ ڈپٹی کمشنر دونوں فریقوں کے نمائندوں سے بات چیت کرتا رہا جو لامحالہ اسی بنیاد پر تھی کہ تصفیہ کی کوئی صورت نکلنے تک مسجد کو منہدم نہ ہونے دیا جائے گا ۔ احاطے کے ارد گرد پہرہ اور سخت کر دیا گیا ۔ سکھ جتھوں کی آمد پر کوئی پابندی نہ لگائی گئی ۔ وہ جلوس کی صورت میں نعرے لگاتے ہوئے آتے تھے اور کشیدگی میں اضافہ کرتے تھے ۔ مسلمانوں کے جلسے بھی ہوئے اور انہوں نے جلوس کی صورت اختیار کرنے کی کوشش کی اور جب وہ مسجد شہید گنج کا رخ کرتے تو پولیس انہیں روک لیتی تھی ۔ کہیں کہیں لاٹھی چارج بھی ہوئے ۔ گورنر ایمرسن شملہ میں تھا ۔ اسے یہ رپورٹیں ملیں تو ۶ جولائی کو وہ لاہور آ گیا ۔ مسلمانوں کا ایک وفد اسے ملا ۔

وفد کا موقف یہ تھا کہ عدالت کے فیصلوں سے انکار کوئی نہیں کرتا لیکن ان سے یہ ہرگز لازم نہیں آتا کہ سکھ اپنے مالکانہ حقوق کا استعمال مسلمان عوام کے جذبات سے بے نیاز ہو کر کریں اور فساد کو دعوت دیں ۔ حکومت اس عمارت کو پبلک مفاد میں معاوضہ دے کر حاصل کر سکتی ہے یا کوئی اور مناسب راستہ فساد کو روکنے کے لیے اختیار کر سکتی ہے ۔

گورنر نے غور کرنے کا وعدہ کر لیا ۔ لیکن ۸ جولائی کو سکھوں نے آدھی رات کو مسجد کو گرانا شروع کر دیا ۔ اور صبح تک اسے ملبے کا ڈھیر بنا دیا ۔ . . . . ۹ جولائی کی صبح کو جب یہ خبر عام ہوگئی تو مسلمانوں میں غم و غصہ کا ہیجان پیدا ہوا ۔ وہ سمجھتے تھے کہ گورنر نے ان کے ساتھ بد عہدی کی ہے اس نے تصفیہ کے لیے غور و فکر کا وعدہ کیا ۔ لیکن سکھوں کو من مانی کا موقعہ دیا . . . . . ۹ جولائی کی صبح کو گورنر نے چھاؤنی سے گورا فوج کی دو پلٹنیں بلا کر شہید گنج کے آس پاس متعین کر دیں ۔ اور آنے والی رات کے لیے کرفیو اور اخبارات پر سنسر لگا دیا ۔ ۹ جولائی کو میاں عبدالعزیز بیرسٹر کے مکان پر کچھ مسلمان جمع ہوئے لیکن اب کیا ہو سکتا تھا سوائے اس کے کہ جس طرح ہو مسلمانوں کا غصہ ٹھنڈا کیا جائے ۹ جولائی کو کوئی اور خاص واقعہ رونما نہ ہوا ۔ ۱۰ اور ۱۱ جولائی بھی کسی واقعہ کے بغیر گزر گئے ۔ ۱۲ جولائی کو جمعہ تھا ۔ اس دن اندیشہ ہو سکتا تھا لیکن جمعہ کی نماز کے بعد مسلمان منتشر ہو گئے اور کوئی واقعہ رونما نہ ہوا ۔

حکومت کو کچھ اطمینان ہوا ۔ ۱۲ جولائی تک ایک پلٹن واپس چھاؤنی بھیج دی گئی اور کرفیو کا حکم نرم کر دیا گیا ، ۱۳ جولائی کو حکومت نے مسلمانوں کو راضی کرنے کے لیے یہ اعلان کر دیا کہ اس نے شاہ چراغ کی عمارت انجمن اسلامیہ کے حوالے کرنے کا فیصلہ کیا ہے ۔ یہ بھی کسی زمانہ میں مسجد اور اس کے ملحقہ جائیداد تھی ۔

جو حکومت کے قبضہ میں چلی آ رہی تھی - ۱۴ جولائی کو موچی دروازہ کے باہر مسلمانوں کے جلسہ کے لیے دوپہر کا وقت مقرر تھا - یہی وہ جلسہ تھا جو عوام کی نگاہ میں مجلس احرار کے وقار کو ختم کرنے والا ثابت ہوا - اس جلسہ میں تقریر کرتے ہوئے مولانا ظفر علی خان نے کہا کہ احرار لیڈروں کو اس جلسہ میں لانے کی بہت کوشش کی گئی لیکن انہوں نے یہاں آنے سے انکار کر دیا ، مولانا ظفر علی خان کی باقی تقریر یہ تھی کہ شاہ چراغ کے متعلق حکومت کا اعلان اپنی جگہ درست ہے لیکن مسلمان مسجد شہید گنج والی جگہ ضرور لے کر چھوڑیں گے - اس کے لیے دس ہزار والنٹیر بھرتی کرکے سول نافرمانی کریں گے - نیلی پوش رضاکاروں کی بھرتی بھی یہاں سے ہی شروع ہوئی - اسی رات کو حکومت نے چار افراد کو گرفتار کرکے لاہور سے باہر بھیج دیا- یہ تھے مولانا ظفر علی خاں - سید حبیب - ملک لال خاں اور میاں فیروز دین - اگلے دن جلسوں پر پابندی لگا دی گئی اور اخباروں پر سنسر کی میعاد بڑھا دی گئی - ۱۴ جولائی کے جلسہ میں جن لیڈروں نے ایک دوسرے سے بڑھ چڑھ کر تیز اور تند تقریریں کی تھیں وہ خود نظر بند ہو کر چلے گئے - لیکن عوام کے جذبات کو از سر نو مشتعل کرگئے - ۱۵ اور ۱۶ جولائی کو مسلمانوں کے ہجوم اکٹھے ہوئے - انہیں مجمع خلاف قانون قرار دے کر منتشر ہونے کا حکم دے دیا گیا اور ان پر لاٹھی چارج بھی کیے گئے - ۱۷ جولائی کو گورنر نے مجلس قانون ساز کے ممبروں کے ایک اجلاس سے خطاب کیا اور اپنی صفائی پیش کی کہ میرے خلاف بد عہدی کا الزام غلط ہے - میں نے یہ ذمہ داری نہیں لی تھی کہ سکھ متنازعہ عمارت کو نہیں گرائیں گے - کونسل کے ممبروں نے بھی عوام سے پرامن رہنے اور قانون کا احترام کرنے کی اپیل کی - ۱۷ اور ۱۸ جولائی کو کوئی واقعہ نہ ہوا - لیکن مسلمانوں میں اضطراب اور غم و غصہ کا احساس ابھی باقی تھا جس کے باعث ۱۹ جولائی کو (یہ جمعہ کا دن تھا) مسلمانوں کا بہت بڑا ہجوم بادشاہی مسجد میں جمع ہو گیا - یہاں نماز کے بعد پھر جلسہ ہوا - لیکن سوائے اس کے کہ کوئی ذمہ دار شخص مسلمانوں کے جذبات کو ٹھنڈا کرنے یا انہیں کسی قابل عمل

راستے پر چلانے کے لیے سامنے آتا - مولانا اختر علی خان کو تقریر کے لیے کھڑا کر دیا گیا - انہوں نے اپنے والد محترم مولانا ظفر علی خان سے منسوب کر کے ایک پیغام بہت جذبات انگیز الفاظ میں دیا - 'کعبہ کی بیٹی کی بے حرمتی سکھوں کے کدالوں سے ہوئی - اب اس کی ناموس مسلمانوں کو پکار پکار کر بلا رہی ہے' - اس قسم کے فقروں نے مجمع میں آگ لگا دی اور ایک ہجوم سر فروشی کے جذبات لیے شہید گنج کی جانب چل پڑا - دہلی دروازہ کے راستے میں ایک جنگلہ ان کے لیے روکاوٹ بنا ہوا تھا - جنگلے کی دوسری جانب پولیس اور فوج تھی - ہجوم جم کر وہیں بیٹھ گیا اور تمام رات وہیں بیٹھا رہا - وہیں اس نے نمازیں ادا کیں - اس کی پشت پر شہر کے اندرونی حصوں میں رتجگا ہو رہا تھا - کرفیو آرڈر پھر سخت کر دیا گیا - لیکن اس کی پرواہ کون کرتا تھا - بازاروں میں رات کے وقت دن سے زیادہ چہل پہل تھی - مجاہدین کے لیے دیگیں پک رہیں تھیں - اگلے دن مجمع پر لاٹھی چارج ہوا - اس پر پانی پھینکا گیا - لیکن ان اقدامات کے باوجود مجمع اپنی جگہ پر اڑا رہا بلکہ دوسرے راستوں کی طرف سے بھی مسلمانوں کے ہجوم کوتوالی کے چوک کی جانب آنے کی کوشش کرتے رہے - لاٹھی چارج اور فائرنگ کے ذریعہ انہیں منتشر کیا جاتا رہا - اتوار ۲۱ جولائی کو اصل مجمع کئی ڈپلومیٹک کوششوں کے بعد منتشر ہو گیا،،-۱

"اس زمانے میں پنجاب کے مسلمانوں میں سب سے منظم تنظیم مجلس احرار اسلام تھی - جب مسجد کے گرائے جانے پر صوبے کے طول و عرض میں اضطراب کی لہر اٹھی تو خیال تھا کہ احرار حسب معمول مسلمانوں کی رہنمائی کریں گے - خلاف توقع انہوں نے بالکل چپ سادھ لی اور جنبش تک نہ کی اور بعد میں احرار لیڈروں نے اپنی پراسرار خاموشی کی مختلف توضیحیں کرنے کی کوشش کی - کبھی کہا گیا کہ فضل حسین کے ایماء سے مسجد گرائی گئی تا کہ احرار اس تحریک میں حصہ لیں تو

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۱ - سید نور احمد ''مارشل لاء سے مارشل لاء تک''۔ صفحہ نمبر ۱۶۶ تا ۱۷۰

انہیں گرفتار کر کے جیل میں بند کر دیا جائے۔ کبھی کہا گیا کہ مسجد کا انہدام قادیان کے اشارے سے ہوا ہے - - - - -

۲۱ فروری ۱۹۳۶ء کو مسٹر جناح اس قضیے کا حل تلاش کرنے کے لیے لاہور تشریف لائے . . . . . لاہور پہنچنے کے بعد مسٹر جناح نے تحریک کے لیڈروں اور صوبے کے گورنر سے ملاقات کی۔ گورنر نے کہا کہ اگر سول نافرمانی بند کر دی جائے اور مسلمان مسجد کی بازیابی کے لیے آئینی طریق سے جدوجہد کریں تو وہ تمام قیدی رہا کرنے کو تیار ہیں۔ چنانچہ تحریک کے کارکن سول نافرمانی بند کرنے پر رضا مند ہو گئے اور رات بھر میں جیلوں سے تمام قیدی اور دور دراز مقامات سے نظر بند لیڈر رہا ہو کر لاہور پہنچنا شروع ہو گئے۔ ساتھ ہی مسٹر جناح نے سکھ لیڈروں سے بھی ملاقاتیں شروع کیں اور اس بات پر آمادہ کر لیا کہ وہ جذبۂ مصالحت اور ہم وطنی کا خیال کرکے مسلمانوں کے ساتھ کوئی معقول سمجھوتہ کر لیں۔

مسٹر جناح ۷ مارچ کو واپس دہلی تشریف لے گئے۔ واپسی سے پہلے انہوں نے شہید گنج مصالحتی بورڈ کے نام سے ایک کمیٹی بنا دی تھی جس کے ارکان مندرجہ ذیل اصحاب تھے۔

علامہ اقبال۔ مولوی عبدالقادر قصوری۔ میاں عبدالعزیز بیرسٹرایٹ لاء۔ راجہ نریندر ناتھ۔ پنڈت نانک چند بیرسٹرایٹ لاء۔ سردار بوٹا سنگھ ایڈوکیٹ۔ سردار اجل سنگھ۔ سردار سمپورن سنگھ میاں احمد یار دولتانہ (کنوینر)۔ رخصت ہوتے وقت مسٹر جناح نے اخبارات کو ایک طویل بیان دیا اور فرقہ وارانہ مصالحت پر زور دیتے ہوئے یہ بھی فرمایا کہ "یہ جھگڑا دو افراد میں نہیں بلکہ دو فرقوں کے درمیان ہے اس لیے دونوں فرقوں کی آراء جانچ تول کرنے کے لیے وقت درکار ہے" . . . . .

سول نافرمانی ہی کے زمانے میں شہید گنج لیگل ڈیفینس کمیٹی کے اہتمام سے لاہور کے ڈسٹرکٹ جج مسٹر سیل کی عدالت میں دعویٰ

دائر کر دیا تھا ۔ بنائے دعویٰ یہ تھی کہ چونکہ شرع اسلام کی رو سے مسجد ہمیشہ مسجد رہتی ہے اور کوئی شخص اس پر قابض ہو کر مسلمانوں کو وہاں نماز پڑھنے سے منع نہیں کر سکتا لہذا مسلمانوں کو مسجد شہید گنج میں نماز پڑھنے کی اجازت دی جائے ۔ ملک برکت علی اور ڈاکٹر محمد عالم اس دعوے کی پیروی کر رہے تھے ۔

مسٹر جناح کے قائم کیے ہوئے مصالحتی بورڈ کے ایک دو جلسے تو ضرور ہوئے لیکن چونکہ عدالت میں دعویٰ چل رہا تھا اور لوگ بڑے شوق سے اس کے فیصلہ کا انتظار کر رہے تھے اس لیے بورڈ بھی کسی قطعی فیصلے پر پہنچنے سے قبل ہی ختم ہو گیا ۔ ۲۵ مئی ۱۹۳۶ء کو مسٹر سیل نے مسلمانوں کا دعویٰ خارج کر دیا اور مسجد شہید گنج پر سکھوں کا قبضہ مخالفانہ تسلیم کرتے ہوئے فیصلہ کیا کہ عام جائیداد غیر منقولہ کی طرح مسجد بھی فریق ثانی کے مخالفانہ قبضے میں جا کر اپنی اصل حیثیت کھو بیٹھی ہے ۔

علامہ اقبال کے مشورے سے اس فیصلے کے خلاف ہائی کورٹ میں اپیل کی گئی لیکن اپیل سے قبل اکتوبر ۱۹۳۷ء میں آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کا سالانہ اجلاس لکھنو میں ہوا ۔ چونکہ شہید گنج کا مسئلہ پورے ہندوستان کے مسلمانوں کے لیے بے حد اہمیت اختیار کر چکا تھا اس لیے مسلم لیگ کے اس اجلاس میں بھی شہید گنج کے متعلق ایک نہایت جامع قرار داد منظور کر لی گئی اور مسٹر جناح نے یہاں تک فرمایا کہ "اگر مستقبل قریب میں شہید گنج کا کوئی حسب خواہش فیصلہ نہ ہوا تو اس قضیے کا حل تلاش کرنے کے لیے مسلم لیگ کا ایک خاص اجلاس منعقد کیا جائے گا" ۔

۳۰ نومبر ۱۹۳۷ء کو لاہور کی عدالت عالیہ کے فل بنچ کے سامنے جس میں چیف جسٹس ینگ ، جسٹس بھڈے اور جسٹس دین محمد شامل تھے شہید گنج کی اپیل پیش ہوئی اور کئی روز تک بحث جاری رہی ۔ ۱۸ دسمبر ۱۹۳۷ء کو چیف جسٹس نے کہا کہ بحث کے دوران میں

چند نئے تنقیح طلب امور سامنے آئے ہیں جن پر عدالت عالیہ فریقین کے مزید دلائل سننا چاہتی ہے . . . . .

ملک برکت علی نے آئندہ پیشی کے لیے کچھ مہلت طلب کی تاکہ بیرون پنجاب کے کسی اچھے قانون دان کی مدد حاصل کی جا سکے . . . . اب سوال یہ تھا کہ باہر سے کس کو بلایا جائے ۔ ڈاکٹر صاحب کی خواہش تھی کہ مسٹر جناح کو تکلیف دی جائے . . . . .

کرسمس کی تعطیل شروع ہوئی تو ملک برکت علی بمبئی روانہ ہوئے تاکہ مسٹر جناح سے مل کر زبانی گفتگو کریں . . . . . مسٹر جناح سے ملاقات ہوئی تو انہوں نے فرمایا کہ وہ اس سے قبل فروری ۱۹۳۶ء میں ایک ثالث بالخیر بن کر لاہور گئے تھے تاکہ سکھوں اور مسلمانوں میں مصالحت کراسکیں ان کی اسی حیثیت کی وجہ سے سکھوں اور ہندوؤں نے بھی بڑی گرم جوشی سے ان کا خیر مقدم کیا تھا ۔ اب اسی جھگڑے میں ایک فریق کا وکیل بن کر لاہور جانا ان کے لیے مناسب نہیں ۔ اس کے بعد انہوں نے مشورہ دیا کہ بمبئی کے ایک انگریز بیرسٹر مسٹر ایف ۔ جے کولٹ مین کی خدمات حاصل کرلیں . . . .

۱۰ جنوری ۱۹۳۸ء کو شہید گنج کی اپیل پہ عدالت عالیہ میں مزید بحث ہوئی اور مسٹر کولٹ مین پیش ہوئے ۔ ۲۶ جنوری ۱۹۳۸ء کو عدالت نے اپنا فیصلہ دیا اور اپیل خارج کر دی ۔ چیف جسٹس اور بھڈے نے متفقہ فیصلہ کیا کہ جہاں تک قبضۂ مخالفانہ کا تعلق ہے مسجد کو عام جائداد غیر منقولہ سے الگ قرار نہیں دیا جا سکتا اس لیے مسلمانوں کا شہیدگنج میں نماز پڑھنے کا حق مدت ہوئی ساقط ہوچکا ہے ۔ جسٹس دین محمد نے اس رائے سے اختلاف کیا اور اپنا فیصلہ الگ لکھا ۔

ہائی کورٹ کے اس فیصلے کے بعد لاہور کے مسلمانوں میں سخت اضطراب پھیل گیا اور جلوس پر جلوس نکلنے لگے ۔ سر سکندر کو اندیشہ تھا کہ کہیں پھر سول نافرمانی شروع نہ ہو جائے ۔ انہوں نے

کوشش کی کہ کسی طرح علامہ اقبال سے ایک اخباری بیان دلایا جائے کہ ابھی پریوی کونسل کا مرحلہ باقی ہے اس لیے مسلمانوں کو پریشان ہونے کی قطعاً کوئی ضرورت نہیں لیکن وہ علامہ مرحوم سے ایسا بیان دلوانے میں کامیاب نہ ہوئے۔ . . . .

۳۰ جنوری کو آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کا اجلاس دہلی میں منعقد ہوا تاکہ لاہور ہائی کورٹ کے فیصلے پر جو تشویشناک صورت پیدا ہو گئی تھی اس پر غور کیا جائے۔ . . . . لیگ کونسل نے اس بات کا اعلان کیا کہ مسجد شہید گنج کی بازیابی ہندوستان کے مسلمانوں کا متفقہ مطالبہ بن چکا ہے اس لیے آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کا اجلاس خصوصی عنقریب اس مسئلہ کا تصفیہ کرنے اور آئندہ کے طرز عمل پر غور کرنے کے لیے منعقد کیا جائے گا۔ اس کے علاوہ یہ فیصلہ بھی ہوا کہ یکم فروری کو ہندوستان بھر میں یوم شہید گنج منایا جائے اور مسلمان جگہ جگہ جلسے کرکے مسلم لیگ کی اس قرار داد کی تائید کریں۔

ڈاکٹر صاحب کی رائے اس بارے میں قدرے مختلف تھی ان کا خیال تھا کہ یہ قانون جس کی رو سے خانہ خدا کی تقدیس ضائع ہوئی ہے اور مسجد بھی قبضہ مخالفانہ میں جا کر بارہ سال کے بعد اپنی حرمت کھو بیٹھتی ہے۔ بالکل غلط ہے اس قانون کو ختم کر دیا جائے چنانچہ انہوں نے ملک برکت علی سے کہا کہ وہ پنجاب اسمبلی میں ایک مسودہ قانون پیش کریں تاکہ مساجد کی حفاظت و صیانت کا مکمل بندوبست ہو سکے۔

اس میں کوئی شک نہیں کہ ملک برکت علی کے بل نے پنجاب بھر میں جوش و خروش کی ایک لہر طاری کر دی تھی۔ اپنے اور بیگانے دونوں بڑے اضطراب سے نتیجے کا انتظار کر رہے تھے لیکن سرسکندر نے گورنر کو مشورہ دیا کہ بل کو اسمبلی میں پیش کرنے کی اجازت نہ دی جائے چنانچہ گورنر نے اپنے اختیارات خصوصی کو کام میں لاکر اعلان کر دیا کہ بل اسمبلی میں پیش نہیں کیا جاسکے گا۔

۱۹ مارچ ۱۹۳۸ء کو سرسکندر نے پنجاب اسمبلی کے اجلاس میں اپنے رویے کی حمایت میں ایک زبردست تقریر کی . . . .

سرسکندر نے اپنی تقریر میں ملک برکت علی کے بل پر سب سے بڑا اعتراض یہ کیا کہ اگر آج مسلمان اسمبلی میں خاص قانون بنوا کر شہید گنج پر قبضہ جمانا چاہتے ہیں تو کل کو ہندو بھی یہ مطالبہ کریں گے کہ جن مندروں پر مسلمانوں نے اپنے دور حکومت میں قبضہ کر لیا تھا وہ ان سے واپس لے کر ہندوؤں کے حوالے کیے جائیں - دوسرا اعتراض یہ تھا کہ ہندوستان کے گیارہ میں سے سات صوبوں میں مسلمانوں کی اقلیت ہے اگر پنجاب کے مسلمانوں نے اپنے صوبے کی اقلیت سے اچھا سلوک نہ کیا تو سات صوبوں میں مسلمانوں کی حالت سخت خراب ہو جائے گی -

تیسرا اعتراض یہ تھا کہ صوبے کی سب سے بڑی عدالت جو فیصلہ کر چکی ہے اس فیصلے کو مجلس قانون ساز کے زور سے توڑ دینا کسی خاطر سے جائز نہیں ،،-[۱]

فرقہ وارانہ تعلقات اور انہیں بہتر بنانے کے لئے کوششیں

(۱)

''سردار سمپورن سنگھ نے پنجاب اسمبلی کے تازہ اجلاس میں ایک ایسے سکھ سورمے کی موت پر تحریک التوا پیش کر دی جسے مرے ہوئے برسوں گزر چکے تھے لیکن صدر اسمبلی نے شاید اس بنا پر اس تحریک کے پیش کرنے کی اجازت نہ دی . . . . کہ سکھ اور ہندو ارکان اسمبلی پرلے درجہ کے حساس واقعہ ہوئے ہیں وہ قوم کے درد کو اپنا درد اور جاتی کے دکھ کو اپنا دکھ سمجھتے ہیں کسی جگہ کے ہندوؤں یا سکھوں کو کانٹا چبھتا ہے تو اس کا درد لیڈروں کے دلوں کو بیتاب کر دیتا ہے . . . . لیکن اس کے مقابلے میں مسلم ارکان اسمبلی قطعاً بے حس واقع ہوئے ہیں ان پر ایسا جمود چھایا ہوا ہے کہ ٹوٹنے میں ہی نہیں آتا -

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۱ - عاشق حسین بٹالوی - ''اقبال کے آخری دو سال'' صفحہ نمبر ۵۲۱، ۵۷۱ تا ۵۹۷ -

پانی پت میں ایک ہندو ڈپٹی سپرنٹنڈنٹ پولیس نے مسلمانوں کے خون کے ساتھ ہولی کھیلی لیکن کسی رکن اسمبلی کو تحریک التوا پیش کرنے کی جرأت تک نہیں ہوئی آلہ میں ہندو کپتان پولیس نے اور تھانیدار نے مسلمانوں کو گولیوں کا نشانہ بنایا لیکن بے حس مسلمان ارکان اسمبلی کو شملہ کی ٹھنڈی ٹھنڈی ہوا نے کچھ ایسا بے خبر و مدہوش اور بے ہوش کر رکھا ہے کہ ان کے کان پر جوں تک نہیں رینگتی . . . . آج پنجاب میں آپ کی رواداری یا بزدلی کی طفیل مسلم قوم کا خون بھیڑ بکری کے خون سے زیادہ ارزاں اور سستا ہو رہا ہے ۔ کیوں ؟ ان کے ہمسایوں کو یقین ہو چکا ہے کہ اس قوم کا کوئی وارث نہیں خود اس کے نمائندے وقت بننے اور مصیبت پیش آنے پر ان سے آنکھیں پھیر لیتے ہیں . . . .''۱

(۲)

''سر سکندر حیات خاں وزیر اعظم پنجاب نے فرقہ وارانہ فساد کی روک تھام کے لئے شملہ میں ایک کانفرنس منعقد کی جس میں ہندو مسلم اور سکھ لیڈر شریک ہوئے ۔

وزیر اعظم کی تقریر

''حضرات ! میں نے یہ کانفرنس اس لیے طلب کی ہے کہ حال میں جو قلق انگیز فرقہ وارانہ فسادات ہوئے ہیں ان کے اسباب عمل پر غور و خوض کیا جائے اور ایسی تجاویز اختیار کی جاویں جو ایسے افسوسناک واقعہ کا سدباب کر دیں ۔ انسدادی تدابیر کے متعلق مختلف اقوام اور پارٹی لیڈروں سے مشورہ کیا جائے نیز اس سلسلہ میں ان کا اشتراک عمل حاصل کیا جائے ۔ میں بلا خوف تردید کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ اس قسم کے حوادث پنجاب کے لیے شرمناک ہیں کیونکہ ان سے کسی قوم کو بھی فائدہ نہیں پہنچ سکتا . . . اگر یہ کانفرس یا کوئی دوسری جماعت اس سلسلہ میں کوئی مفید تعمیری یا قابل عمل تجویز پیش کرے گی تو حکومت اس کی صدق دل سے تائید کرے گی ۔ اس سلسلہ میں آپ کا تعاون چاہتا ہوں . . . .''

آخیر میں کانفرنس نے حسب ذیل قرار دادیں منظور کیں :-

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۱ - پیسہ اخبار مورخہ یکم جولائی ۱۹۳۷ء -

”کانفرنس کی رائے میں جو فرقہ وارانہ فسادات حال میں صوبہ پنجاب میں پیش آئے سراسر قابل مذمت ہیں نیز فسادات کے بیگناہ مصیبت زدوں اور مقتولین کے وارثوں کے ساتھ دلی ہمدردی کا اظہار کرتی ہے - پبلک پریس اور حکومت سے اپیل کی جاتی ہے کہ آئندہ اس قسم کے کوئی اقدام نہ کریں جس سے صوبہ کی پرامن فضا کے مکدر ہونے کا احتمال ہو -

یہ کانفرس وزیر اعظم کی اپیل کا صدق دل سے خیر مقدم کرتی ہے کہ صوبہ کا امن قائم رکھنے کے لیے متحدہ کوشش کی جائے نیز یہ کانفرنس اس تجویز کا بھی خیر مقدم کرتی ہے کہ جہاں جہاں ضرورت ہو اس سلسلہ میں صوبائی ڈویژنل اور لوکل بورڈ بنائے جائیں تا کہ وہ فسادات کا سدباب کرنے کے لیے ہر ممکن کوشش کریں -“[1]

(۳)

”پنجاب اسمبلی کا شملہ سیشن پنجشنبہ کو ختم ہوگیا . . . . اجلاس مذکور میں جو اہم ترین معاملہ زیر بحث آیا وہ فرقہ پرستی کے استحصال کا معاملہ تھا حکومت نے کمال دانشمندی سے کام لے کر یہ معاملہ ایک نمائندہ کمیٹی کے سپرد کر دیا ہے جس میں اسمبلی سے باہر کی ذمہ دار شخصیتیں اور لیڈر بھی شامل ہیں جو فرقہ واری کو لاہور اور پنجاب سے مٹانے کے لیے اس مسئلہ کے تمام پہلوؤں پر غور کریں گے اور صحیح حل اور اطمینان بخش مداوا سوچ کر اپنی رپورٹ حکومت کے سامنے پیش کریں گے -“[2]

(۴)

”ہم اس سے پہلے متعدد اشاعتوں میں وزیر اعظم پنجاب اور ان کے رفقائے کار کو اتحاد کانفرنس کے قیام پر مبارکباد دے چکے ہیں لیکن ابھی یہ بیل منڈھے چڑھنے نہ پائی کہ ملک میں جا بجا سکھ دیوان منعقد کرنے کے بہانے سے ہزاروں کی تعداد میں جمع ہو کر امن شکنی کا ذریعہ بن رہے ہیں جو سراسر مذموم اقدام اور قابل نفرین خیال ہے - حکومت پنجاب کے ایک اور ذمہ دار افسر کا کہنا بالکل صحیح ہے کہ

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۱ - ایضاً -
۲ - ایضاً مورخہ ۲۹ جولائی ۱۹۳۷ء -

ہم ان لوگوں کے سامنے جتنے جھک رہے ہیں یہ اتنا ہی شوخ اور دیدہ دلیر ہو کر حکومت کے سر چڑھ رہے ہیں۔ آئین نو کے نفاذ کے بعد پنجاب میں دیوان منعقد کرنے کی ایسی وبا چلی ہے جو اب تک کئی درجنوں انسانوں کا خون پی چکی ہے . . . . اس لیے ہم حکومت اور امن پسند سکھوں سے ان کے نام پر اپیل کرتے ہیں کہ وہ فی‌الحال ایسے خون آشام دیوان منعقد نہ کریں حکومت ان کے انعقاد کی اس وقت تک اجازت نہ دے جب تک اتحاد کانفرنس کی مصالحانہ تجاویز عملی جامہ نہ پہن لیں۔''[1]

(۵)

''ہم نے اخبارات میں پڑھا تھا کہ بعض دہشت انگیز قیدی جب انڈیمان سے آزاد ہو کر یو پی میں پہنچے تو ان کے کان میں یہ پھونک دیا گیا کہ بھئی! یہاں تو کانگریسی وزارت قائم ہو گئی ہے . . . . تم جاؤ پنجاب میں جا کر زور آزمائی کرو اور اس زمین کو اپنی امن شکن سرگرمیوں کا تختۂ مشق بناؤ لیکن حکومت پنجاب کوئی کچی گولیاں تو نہیں کھیلی تھی انہوں نے ان کالی بھیڑوں کو فوراً بھانپ لیا اور یہ طبقۂ اشرار بیک بینی و دو گوش پانچ دریاؤں کی زمین سے باہر نکال دیا گیا۔

چند روز ہوئے نواں کوٹ کے پرلی جانب ہمیں صبح ہی صبح دس بیس نوجوانوں کی پارٹی ملی جو کانگریسی ورکر تھے اور گاؤں گاؤں میں پھر کر موجودہ حکومت کے خلاف زمین تیار کرتے پھرتے تھے انہوں نے مزدوروں اور کانگریس کا جھنڈا اٹھایا ہوا تھا اس کے علاوہ پنجاب میں سکھ دیوانوں کا نیا ڈھونگ شروع ہو گیا۔ تین چار مقامات پر مسلم آزار گیت گائے گئے۔

مسلمانوں کے خلاف آوازے کسے گئے اسلام پاک کے خلاف توہین آمیز بھجن گا کر مسلمانوں کو اشتعال دلانے کی مکروہ کوشش کی گئی . . . باوجود اس قدر مہربانیوں اور برادرانہ نوازشوں کے سکھ اور ہندو اتحاد

۱۔ ایضاً مورخہ ۲ دسمبر ۱۹۳۷ء۔

پارٹی اور سر سکندر منسٹری کے پیچھے پنجے جھاڑ کر پڑے ہوئے ہیں . . . . جس کا تازہ ثبوت سردار سردول سنگھ کولیشر کے ایڈریس (خطبۂ صدارت) سے بھی ملتا ہے جو انہوں نے حال ہی میں پولٹیکل کانفرنس کے صدر کی حیثیت سے دیا ہے -

سردار جی نے جو زہر افشانی اپنے ایڈریس میں کی ہے اس سے مسلم حلقوں میں ناراضگی اور غم و غصہ کی لہر دوڑ گئی ہے - آپ نے اتحادی حکومت کے خلاف زہر اگل کر اپنی فرقہ پرستی اور متعصبانہ ذہنیت کا ثبوت دیا ہے لیکن انہیں اتنا خیال نہ آیا کہ ہندو اکثریت کے صوبوں میں کس وزیر اعظم نے مسلمانوں کے ساتھ ایسا فیاضانہ سلوک کیا ہے جیساکہ پنجاب کے مسلم وزیر اعظم نے پنجاب کے ہندوؤں کے ساتھ کیا ہے مسلم اکثریت کے اس صوبے میں وزیر اعظم کی رواداری کا یہ حال ہے کہ اس نے آدھی وزارتیں بانٹ کر ہندوؤں اور سکھوں کو دیدیں اور پارلیمنٹری سکرٹریوں کے تقرر کے معاملہ میں بھی ایسی ہی دریا دلی اور فیاضی کا ثبوت دیا . . . . سردار سردول سنگھ کولیشر کے ایڈریس سے ہندوؤں اور سکھوں اور کانگریسیوں کی ذہنیت تو عریاں ہوگئی ہے کہ وہ پنجاب کی موجودہ حکومت کا تختہ الٹنے کے لیے سازشیں اور منصوبہ بازیاں کر رہے ہیں . . . . کانگریس نے زائد اکثریت کے صوبوں میں مسلمانوں کے ساتھ بیحد مذموم اور قابل اعتراض سلوک کیا ہے - اڑیسہ و بہار میں انہوں نے مسلم وزیر اور ایڈووکیٹ جنرل موقوف کر دیئے - مسلم اکثریت والے صوبے سرحد وغیرہ میں کانگریسی وزراء کے ہاتھ سے مسلمانوں کو نکلوا کر ہندوؤں کو بھرتی کرایا جا رہا ہے . . . . ان سکھا شاہی کے شیدائی کانگرسیوں اور سکھوں کا یہ مطلب ہے کہ پنجاب ، بنگال ، سندھ اور صوبہ سرحد میں بھی جو خال خال مسلمان نظر آتے ہیں کانٹے کی طرح نکال کر باہر پھینک دیے جائیں اور مسلمانوں پر عرصۂ حیات تنگ کر دیا جائے . . . .''۱

(۶)

پنجاب یونیورسٹی کے حلقہ اقتدار میں پنجاب ، کشمیر ، صوبہ سرحد

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۱ - ایضاً مورخہ ۱۴ اکتوبر ۱۹۳۷ء -

اور بلوچستان شامل ہیں جن میں صوبہ سرحد ، کشمیر اور بلوچستان کے علاقے ایسے ہیں جہاں کی ۹۰ فی صدی آبادی مسلمان ہے پنجاب میں ٦٠ فی صدی مسلمان آباد ہیں لیکن پنجاب یونیورسٹی خاص آریہ یونیورسٹی بنی ہوئی ہے جس کا تازہ ثبوت یہ ہے کہ کانپور کی طرح پنجاب یونیورسٹی کی اورنٹل فیکلٹی (شعبہ السنہ شرقیہ) میں یہ قرار داد پیش ہونے والی ہے کہ یونیورسٹی سے اس مسئلہ پر غور کرنے کی استدعا کی جائے کہ جو طالب علم اردو کو بطور اختیاری مضمون لے اس کے لیے ہندی سیکھنا ضروری قرار دیا جائے اور جو ہندی کو اختیاری مضمون لے اس کے لیے اردو کی تعلیم ضروری لازمی قرار دی جائے۔

اردو اور ہندی لینے والے طالب علموں کے لیے ضروری قرار دیا جائے کہ وہ اردو اور ہندی دونوں قسم کے رسم الخط سے واقف ہوں صوبہ سرحد۔ بلوچستان ۔ کشمیر اور پنجاب کے باشندوں کی ۹۵ اور ٦٠ فی صدی آبادی کو ہندی زبان اور ہندی رسم الخط سے کوئی سروکار نہیں نہ انہیں اس کی کوئی ضرورت ہے۔"[1]

(۷)

"پنجاب اسمبلی کی خالصہ نیشنل پارٹی کا ایک اجلاس ہوا جس میں دستور ہند کے مسئلہ پر غور کیا گیا اس کے بعد ایک قرار داد منظور کی گئی جس میں وائسرائے ، مسٹر جناح اور گاندھی جی کی گفتگو کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے فرمایا گیا کہ سکھ برطانیہ اور کانگریس میں سمجھوتے کا خیر مقدم کریں گے بشرطیکہ اس میں سکھ اقلیت کے حقوق و مفادات پوری طرح محفوظ ہو جائیں لیکن سکھوں کے پاس اس اندیشے کی معقول وجہ موجود ہے کہ ان کے مطالبات مسلمانوں کو مطمئن کرنے کی کوشش میں نظر انداز کئے جا سکتے ہیں . . .

اس قرار داد کے دو پہلو ہیں اول سکھوں کی خواہش تحفظ دوم اصول وسائل کا تحفظ ۔ خواہش تحفظ سے کسی ایک کو بھی اختلاف نہیں ہو سکتا اور ہمیں یقین ہے کہ مسلمانوں کا کوئی گروہ ، کوئی جماعت اس کے اختلاف کی روا دار نہیں ہوسکتی . . . سکھ قوم فی الحال پنجاب میں

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۱ ۔ ایضاً ۔

یا پنجاب کی ریاستوں میں آباد ہے - اور اس صوبے میں مسلمانوں کو اکثریت حاصل ہے لیکن سکھ نہیں کہہ سکتے کہ گذشتہ تین برس میں یہاں ان کے ساتھ نا انصافی ہوئی ہے - پنجاب میں ان کی آبادی صرف اکتیس لاکھ ہے لیکن یوپی میں ۷۱ لاکھ اور بہار میں ۴۰ لاکھ مسلمان آباد ہیں - ان بڑی اسلامی اقلیتوں کے ساتھ بہار اور یوپی کی کانگریسی حکومتوں کے ماتحت گذشتہ $2\frac{1}{2}$ برس میں جو بدسلوکیاں ہوئیں وہ محتاج بیان نہیں . . . . باقی رہا اصول وسائل کا مسئلہ تو ہمیں دلی افسوس اور رنج کے ساتھ کہنا پڑتا ہے کہ سکھوں کی روش آج بھی بڑی ناگوار ہے - ہندوستان میں آج تک ہندوؤں ، مسلمانوں اور دوسری اقلیتوں کے درمیان جتنی گفتگوئیں ہوئیں ان سب میں سکھوں کا مسلک یہ نہ تھا کہ خود محفوظ ہو جائیں یا اپنی حفاظت کے لیے معقول مطالبات پیش کر دیں بلکہ یہ تھا کہ مسلمانوں کے جائز حقوق کے تحفظ کے معاملہ میں ہندوؤں کو تقویت پہنچاتے چلے جائیں . . . . قرار داد میں اقوام ہند کے سمجھوتے کا قطعاً ذکر نہیں آیا بلکہ صرف کانگریس اور حکومت برطانیہ کے سمجھوتے کا ذکر آیا ہے - اس حقیقت کا ذکر نہیں کیا گیا کہ سب قوموں کے لیے اطمینان کا بندوبست ہونا چاہئیے بلکہ شکوے کے انداز میں محض یہ کہا گیا ہے کہ مسلمانوں کو خوش کرنے کی کوشش میں سکھوں کے حقوق کو نظر انداز کر دینے کا اندیشہ موجود ہے . . . .

سکھ بے شک اپنے تحفظ کا بندوبست سوچیں لیکن وہ بندوبست جائز ہونا چاہئیے - بے تکلفی کے ساتھ ۳۳ فی صد نیابت پیش کرنے کا وقت گزر گیا اور وہ دور اب پلٹ کر واپس نہیں آ سکتا - مسلمان سکھوں کے ہر جائز مطالبہ کی تائید کریں گے - لیکن اس غرض کی تکمیل کی وہ صورت نہیں جو خالصہ نیشنل پارٹی کے کار فرما حضرات نے تجویز فرمائی ہے - ہم سکھوں کی مسلسل دل آزار روش کے باوجود ان کے ساتھ انصاف ہی نہیں بلکہ جائز رعایت کے لیے بھی تیار ہیں - لیکن ان پر واضح ہونا چاہئیے کہ وہ ۱۳ فی صد اقلیت سے اٹھ کر اکثریت نہیں بن سکتے . . . . اگر سکھ اکابر ہماری اس جسارت کو معاف فرمائیں

تو ہم ان سے عرض کریں گے کہ وہ ابھی تک حقیقت حال سے بے خبر ہیں - انہیں یہ احساس نہیں کہ ہندوستان کی حالت اب بدل چکی ہے .... یہ سمجھ لینے سے کوئی اچھا نتیجہ برآمد نہیں ہو سکتا کہ جو کچھ ہم چاہتے ہیں وہ مل جائے گا مسلمانوں کی سکیموں سے بھی وہ کامل واقف ہیں اور چونکہ ان کا تعلق صرف پنجاب سے ہے لہذا وہ وثیقہ مسلمانوں کے سامنے لائیں تاکہ خوش دلی سے کچھ طے ہو جائے -،، ۱

(8)

Opposition against the idea of Pakistan

"That the division of India into Hindu and Muslim independent States, as envisaged by the recent resolution of the Muslim League, was fraught with the most dangerous consequences .... was the view expressed by the Khalsa National Party, led by Sir Sunder Singh Majithia, Revenue Minister, Punjab, in a resolution passed at a meeting of the party at Lahore on the 29th March, 1940.

'In the opinion of the party the resolution of the Muslim League has created a situation which may mean a parting of the ways for the Sikhs and Muslims with whom the Khalsa National Party has been co-operating in the Provincial Autonomy regime....

The resolution adds that it would be the height of audacity for anyone to imagine that the Sikhs would tolerate for a single day the undiluted communal Raj of any community in the Punjab which is not only their homeland but also their holy land. As a logical consequence of the League resolution, the Sikhs... would be entitled to claim back the sovereignty of the Punjab which was only held as a trust by the British during the minority regime of Maharaja Dalip Singh."[1]

(9)

Anti-Pakistan Conference held at Lahore, on 1st December, 1940

Mr. Aney (the president of the Conference) characterized the Pakistan scheme as a conquest of India by the Muhammadans without a fight. Mr. Aney said: "Hindus and almost the whole of non-Muslim India simply wondered at the audacity of the Muslim League when it

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۱ - روزنامہ انقلاب - ۸ مارچ ۱۹۴۰ء -

1. Resolution of the Khalsa National Party, Lahore 29th March, 1940.
The Indian Annual Register Vol. I, 1940, p. 357.

openly declared itself as standing for the establishment of Pakistan in India..."

He further said: 'The British Government must immediately declare that they are not going to entertain any scheme which strikes at the integrity of India as one indivisible nation'...

The conference adopted a resolution recording its unequivocal condemnation of the Muslim League plan for the dissection of India known as the Pakistan scheme and characterising it as fantastic, impracticable, unpatriotic, vicious and fraught with grave consequences to the political, social and economic advancement of the country as a whole....

Finally, the conference empowered the president to appoint a standing committee with its branches in the various provinces in order to carry on persistent agitation and organise public opinion against the Pakistan scheme."[1]

(۱۰)

''ہمارے معزز معاصر شہباز نے بالکل ٹھیک لکھا ہے کہ اگر پنجاب کی مسلم اکثریت کو جائز حقوق دینے کا نام پاکستان ہے تو ہماری دلی دعا ہے کہ یہ پاکستان ضرور بنے اور اگر سر سکندر اسے پاکستان نہ بنائیں تو مسلمانوں کے ساتھ بے انصافی کے مرتکب ہونگے . . . . کیا سر سکندر کو معلوم ہے کہ پنجاب کے ہندو اور سکھوں کی ان کی گورنمنٹ کے متعلق کیا رائے ہے - ایک فقرہ میں یہ کہ 'پنجاب کے تمام عہدے آہستہ آہستہ مسلمانوں کے حوالے کئے جا رہے ہیں- مسٹر جناح کی پاکستانی سکیم تو شور و شر میں ختم ہو جائے گی لیکن سر سکندر پنجاب کو حقیقی معنوں میں پاکستان بنا دیں گے '. . . . مہاشہ کرشن کو معلوم ہے کہ پنجاب میں اگرچہ مسلمانوں کو نمایاں اکثریت حاصل ہے لیکن چھ وزیروں میں سے صرف تین مسلمان ہیں اور دو ہندو اور ایک سکھ . . . . پنجاب کے ہندوؤں کی رائے کا اظہار مہاشہ کرشن سے کہیں بہتر طریق پر چوہدری سر چھوٹو رام فرما سکتے ہیں . . . . پنجاب کے سکھوں کی رائے کا اظہار مہاشہ کرشن سے کہیں بہتر طریق

1. Indian Annual Register Vol. II, 1940.

پر سر سندر سنگھ مجیٹھیہ فرما سکتے ہیں جو حکومت پنجاب کے فرد ہیں ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

باقی رہا اہم عہدوں کا مسئلہ تو شہباز نے اس پر دو مثالیں پیش کی ہیں۔ اول یہ کہ حکومت پنجاب کے پانچ سکرٹریوں میں سے ایک بھی مسلمان نہیں بلکہ دو انگریز ہیں اور تین ہندو ۔ دوسرے شعبہ مالیات میں اوپر سے نیچے تک ہندو ہی بھرے پڑے ہیں ۔ لیکن ہماری گذارش یہ ہے کہ مہاشہ جی ان دو مثالوں پر ہی اکتفا نہ کریں بلکہ جوڈیشری ہائیڈرو الیکٹرک ۔ امور عامہ ۔ انہار ۔ جنگلات ۔ مال ۔ طبابت ۔ فنانس وغیرہ میں سے کوئی محکمہ منتخب فرما لیں اور اس کی فہرست سامنے رکھ کر دیکھ لیں کہ اب تک مسلمانوں کی حالت کیا رہی ہے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ یہ صحیح ہے کہ کچھ عرصہ سے مسلمانوں کے زائل شدہ حقوق انہیں ملنے لگے ہیں لیکن رفتار ترقی اتنی سست ہے کہ خدا جانے یہ حقوق کب تک پورے ہوں ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ جب انڈسٹریز کے لیے نیا ڈائریکٹر مقرر ہوا تھا تو اس وقت بھی اسی قسم کا شور مچایا گیا تھا لیکن کیا مہاشہ کرشن اس بات کے لیے تیار ہیں کہ انڈسٹریز کے ملازمین کی پوری فہرستیں شائع کر دیں ۔ ان کے سامنے لاہور میں گورنمنٹ کالج موجود ہے ، ٹریننگ کالج اور سنٹرل ماڈل سکول موجود ہیں اس کے بڑے بڑے عہدے دار کون ہیں ۔ کیا ان میں کوئی مسلمان ہے ؟ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ پنجاب یونیورسٹی کی حالت ناگفتہ بہ ہے ۔ کیا مہاشہ کرشن کو معلوم ہے کہ اس یونیورسٹی نے انجمن حمایت اسلام کے طبیہ کالج کے لیے جو گرانٹ منظور کی تھی اس میں کئی سال ہوئے اضافہ ہوا تھا لیکن ایک دو نہیں بلکہ کئی سال سے یہ گرانٹ طبیہ کالج کو نہ مل سکی ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

یہ حقیقت اچھی طرح ذہن نشین کر لینی چاہیے کہ پنجاب میں مسلمانوں کو اکثریت حاصل ہے اگرچہ اب تک ان کو کسی محکمہ میں بھی اکثریت کے حقوق نہیں ملے تو یہ صریح بے انصافی تھی ۔ سرسکندر کی حکومت انہیں اکثریت کے حقوق نہیں بلکہ ۵۰ فی صدی حقوق دینے

کا وعدہ کیے بیٹھی ہے - اگر اس وجہ سے مہاشہ کرشن کو اندیشہ لاحق ہو گیا ہے کہ پنجاب پاکستان بن رہا ہے اور سرسکندر اسے پاکستان بنا رہے ہیں تو پھر مہاشہ کرشن کو اپنے دل و دماغ کا علاج کروانا چاہیے یا آنکھیں بند کر کے کسی تاریک کنوئیں میں کود جانا چاہیے ''-[1]

(۱۱)

''یہ کتنی عجیب بات ہے کہ مسلمانوں کو تو حکومت پنجاب سے یہ شکایت ہے کہ اس نے سرکاری ملازمتوں میں زمانہ قبل اصلاحات کی ہندو گری کا کوئی ازالہ نہ کیا اور مسلمانوں سے بد ستور نا انصافی جاری ہے لیکن مہاشہ کرشن اور اسی قماش کے دوسرے ہندو شور مچا رہے ہیں کہ سر سکندر نے پنجاب کو پاکستان بنا دیا ہے اور تمام بنیادی ملازمتیں مسلمانوں کو دے دی ہیں . . .

لیکن ہم آج ہندوؤں کی اطلاع کے لیے اور مسلمانوں کو صورت حال سے باخبر بنانے کے لیے چند ایسے حقائق پیش کرتے ہیں جس کے بعد ہر غیر مسلم کی زبان بند ہو جانی چاہیے اور ہر مسلمان کو کمر ہمت باندھ کر حکومت پنجاب سے مطالبہ کرنا چاہیے کہ وہ اب ۵۷% مسلمان آبادی کے حقوق کی پامالی کا سلسلہ بند کر دے -

ان حقائق و اعداد میں ''پہلے'' سے مراد یکم جنوری ۱۹۳۷ء اور ''اب'' سے مراد یکم جنوری ۱۹۴۰ء ہے -

گورنمنٹ کے سکرٹری : گورنمنٹ کے پانچ سکرٹریوں میں سے ایک ہندو اور ۴ یورپین تھے اب تین ہندو اور دو یورپین ہیں - مسلمان سکرٹری نہ پہلے تھا نہ اب ہے -

ڈپٹی سکرٹری فنانس پہلے بھی یورپین تھا اب بھی یورپین ہے -
اسسٹنٹ سکرٹری فنانس پہلے بھی ہندو تھا اب بھی ہندو ہے -
انڈر سکرٹری پہلے یورپین تھا اب مسلمان ہے پہلے ہوم ڈیپارٹمنٹ و

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۱ - روزنامہ انقلاب - مورخہ ۲۱ جولائی ۱۹۴۰ء -

لوکل ڈیپارٹمنٹ میں دو انڈر سکرٹری تھے جن میں ایک ہندو اور ایک مسلمان تھا ۔ اب ان ہر دو محکموں میں ڈپٹی سکرٹری ہیں جن میں سے ایک یورپین اور ایک مسلمان ہے ۔

لیجس لیٹو ڈیپارٹمنٹ میں ڈپٹی سکرٹری کے ایک جدید عہدہ پر ہندو کو فائز کیا گیا ہے۔ سکرٹری وزیراعظم اور اسسٹنٹ سکرٹری کے ہر دو جدید عہدے یورپین حضرات کو دیئے گئے ہیں ۔

محکمۂ اطلاعات اور پریس برانچ : ڈائرکٹر محکمۂ اطلاعات پہلے بھی مسلمان تھا اب بھی مسلمان ہے محکمۂ تعلیم کا ڈائرکٹر اور رجسٹرار پہلے بھی یورپین تھے اب بھی یورپین ہیں ۔

محکمۂ تعمیرات (بلڈنگز اور روڈز) : سکرٹری پہلے بھی یورپین تھا اب بھی یورپین ہے۔ انڈر سکرٹری پہلے بھی یورپین تھا اب بھی یورپین ہے ۔ سپرنٹنڈنگ انجینئر پہلے یورپین تھا اب ہندو ہے ۔ اسسٹنٹ سکرٹری اور سکرٹری الیکٹرسٹی کے عہدوں پر پہلے یورپین فائز تھے ۔ اب ان کی بجائے رجسٹرار ہے اور اس عہدے پر ایک ہندو فائز ہے ۔

محکمۂ تعمیرات کا شعبہ آبپاشی : تین سکرٹیریوں میں سے پہلے ایک ہندو اور دو یورپین تھے اب تینوں یورپین ہیں ۔

پانچ انڈر سکرٹریوں میں سے پہلے تین یورپین ایک ہندو اور ایک مسلمان تھا اب ان میں دو یورپین ایک ہندو ایک سکھ اور ایک مسلمان ہے ۔ رجسٹرار پہلے بھی یورپین تھا اب بھی یورپین ہے ۔

فنانشنل کمشنر اور سکرٹری : پہلے دو فنانشنل کمشنروں میں سے ایک یورپین اور ایک مسلمان تھا اب دونوں یورپین ہیں ۔

پہلے تین سکرٹری (سینئر سکرٹری جونیئر سکرٹری اور اسسٹنٹ سکرٹری) جن میں پہلے ایک یورپین ایک ہندو اور ایک مسلمان تھا اب اس

نوع کے پانچ عہدے (ریونیو سکرٹری - ڈویلوپمنٹ سکرٹری - ریونیو سکرٹری - انڈر سکرٹری اور اسسٹنٹ سکرٹری) ہیں ان میں تین ہندو اور دو یورپین ہیں -

پبلک سروس کمیشن: چیرمین پہلے بھی یورپین تھا اب بھی یورپین ہے سکرٹری پہلے بھی مسلمان تھا اب بھی مسلمان ہے -

مختلف محکموں کے سپرنٹنڈنٹ: کل ۲۷ سپرنٹنڈنٹوں میں سے ۱۰ ہندو ایک سکھ اور ۸ مسلمان تھے اب ۸ یورپین ۱۳ ہندو ایک سکھ اور پانچ مسلمان ہیں - پرسنل اسسٹنٹ ریفارمز کمشنر پہلے بھی مسلمان تھا اب بھی مسلمان ہے -

کیا مہاشہ کرشن اور ان کے ہم زبان ان حقائق و اعداد کی تردید فرمائیں گے - ان بڑے عہدوں میں سے اکثر پر ہندو اور یورپین حضرات قابض ہیں جن پر مسلمانوں کو مقرر ہونا چاہیے - اب مہاشہ کرشن اور دوسرے ہندو نیشلسٹ ملازمتوں میں ہندوؤں کی حق تلفی کا شور مچا کر اپنی نہایت ناپاک فرقہ پرستی کا ثبوت دے چکے ہیں لیکن جب مسلمان اپنی حق تلفی کا مطالبہ کریں گے تو یہ ہی ملاپ ، پرتاپ اور ٹریبیون شور مچا دیں گے کہ مسلمان بڑے فرقہ پرست ہیں ،،[1]-

(۱۲)

"مہاشہ کرشن نے جب یہ لکھا تھا کہ یکم دسمبر کو لاہور میں اینٹی پاکستان کانفرنس منعقد ہو رہی ہے اور اس میں ان تمام ہندوستانیوں کا جو مادر وطن کے حصے بخرے کئے جانے کے خلاف ہیں پاکستان تحریک کے خلاف ایک متحدہ فرنٹ قائم کر لیا جائیگا تو ہم نے اسے محض مذاق سمجھا تھا - ہم جانتے تھے کہ ہندو بھائیوں نے نا واجب حرص و آز کی بنا پر اپنے گرد و پیش اوہام کی عجیب و غریب دنیا جمع کر رکھی ہے اور وہ اپنی قوتیں بے جا ضائع کر رہے ہیں حالانکہ اگر وہ لیگ کی سکیم پر ٹھنڈے دل سے غور کر لیتے تو انصاف دوست آدمیوں

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۱ - ایضاً - ۲ اگست ۱۹۴۰ء -

کی طرح انہیں یہ سکیم قبول کر لینے میں ذرا بھی تامل نہ ہوتا لیکن انہیں یہ وہم نہیں چھوڑتا کہ ہندوستان میں خالص ہندو راج قائم ہونا چاہیے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

تازہ اطلاع یہ ہے کہ ماسٹر تارا سنگھ کے رفیقوں نے بھی اس نام نہاد اینٹی پاکستان کانفرنس کو تقویت پہنچانے کا انتظام کر لیا ہے۔ ملاپ رقمطراز ہے کہ امرتسر میں شرومنی اکالی دل کا اجلاس ہوا جس میں ماسٹر تارا سنگھ نے معمول کے مطابق حد درجہ غیر ذمہ دارانہ تقریر کی جس میں کہا کہ:

''ہم پرزہ پرزہ کٹ مریں گے لیکن یہاں پاکستان قائم نہیں ہونے دیں گے ۔ یہاں انصاف اور دھرم کا راج ہوگا ہم نے نہ صرف اپنی بلکہ ہندوؤں کی حفاظت بھی کرنی ہے ۔ ہندو ہمارے ہی انگ ہیں ہم سب ایک ہیں ۔"

(ملاپ مورخہ یکم دسمبر ۱۹۴۰ء صفحہ ۱۷)

لیگ کی جس قرارداد کو پاکستان کا نام دیا جا رہا ہے۔ حالانکہ خود لیگ نے آج تک اس کے لیے پاکستان کا نام استعمال نہیں کیا اس کا مفاد بجز اس کے کیا ہے کہ جن حصوں میں مسلمانوں کو اکثریتیں حاصل ہیں ان کے نظم و نسق کا انداز ایسا ہونا چاہیے کہ ہندو کی بہ لطائف الحیل بند کردہ آل انڈیا اکثریت مسلمانوں کی آزادی میں خلل انداز نہ ہو سکے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ماسٹر تارا سنگھ نے کہا کہ اکالی یہاں یعنی پنجاب میں انصاف و دھرم کا راج چاہتے ہیں کاش ! ماسٹر جی ان دو لفظوں کے معنی پر ٹھنڈے دل سے غور کر لیتے تو وہ مہمل گوئی سے محفوظ رہتے ۔ انصاف اور دھرم کا تقاضہ کیا ہے ؟ کیا یہ ہے کہ مسلمان اکثریت کے حقوق محفوظ نہ رہیں؟ کیا یہ ہے کہ پنجاب ، سرحد ، سندھ بنگال میں عنان حکومت اقلیتوں کے حوالے کر دی جائے ؟ کیا یہ ہے کہ ان صوبوں کی اکثریتوں کے گلوں میں ایک جعلی آل انڈیا کا طوق ڈال دیا جائے؟ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

واضح رہے کہ مسلمانوں نے جو اپنے لیے نصب العین مقرر کیا ہے وہ ہر اعتبار سے حق و انصاف پر مبنی ہے۔ اب تک انہوں نے سیاسیات میں جو قدم اٹھائے ان سب کی حالت یہی تھی اس لیے مسلمانوں کو ہر قدم پر اللہ کے فضل سے کامیابی حاصل ہوئی اور ان کے مخالف ہر مخالف ہنگامہ آرائی کے باوجود شرمندہ ہوئے . . . . اینٹی پاکستان کانفرنسیں دس ہزار مرتبہ منعقد کرائی جائیں لیکن اس طرح اسلامی اکثریتوں کی حقیقت انہیں بدل نہیں سکتی یہ کوشش سراسر دیوانگی ہے ،،[1]

(۱۳)

"لاہور شہر کے مختلف حصوں سے جہاں مسلمانوں کی آبادی ہے اور شمار کنندے ہندو یا سکھ ہیں یہ شکایات موصول ہو رہی ہیں کہ غیر مسلم شمار کنندے یہاں اپنی مرضی سے مردم شماری کے کاغذات میں اندراج کر رہے ہیں اور اگر کوئی شخص اردو لکھاتا ہے تو اس کی جگہ ہندی یا پنجابی لکھ دیتے ہیں لیکن اسی پر بس نہیں بلکہ ہندو اور سکھ شمار کنندوں کی چیرہ دستیاں اس حد تک بڑھی ہوئی ہیں کہ انہوں نے داتا گنج بخش کے آس پاس کی مسلم آبادیوں میں یہ شر انگیز مطالبہ کیا کہ مسلمان عورتوں کی اسی صورت میں مردم شماری ہوگی کہ انہیں دکھایا جائے . . . . فلیمنگ روڈ کے مسلمانوں نے خان بہادر شیخ فضل الہی صاحب مردم شماری سپرنٹنڈنٹ کو ایک عریضہ ارسال کیا ہے جسمیں ہندو شمار کنندوں کی بے ضابطگیوں کی اطلاع دی گئی ہے . . . . لاہور کی ان آبادیوں میں جہاں ہندو رہتے ہیں ہندو اپنی آبادی بہت بڑھا چڑھا کر لکھ رہے ہیں اور گھر بیٹھ کر ہی مردم شماری کی کاپیاں بھر رہے ہیں۔ کرشن نگر۔ رام نگر۔ موہنی روڈ میں بالکل ناجائز مردم شماری ہو رہی ہے . . . . شہر کے کئی حصوں سے یہ اطلاعات وصول ہوئی ہیں کہ وہاں مردم شماری کے لیے کوئی شمار کنندہ نہیں آیا . . . . جنرل سکرٹری سٹی مسلم لیگ رقم طراز ہیں : "ہمارے دفتر میں شہر سے متعدد شکایات آئی ہیں کہ مسلم حلقوں کے شمار کنندوں کو بہت تھوڑی تعداد میں مردم شماری مہیا کی گئی ہے خصوصاً ان

۱۔ ایضاً ۳ دسمبر ۔ ۱۹۴۰ء ۔

حلقوں میں جہاں کہ سپروائزر وغیرہ یا شمار کنندے دوسری اقوام سے تعلق رکھتے ہیں . . . . شیخوپورہ روڈ پر ڈیرہ اللہ ، کو بالکل نظرانداز کر دیا گیا ہے جہاں پچاس سے زیادہ نفوس رہتے ہیں - رائے ونڈ سے بھی ایک وفد ہمارے دفتر میں حاضر ہوا اور اپنی شکایت سنا کر تلافی کا مطالبہ کیا . . . . موضع مانک ضلع لاہور کی طرف سے بھی شکایات موصول ہوئی ہیں کہ وہاں ایک حلقے میں سردار عطر سنگھ قوم جٹ ساکن مانک شمار کنندہ مقرر ہوا ہے لیکن وہ مسلمانوں کے زور دینے کے باوجود اردو کی بجائے پنجابی لکھ رہا ہے . . . . مردم شماری کے حلقہ پتوہیرا سنگھ تحصیل موگا ضلع فیروز پور کے مسلمانوں کی طرف سے شکایات موصول ہوئی ہیں کہ جاگیر سنگھ پٹواری اور ماسٹر تیجا سنگھ مدرس ڈسٹرکٹ بورڈ پرائمری سکول پتو ہیرا سنگھ مسلمانوں سے بغیر دریافت کئے مردم شماری کے کاغذوں میں زبان اور ذات درج کر رہا ہے . . . . ضلع کرنال سے اطلاع موصول ہوئی ہے کہ اس ضلع کے ایک گاؤں میں جس میں چار سو پچاس گھر ہیں غلط مردم شماری کی جا رہی ہے اور دو دیہات کو بالکل نظر انداز کر دیا گیا . . . . امرتسر میں انجمن اسلامیہ کی سب کمیٹی کے ایک اجلاس میں مردم شماری کے متعلق غور وخوض کیا گیا شہری نمایندوں نے شکایات پیش کیں کہ کس طرح پٹواری اور نمبردار دباؤ ڈال کر مسلمانوں کو اپنی مادری زبان پنجابی لکھانے پر مجبور کر رہے ہیں - - - - سٹی مسلم لیگ کے دفتر میں اور حکام کے پاس اس قسم کی سینکڑوں درخواستیں موصول ہو رہی ہیں کہ ہندو جان بوجھ کر اپنی تعداد زیادہ لکھا رہے ہیں . . . . سانده کلاں سانده شمس الدین و گنج کلاں سے اطلاع موصول ہوئی ہے کہ کرم چند پٹواری مسلمانوں کی زبان پنجابی درج کر رہا ہے . . . . اس کے علاوہ آن دیہات کو بھی یہ شکایت ہے کہ بربالو کوٹ ، شیرا کوٹ ، کچری کوٹ ، عاقل پورہ اور دیگر مقامات میں مردم شماری کرنے کے لیے کوئی نمایندہ نہیں آیا . . . .''[1]

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۱ - ایضاً ۲ مارچ ۱۹۳۱ء -

(۱۴)

سکندر بلدیو معاہدہ

"اتحاد پارٹی اور سردار بلدیو سنگھ کی پارٹی جس کے معاہدہ کے متعلق ہفتوں سے عجیب و غریب افواہیں پھیلائی جارہی تھیں وہ سامنے آچکا ہے . . . . اس میں کوئی بات ایسی نہیں جس سے کسی قوم کے جائز حقوق کو گزند پہنچنے کا خفیف سا بھی اندیشہ ہو . . . جن مسائل کے متعلق فیصلہ ہوا وہ چنداں تشریح کے محتاج نہیں اُن کی سرسری کیفیت یہ ہے کہ:

۱ - سکھوں کا ایک مطالبہ جھٹکے کے متعلق تھا اس معاملے کے متعلق ۱۹۳۷ میں اتحاد کانفرنس میں ایک تجویز پیش اور منظور ہوئی تھی جس میں تمام قوموں کے حقوق کی جائز حفاظت کا انتظام کر دیا گیا تھا - یہ قرارداد اسمبلی میں منظور ہو کر بھی عمل میں آسکتی تھی - جب تک ایسی منظوری کا انتظام نہ ہو یہ طے کر دیا گیا ہے کہ عام سرکاری اداروں کی موجودہ پابندیوں میں ایک حد تک نرمی کر دی جائے یعنی جہاں جہاں سکھوں، ہندوؤں اور مسلمانوں کے باورچی خانے الگ الگ ہیں یا الگ الگ باورچی خانوں کا انتظام ہو سکتا ہے ہر قوم اپنے طریق پر ذبح کیا ہوا ہر قسم کا گوشت بازار سے خرید کر پکانے و کھانے کی مجاز ہو گی - لیکن اس ضمن میں دوسروں کے جذبات کو مجروح نہ کرنے کی پابندی قائم رہے گی یعنی ضروری ہو گا کہ گوشت بازار سے اس طریق پر ڈھانپ کر لایا جائے کہ اس سے کسی دوسری قوم کو صدمہ نہ پہنچے -

۲ - گورمکھی کے بارے میں سکھوں کے مطالبے کی نسبت یہ طے ہوا کہ اردو مسلمہ ذریعہ تعلیم اور عدالتی زبان ہے اس کی حیثیت قائم و بحال رہے گی - اختیاری اور ثانوی زبانوں کے سلسلے میں پرائمری جماعتوں کے لیے عربی، ہندی اور گورمکھی کو مسلمانوں، ہندوؤں اور سکھوں کی کلچرل اور مذہبی زبانیں تسلیم کرتے ہوئے ایک سطح پر رکھا گیا ہے۔ فی الحال پرائمری جماعتوں میں انکا انتظام نہیں کیا جا سکتا

کیونکہ روپیہ نہیں ہے . . . لیکن جب اس اصول پر عمل ہوگا تو تینوں قوموں کے بچوں کے لیے یکساں انتظام کیا جائے گا ۔ باقی رہی فارسی یا سنسکرت تو ان کے لیے مڈل اور باقی جماعتوں میں اب جو بندوبست ہے وہ قائم رہے گا ۔

۳ ۔ مذہبی معاملات کے متعلق قانون سازی کے بارے میں وزیر اعظم نے اپنی ایک سابقہ تقریر میں یہ تجویز پیش کی تھی کہ جو مسودہ یا قانون خالصتاً ایک قوم سے تعلق رکھتے ہیں ان کے بارے میں اسی قوم کو قانون بنانے یا نہ بنانے کے متعلق فیصلہ کرنا چاہیے . . .

۴ ۔ سکھوں کی ملازمت کا معاملہ پہلے سے طے شدہ ہے یعنی آن کے لیے پہلے سے بیس فی صدی ملازمتیں مخصوص ہیں اور تمام قوموں کی حق رسی کو ہر خلل سے محفوظ رکھنے کے لیے بلاک سسٹم جاری کر دیا گیا ہے جس میں ہر قوم کے تناسب کی تکمیل کے متعلق کامل غور و فکر کے بعد ایک ترتیب مکمل ہو چکی ہے ۔ ترقیات میں فرقہ وارانہ مصلحتوں کو ملحوظ نہیں رکھا جائے گا البتہ اگر اعلیٰ ملازمتوں میں سکھوں کی تعداد کم ہو تو موزوں امیدوار ملنے پر اس کمی کو پورا کیا جائے گا لیکن دوسری قوموں کے جائز حقوق کو کوئی نقصان نہ پہنچنے دیا جائے گا . . . .

۵ ۔ رہا مرکزی اسمبلی میں سکھوں کی نیابت یا مرکزی ملازمتوں میں سکھوں کے تناسب کا معاملہ تو وزیر اعظم پہلے بھی اس بارے میں سکھوں کے جائز مطالبات کے حامی اور ہمدرد رہے ہیں آئندہ بھی حمایت و ہمدردی کا یہ فیصلہ جاری رکھیں گے . . . .

غرض ان امور میں سے کوئی چیز ایسی نہیں ہے جو نئی ہو یا نئے طریق پر طے ہوئی ہو بلکہ سر سکندر حیات خان ابتدا ہی سے ان مسائل کے متعلق وہی خیالات ظاہر کرتے رہے ہیں جو اب سردار بلدیو سنگھ کے موسومہ مکتوب میں درج ہیں ۔ اتحادی حکومت کی پالیسی بھی یہی رہی ہے ۔

معاہدہ جس شکل میں منظور ہوا ہے وہ سکھوں یا ہندوؤں یا مسلمانوں کے کسی جائز حق سے متحرض نہیں ، آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کی قرار داد لاہور میں جو عام طور پر پاکستان کے نام سے مشہور ہے اسی قسم کا انتظام متصور تھا ۔ قرارداد مذکور کا متعلقہ حصہ یہ ہے ۔

''اسلامی اکثریت والے حلقوں اور اُن کے اجزا میں اقلیتوں کے لیے اُن کے مشورے سے دستور اساسی میں کافی مؤثر اور حُکمی تحفظات کا خاص انتظام کر دیا جائے تاکہ اُن کے مذہبی ، ثقافتی ، اقتصادی ، سیاسی ، اداری اور دوسرے حقوق محفوظ ہو جائیں ۔ ہندوستان کے دوسرے حصوں میں جہاں مسلمان اقلیت میں ہیں ان کے اور دوسری اقلیتوں کے مذہبی، ثقافتی، اقتصادی ، سیاسی ، اداری اور دوسرے حقوق کی حفاظت کے لیے اُن کے مشورے سے از روئے دستور کافی مؤثر اور حُکمی تحفظات کا خاص انتظام ہونا چاہیے ۔''

صاف ظاہر ہے کہ وزیر اعظم نے جو کچھ کہا ہے وہ محولہ بالا اصل سے کامل مطابقت رکھتا ہے ۱

پنجاب مسلم لیگ

''پنجاب پراونشل مسلم لیگ کی کونسل کا ایک اجلاس ۲۸ نومبر ۱۹۳۷ء کو منعقد ہوا جس میں حسب ذیل قرارداد منظور ہوئی ۔

''اس حقیقت کے پیش نظر کہ ہائی کورٹ لاہور کے بنچ میں مسلم نمائندگی حد درجہ نا کافی ہے یہ اجلاس وائسرائے ہند سے ، گورنر پنجاب اور چیف جسٹس ہائی کورٹ لاہور سے مودبانہ اور پرزور درخواست کرتا ہے ۔ کہ ہائی کورٹ لاہور میں کم از کم ایک اور مسلمان جج مقرر کیا جائے جسے قوم کا اعتماد حاصل ہو . . . .''

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۱ - ایضاً - ۱۸ جون ۱۹۳۲ء -

اجلاس میں اس امر کا فیصلہ کیا گیا تھا کہ گورنر پنجاب ، چیف جسٹس اور وزیر اعظم پنجاب کی خدمت میں مسلمانوں کا یہ مطالبہ پیش کرنے کے لیے مسلمانان پنجاب کا ایک وفد حاضر ہو کر یا ہونے پر طے پایا کہ وفد مذکور کو نمائندہ بنانے کے لیے دیگر اسلامی انجمنوں کو تعاون اور اشتراک کی دعوت دی جائے۔"[1]

پنجاب میں مسلم لیگ کی تنظیم

"آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کے سالانہ اجلاس میں جو اکتوبر ۱۹۳۷ء میں مسٹر محمد علی جناح کی صدارت میں بمقام لکھنو میں ہوا مسلم لیگ کے دستور میں ترمیم کی گئی اور صدر کو اختیار دیا گیا کہ وہ آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کی کونسل میں سے ہر صوبے میں ایسی کمیٹی مقرر کریں جو ترمیم شدہ دستور کے مطابق صوبجاتی ضلع وار پرائمری لیگیں قائم اور منظم کرے ۔ اس قاعدے کے مطابق صوبۂ پنجاب کے لیے ایک تنظیمی کمیٹی مقرر کی گئی اس تنظیمی کمیٹی کا ایک جلسہ آنریبل سر سکندر حیات خان کی صدارت میں لاہور میں بتاریخ ٦ مارچ ۱۹۳۹ء کو منعقد ہوا ۔ جس میں یہ تجویز ہوئی کہ موجودہ انتظامات کی درستی کی جائے اور مندرجہ ذیل عہدہ دار مقرر کیے جائیں ۔

سکرٹری تنظیمی کمیٹی : میاں رمضان علی ریٹائرڈ پوسٹ ماسٹر جنرل ۔

جائنٹ سکرٹری : پیر تاج الدین بیرسٹرایٹ لاء ۔ میاں بشر احمد بیرسٹرایٹ لاء ۔ شیخ فیاض احمد ۔ یہ تقررات عارضی ہیں اور جس وقت نئے دستور کے مطابق پنجاب پراونشل مسلم لیگ کی تشکیل ہو جائے گی تو ان تقررات کا خاتمہ ہو جائے گا ۔

ترمیم شدہ دستور کے مطابق پنجاب بھر میں لیگ کے ممبر بھرتی کرنے ، پرائمری اور ضلع وار لیگیں قائم کرنے کا کام اب بڑے شدومد

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۱ ۔ روز نامہ پیسہ اخبار ۹ ۔ دسمبر ۱۹۳۷ء۔

سے شروع کر دیا گیا ہے اور جلدی تکمیل کو پہنچا دیا جائے گا۔

لہذا قوم کے سر بر آوردہ اصحاب اور لیگ کی موجودہ شاخوں سے درخواست کی جاتی ہے کہ وہ براہ کرم پرائمری لیگوں کے ممبر بھرتی کرنے اور ہر جگہ ضلع وار لیگیں قائم کرنے کا کام فوراً شروع کر دیں۔"[1]

لیگ کی طرف سے ڈیفنس کونسل میں شمولیت کی مخالفت

(الف)

"سٹی مسلم لیگ لاہور کی مجلس عاملہ کا یہ اجلاس پنجاب مسلم لیگ کے ان ارکان اور عہدہ داران کے خلاف اظہار ناپسندیدگی کرتا ہے جنہوں نے آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کی قرار داد کی خلاف ورزی کرتے ہوئے پنجاب کے جنگی بورڈ یعنی وار کمیٹی میں شمولیت کر کے مسلم لیگ کے جماعتی وقار کو صدمہ پہنچایا اور مسلمانان پنجاب سے عموماً اور مسلم لیگ کے کارکنوں اور عہدہ داران سے خصوصاً درخواست کرتا ہے کہ آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کے آئندہ اعلان تک کسی وار کمیٹی میں شامل نہ ہوں۔

سٹی مسلم لیگ کی مجلس عاملہ کا یہ اجلاس قائد اعظم صدر آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ سے درخواست کرتا ہے کہ پنجاب کے ان اراکین و عہدہ داران مسلم لیگ کے خلاف جنہوں نے آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کی مجلس عاملہ کی منظور کردہ قرارداد کی خلاف ورزی کرتے ہوئے وار کمیٹی میں شمولیت کر کے قوم اور لیگ کے وقار کو سخت صدمہ پہنچایا ہے جلد سے جلد سخت کاروائی کر کے مسلمانان پنجاب کے بڑھتے ہوئے اضطراب کو روکیں۔"[2]

(ب)

"لاہور ۴ جولائی! نواب شاہنواز صاحب آف ممدوٹ نے پنجاب پراونشل مسلم لیگ کانفرنس کے ایک اجلاس میں یہ ترمیم شدہ قرارداد

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۱ - روز نامہ انقلاب۔ ۱۷ مارچ ۱۹۳۹ء۔
۲ - ایضاً - ۲۶ جولائی ۱۹۴۰ء۔

پیش کی کہ چونکہ پنجاب کے ان مسلم لیگیوں کی پوزیشن ابھی تک صاف نہیں ہوئی جنھوں نے جنگی کمیٹیوں میں کام کرنے پر اظہار رضا مندی کیا ہے اس لیے پنجاب مسلم لیگ کی تمام ملحقہ شاخوں کو یہ ہدایات ارسال کی جائیں کہ لیگ کے وہ ممبر جنھوں نے وار کمیٹیوں میں کام پر رضا مندی ظاہر کی ہے وہ اس میں شمولیت سے احتراز کریں ۔ تا وقیتکہ ان کو ایسا کرنے کی قطعی ہدایات نہ مل جائیں ۔ یہ ریزولیوشن پانچ ووٹوں کی اکثریت سے پاس ہو گیا ۔"[1]

(ج)

"وائسرائے کی ایگزیکٹو کونسل میں توسیع اور نیشنل ڈیفنس کونسل کے قیام کے بعد مسٹر جناح کے بیان سے پیدا شدہ صورت حالات پر غور کرنے کے لیے نیز لاہور شہر کے حلقہ سے ضمنی انتخابات کے لیے پانچ امیدواروں میں سے ایک کا نام منتخب کرنے کے لئے پنجاب صوبہ مسلم لیگ کی مجلس عاملہ کا ایک نہایت اہم اجلاس ممدوٹ ولا میں صبح دس بجے شروع ہوا . . . .

چار گھنٹے کی گرما گرم بحث کے بعد ایک قرار داد پاس ہوئی ۔ قرار پایا کہ : (ا) پنجاب صوبہ مسلم لیگ کی مجلس عاملہ کا یہ اجلاس اس امر پر سخت مایوسی اور ناراضگی کا اظہار کرتا ہے کہ گورنر جنرل کی توسیع شدہ ایگزیکٹو کونسل اور نیشنل ڈیفنس کونسل میں حکومت نے آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ سے جو صحیح معنوں میں مسلمانان ہند کی واحد نمائندہ جماعت ہے صلاح و مشورہ کے بغیر تقرریاں کی ہیں اور ہر اس تصنیف کا اعادہ کرتا ہے کہ جب تک آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کے جائز و مناسب مطالبات نہیں مان لیے جاتے حکومت کی جنگی سرگرمیوں سے مسلمان بحیثیت قوم بہ صدق دلانہ تعاون نہیں کر سکتے ۔

(ب) یہ اجلاس ان خبر رساں ایجنسیوں کی زبردست مذمت کرتا ہے جنھوں نے نیشنل ڈیفنس کونسل کے ممبروں کے تقرر کی خبر اس طریقے سے ارسال کی تھی جس سے لوگوں کو غلط فہمی ہوئی کہ پنجاب ، بنگال

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۱ - ایضاً - ۶ جولائی ۱۹۴۰ء -

اور آسام کے وزراء اعظم ذاتی حیثیت سے کونسل میں نامزد کیے گئے ہیں۔

(ج) یہ اجلاس خود غرض طبقہ کے بیہودہ پروپیگنڈہ و مسلم لیگ اور مسلم مفاد کے دشمنوں کی خطرناک سرگرمیوں کو بری نظر سے دیکھتا ہے۔ جنہوں نے بعض ذاتی اغراض کی خاطر اصل واقعات کو غلط مفہوم پہنانے کی باقاعدہ مہم جاری کر رکھی ہے تاکہ اس نازک وقت میں مسلمانوں میں اختلافات کی ایک خلیج پیدا کی جا سکے۔

مندرجہ بالا قراردادیں اس مطالب کی بھی پاس ہوئیں کہ مقامی اداروں میں جہاں مخلوط انتخابات کا طریقہ رائج ہے وہاں جداگانہ انتخابات رائج کیے جائیں۔"[۱]

سیاسی جلسوں پر متوقع پابندی کے خلاف پنجاب مسلم لیگ کا احتجاج

"پنجاب گورنمنٹ کے ۱۲ مئی کے اعلان سے جس کی رو سے ڈسٹرکٹ مجسٹریٹوں کو سیاسی جلسوں پر پابندی عائد کرنے کے اختیارات دئیے گئے تھے مسلم لیگی حلقوں میں یہ خدشہ پیدا ہوگیا تھا کہ کہیں صوبہ پنجاب میں مسلم لیگ کی سرگرمیوں پر ناخوشگوار اثر نہ پڑے۔ اس سلسلہ میں کل شام سوا سات بجے نواب افتخار حسین خاں آف ممدوٹ صدر صوبہ مسلم لیگ کی قیادت میں جو وفد وزیراعظم پنجاب سے ملا اس نے سر سکندر حیات خاں کی توجہ ان خدشات کی طرف مبذول کرائی۔ صاحب موصوف نے وفد کو یقین دلایا کہ اس حکم کا مقصد صرف اتنا ہے کہ ان جلسوں پر پابندیاں عائد کی جا سکیں جن سے صوبہ میں فرقہ وارانہ کشیدگی پیدا ہونے کا احتمال ہو یا جن کے نتیجہ کے طور پر صوبہ پنجاب کی جنگی سرگرمیوں میں رکاوٹ پیدا ہوتی ہو۔ . . . وزیر اعظم نے ارکان وفد سے اپیل کی کہ وہ تمام کارکنوں کو اس طرف توجہ دلائیں

۱۔ ایضاً۔ ۱۹ اگست ۱۹۴۱ء۔

کہ وقت نازک ہے ۔ اس لیے انہیں اس قسم کی تحریر و تقریر سے احتراز کرنا چاہیے جس سے فرقہ وارانہ تلخی پیدا ہوتی ہو . . . . یہ وفد مولانا سالک مدیر انقلاب ، مولانا مہر ، مولانا میکش و وقار انبالوی ، خان بہادر مولوی غلام محی الدین خاں قصوری ، سید محمد علی جعفری سکرٹری صوبائی مسلم لیگ ، مسٹر حمید نظامی ، چوہدری عبدالکریم صدر سول مسلم لیگ ، میاں محمد شفیع پر مشتمل تھا . . .

پنجاب پراونشل کانگریس کمیٹی کے پریذیڈنٹ میاں افتخار الدین صاحب آج صبح اوکاڑہ سے یہاں تشریف لائے ۔ آپ نے ڈسٹرکٹ کانگریس کمیٹی کی ورکرز میٹنگ میں شمولیت کی جس میں والنٹیر کور بنانے پر زور دیا ۔ متعدد کانگریسی اراکین نے یکے بعد دیگرے سوالات کیے کہ آپ نے آل انڈیا کمیٹی کے اجلاس منعقدہ الہ آباد کے موقع پر پاکستان کی حمایت میں مسٹر سی راجگوپال اچاریہ کی تائید کیوں کی ؟ میاں صاحب نے ٹھنڈے دل سے ان سوالات کا جواب دیتے ہوئے اپنے نظریہ کو جائز قرار دیا ۔"[1]

Annual Session of the Punjab Muslim League Conference (1942)

Sir Nazimuddin's Appeal

"The Pakistan scheme is not only in the interests of India as a whole, but actually the non-Muslims in the Muslim majority provinces will be far better off than under one Central Government for the whole of India", observed Sir K. Nazimuddin, in the course of his presidential address to the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Conference, which commenced at Lyallpur on the 17th November, 1942.

He added: "I am convinced that if the non-Muslims will examine this question dispassionately... they will see the truth of my assertion. Let us take the case of the Sikhs in the Punjab. Before this year, they never had a Sikh representative in the Government of India. They had no voice or influence in the Working Committee of the All-India Congress, and yet in the Punjab during the last twenty years, they have not only

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۱ - ایضاً - ۲۶ مئی ۱۹۴۲ء

had their representative in the Cabinet, but a very effective voice in shaping the policy of the Cabinet ... In the Federal Government of the North-Western Pakistan, the Sikhs cannot be ignored. The above applies with greater force to the Hindus of Sind and the North-Western Frontier Province."

Pleading for the immediate acceptance of the principle of Pakistan during war time, Sir Nazimuddin said, "if there could be complete transference of power to Indians immediately during the war, there was no reason why the question of Pakistan should not be decided now instead of leaving it for decision till after the war. The Congress wanted Britain to deliver the goods immediately but would not itself deliver the goods which Muslims demand from the Congress. In the case of the Muslim demand it was to await the issue of the war and not even the commitment of agreement to the principle of Pakistan was made. That was a position which Muslims would not only not accept but would resist with all their strength...."

In conclusion, Sir Nazimuddin spoke on the question of re-organisation of the League and said that the League should become not merely the political but also the social, educational and economic platform of the Muslims—in fact their one and only Jammat in every village, town and city.

Punjab Premier's Speech

"The Punjab Government have recommended to the Government of India to lift the ban on the Khaksar organisation as Allama Mashraqui has declared that Khaksars would abide by the conditions laid down by the Punjab Government. This was announced by Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan at the open session of the Conference. The Premier said that as soon as Allama Mashraqui's declaration was received by the Government of India, the ban might be expected to be removed. The Premier also stated that he regarded Mr. Jinnah as the leader of the Mussalmans of India and his occasional differences with him were really intended to safeguard properly the interests of the Muslims. ....

His plea for communal settlement

Before the Conference adjourned, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan made a speech extending a hearty welcome to Mr. Jinnah and Sir Nazimuddin. It was their good fortune that the destinies of Muslim India were being

guided by scuh a selfless leader as Mr. Jinnah. He referred to his occasional differences with Mr. Jinnah over matters of detail and declared that after his doubts and misgivings were removed, he always abided by the decision of the majority and whenever there was the slightest possibility of a clash between his personal interests and those of the "Millat" (Muslim Nation), the former were overridden by the latter. The premier explained the circumstances in which he decided to throw his weight with Mr. Jinnah to give a befiting reply to the Congress leaders, who alleged that Mr. Jinnah did not enjoy the support of the Muslim majority provinces. He along with Muslim members of the Punjab Assembly, literally descended like paratroops at the Lucknow session to strengthen the hands of Mr. Jinnah. The Premier went on to explain that he fully subscribed to the Lahore resolution of the League which provided for territorial readjustments and his new formula was not in conflict with the Lahore Resolution. He assured the minorities that their interests were being fully safeguarded, and urged for a communal settlement to expedite attainment of India's freedom...

Quaid-i-Azam's Address

Before the Conference concluded, Mr. Jinnah addressed it in Urdu congratulating the Muslims of Lyallpur on the success of the conference. He stressed the necessity of education and economic uplift of the Muslim community and referred to the financial handicaps of the League "owing to the absence of Birlas and Dalmias in the Muslim community".

He declared that they might stand in need of the sword to prevent any aggression on their right and emphasised the importance of gradual advance so that it might not be necessary to retract any step taken by them. He advised them to unite, for if they became sufficiently powerful they would be able to make and unmake Ministries. "Ministers" he declared, "must understand that they cannot remain in office without our consent."

Mr. Jinnah was glad that there had been an awakening in the Punjab and advised them to carry the League's message to every corner of the Province and organise primary Leagues in villages. If they acted on his advice, he was confident that they would succeed in establishing Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah expressed his full sympathies with the Khaksars and recalled the efforts made by the League for the removal of the ban on the Khaksar organisation culminating in Sir Sikandar's announcement in the open session of the Conference that the Punjab Government had no objection to the removal of the ban. He expected the ban would be removed and Allama Mashraqui would be a free man shortly. He hoped that the Khaksars would come under the league flag and work in co-ordination with it as they were passing through critical times, and unity among Muslims was essential.

Concluding, he declared: "We want to live honourably in this country and will never tolerate any Government in which we are reduced to serfdom."[1]

پنجاب کانگریس

(الف)

"پنجاب کے کانگریسی سرمایہ داری پر وطنیت کو قربان کر چکے ہیں . . . .

سید افضال علی حسنی ریذیڈنٹ سکرٹری یونینسٹ پارٹی نے حسب ذیل بیان شائع کرایا ہے - یونینسٹ پارٹی کا ہمیشہ سے یہ دعویٰ رہا ہے کہ پنجاب کی کانگریس محض ایک سرمایہ دار جماعت ہے جو کانگریس کے نام اور وقار کو اپنے حقیقی اغراض و مقاصد کو چھپانے کے لئے استعمال کر رہی ہے . . . .

پنجاب لیجس لیٹو اسمبلی کے جولائی کے اجلاس میں جو زرعی بل منظور ہوئے ان کے خلاف اسمبلی میں اور اس کے باہر کانگریس کی طرف سے جو مخالفت کی گئی وہ اس دعویٰ کا نا قابل تردید ثبوت ہے - گذشتہ اجلاس میں مارکیٹنگ بل پر بحث کے دوران میں کانگریس نے جس طریق پر رکاوٹ ڈالنے کی کوشش کی - اس سے لوگوں کو یہ یقین ہوتا چلا جا رہا ہے کہ پنجاب میں کانگریس صرف سرمایہ داری کے مفاد کی حامی ہے . . . . پنجاب کے کانگرسیوں کے غیض و غضب کی یہ حالت ہے کہ ان کی بیشتر تعداد نے مہاتما گاندھی کے اصول کے ساتھ لفظی

1. The Indian Annual Register, Vol. II, 1942. pp. 292-295.

ہمدردی کو بھی بالائے طاق رکھ دیا ہے ۔ جب کبھی آنریبل وزیر ترقیات کبھی کسی شہر یا قصبہ میں تشریف لے گئے یا وہاں سے گزرے تو متعدد کانگرسیوں کی طرف سے کالی جھنڈیوں کی خوب نمائش کی گئی ۔"[1]

(ب)

سرچھوٹو رام اور پنجاب کانگریس . . .

"چوہدری سرچھوٹو رام نے اچھوتوں کی کانفرنس منعقدہ لائل پور میں تقریر فرماتے ہوئے اچھوتوں کے لیے حکومت پنجاب کی اصلاحی تدابیر کا خاکہ پیش کیا اور یہ بھی کہا کہ پنجاب کانگریس کی ذہنیت سرمایہ پرستانہ ہے ۔ وہ کانگریس کے عام اصلاحی پروگرام کی پابند نہیں رہی اور اچھوتوں کو اس سے نیکی اور فلاح کی کوئی امید نہ رکھنی چاہیے ۔ اس کے برعکس اتحاد پارٹی پس ماندہ طبقات کی مستقل خدمات سر انجام دے رہی ہے . . .

ٹریبیون نے اس پر چوہدری صاحب سے دو سوال کئے ہیں ۔ اول یہ کہ کیا چوہدری صاحب کے نزدیک پنجاب کانگریس کے ممبر اتحادی پارٹی کے بالخصوص بڑے بڑے زمینداروں کے مقابلہ میں زیادہ سرمایہ پرست ہیں ؟ دوم یہ کہ اتحادی پارٹی کانگریس کے پروگرام کے مطابق بہترین طریق پر عمل پیرا ہے تو وہ کانگریس پر قبضہ کیوں نہیں جما لیتی ؟ . . .

پنجاب کانگریس بلکہ ہم سے پوچھا جائے کہ ساری کانگریس سرمایہ پرستی میں اتنی نمایاں ہو چکی ہے کہ اب اس کے متعلق لمبی چوڑی تفصیل پیش کرنے کی ضرورت نہیں ۔ پنجاب کانگریس نے زرعی بلوں اور قوانین قرضہ کے معاملہ میں جو روش اختیار کی اس کا مدعا اس کے سوا اور کیا ہو سکتا ہے کہ زرعی بل اور قوانین قرضہ منظور نہ ہو سکے اور پنجاب کی کثیر التعداد دیہاتی آبادی کو ساہوکاروں کے پنجے سے آزادی کا موقع نہ مل سکے . . .

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۱ - روزنامہ انقلاب - ۷ جنوری ۱۹۳۹ء-

مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد نے پنجاب کانگریس پارٹی کو ان قوانین کی حمایت کی تاکید کی تھی - لیکن کانگرسیوں نے مختلف حیلے پیدا کر کے مولانا کے ارشاد پر عمل نہ کیا - مولانا جب سرحد جاتے ہوئے لاہور سے گزرے تھے اور اسٹیشن پر مختلف اصحاب نے ان سے مختلف سوالات کئے تھے تو انہوں نے ڈاکٹر گوپی چند بھارگو کے سامنے صاف الفاظ میں پنجاب کانگریس کی روش کو غلط بتایا تھا . . . . سرمایہ پرستی یہ ہے کہ دولتمندوں کے اقتدار کی کوشش کی جائے، غریبوں کے فوائد کو سرمایہ داروں کے فوائد پر قربان کیا جائے ، غریبوں کو اوپر اٹھانے پر ان کی مخالفت کی جائے . . . .

مسئلہ کی اصلی صورت یہ نہیں کہ کس کے پاس دولت زیادہ ہے اور کس کے پاس تھوڑی ہے - مسئلہ کی صحیح صورت یہ ہے کہ ان میں سے کس نے غریبوں کی حالت بہتر بنانے اور ان کی مشکلات کو کم کرنے کی غرض سے نتیجہ خیز قدم اٹھایا اور کس نے اس کی مخالفت کی - اتحاد پارٹی کے ممبر سارے کے سارے لکھ پتی ہوں لیکن اگر وہ غریبوں کو فائدہ پہنچانے کی کوشش کر رہے ہیں تو ان کو سرمایہ پرست نہیں کہا جائے گا . . . .

باقی رہا کانگریس پر قبضہ جانے کا مسئلہ تو سمجھ میں نہیں آیا کہ اس کی کیا ضرورت ہے ؟ کانگریس کسی آسمانی حکم کے ماتحت وجود میں نہیں آئی کہ اس میں شامل ہونا ہر شخص پر فرض عین ہو - اگر ایک جماعت کانگریس میں شامل نہیں اور بہترین کام کر رہی ہے تو اس کے کام کو محض اس لئے ناقابل توجہ قرار نہیں دیا جا سکتا کہ وہ کانگریس سے وابستہ نہیں . . . .

ٹریبیون نے اس ضمن میں یہ بھی لکھا ہے کہ سر سکندر حیات خاں نے آل انڈیا پلیٹ فارم کی تلاش میں آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ سے وابستگی اختیار کی - یہ بالکل غلط ہے . . . .

لیگ کے مقاصد کار اور اتحاد پارٹی کے مقاصد میں کوئی تصادم نہیں بلکہ لیگ یہ دعوٰی کر سکتی ہے کہ اس کے جلیل القدر کارکن سر سکندر حیات خاں نے ہندوستان کے ایک صوبے میں فرقہ وار اتحاد و یکجہتی اور عوام کی بہبود کا ایسا نمونہ پیش کیا جس کی نظیر سے کانگریس کا دامن خالی ہے ۔ ہندوستان کے کسی کانگریسی صوبے میں مختلف طبقات کے درمیان یک آہنگی کی وہ مثال پیش نہیں ہو سکتی جو پنجاب میں سر سکندر کی اتحاد پارٹی نے پیش کی ۔''۱

(ج)

نوے فی صدی مسلمان مسلم لیگ کے حامی ہیں ۔ میاں افتخارالدین کا اعتراف

''کل شام کے پانچ بجے گوکھلے ہال فیروز پور میں ممبران ضلع کانگریس کمیٹی کا اجتماع ہوا ۔ جس میں میاں افتخارالدین صدر پنجاب صوبہ کانگریس نے قومی خدمتگاروں کی تحریک پر روشنی ڈالی . . .

پنڈت بہاری لال دیوانہ جرنلسٹ کے اعتراضات پر میاں صاحب بڑے غصے میں آ گئے اور فرمایا کہ میں اس خاندان سے ہوں جو حکومت کے حلقوں میں ازحد مقبول ہے ۔ مجھے کانگریس کی طرف سے پانچسو روپیہ یا پچیس روپیہ تنخواہ بھی نہیں ملتی اور سارے پنجاب کی خاک چھاننی پڑتی ہے ۔ مجھے علم ہے کہ مسلمان نوے فی صدی مسلم لیگ کے ساتھ ہیں اور مجھے ہندوؤں کا ایجنٹ خطاب دیتے ہیں . . .

ہم نے آزاد مسلم کانفرنس میں یہ طے کیا تھا کہ مسٹر جناح کے مطالبۂ پاکستان کو مان لینا چاہیے تاکہ وہ ہمارے ساتھ مل کر مطالبۂ آزادی میں شریک ہو سکیں ۔'' ۱

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۱ ۔ ایضاً ۔ ۹ مارچ ۱۹۴۰ء ۔

۲ ۔ ایضاً ۔ ۱۵ جون ۱۹۴۲ء ۔

ترکی کے لیے امداد

(۱)

سر سکندر حیات خاں کی اپیل

"پنجاب کے ہر دلعزیز وزیراعظم آنریبل سر سکندر حیات خاں کے ارشاد کے مطابق مسلمانوں کو چاہیے کہ ۵ جنوری کو بعد نماز جمعہ اپنے مصیبت زدہ ترک بھائیوں کے لیے پنجاب کی ہر مسجد میں دعا مانگیں کہ اللہ تعالیٰ اس ابتلائے عظیم میں ہمارے بہادر اور شجاع ترک بھائیوں کو ثابت قدم رکھے اور بہت جلد تلافیٔ مافات عطا فرمائے۔

سر سکندر حیات خاں نے حکم دیا ہے کہ تمام اہل پنجاب بلا امتیاز مذہب و ملت ۷ جنوری کو اتوار کے دن ہر مقام پر جلسے منعقد کریں اور تمام حکام ضلع بھی ان جلسوں میں شریک ہوں اور ترکوں کی مصیبت کے متعلق تقریریں کی جائیں اور چندہ فراہم کیا جائے۔" ۱

(۲)

"لاہور ۷ جنوری! آج تین بجے بعد از دوپہر اناطولیہ کے مصیبت زدوں سے اظہار ہمدردی اور مالی اعانت کے لیے ایک پبلک جلسہ زیر صدارت مسٹر مچل کمشنر لاہور ٹاؤن ہال میں منعقد ہوا۔ ہال میں اکابر و معززین کی بیشتر تعداد موجود تھی۔

صدر جلسہ مسٹر مچل کمشنر لاہور نے جلسہ کی غرض و غایت پر اظہار خیال کرتے ہوئے فرمایا ہم یہاں اس لیے جمع ہوئے ہیں کہ اناطولیہ میں زلزلہ سے جو خوفناک تباہی ہوئی ہے اور ہزاروں جانیں تلف ہوگئی ہیں اس کے لیے ترکوں سے اظہار ہمدردی کریں اور ان

۱۔ ایضاً ۶ جنوری ۱۹۴۰ء

کی مالی اعانت کریں ۔ اس کے بعد کرسیٔ صدارت سے مندرجہ ذیل قرار داد پیش کی گئی ۔

''اہالیان لاہور کی تمام جماعتوں کا یہ نمائندہ جلسہ ترکوں کی اس مصیبت میں جو کہ اناطولیہ میں زلزلہ کی صورت میں نازل ہوئی اظہار ہمدردی کرتا ہے اور حکومت پنجاب سے درخواست کرتا ہے کہ وہ اہل لاہور کی طرف سے ترکوں کے ساتھ اظہار ہمدردی کا پیغام ترکی حکومت کے پاس پہنچانے کا انتظام کرے ۔''

وزیر اعظم پنجاب کی تقریر

اس کے بعد آنریبل سر سکندر حیات خاں وزیر اعظم پنجاب نے اناطولیہ پر زلزلہ سے نازل شدہ مصیبت کا بالتفصیل ذکر کرتے ہوئے فرمایا کہ جو مصیبت اناطولیہ کے مسلمانوں پر نازل ہوئی ہے وہ آپ کو اخبارات کے ذریعہ معلوم ہو چکی ہے ۔ اس کے علاوہ سیلاب اور طوفان نے وہاں کے بچے کھچے باشندوں کی حالت اور زیادہ خراب کر دی ہے . . .

ہم ایشیائی قوموں کو اس ہمسائے کے ساتھ ہمدردی ہونی چاہیے اور ان سے ہماری ہمدردی ایک قدرتی چیز ہے ۔ اس کے بعد لارڈ بشپ آف لاہور نے قرارداد کی تعریف کرتے ہوئے فرمایا کہ میں اپنے سچے دل سے . . . ترکوں کی اس تباہی میں جو کہ اناطولیہ کے زلزلے سے ان پر نازل ہوئی ہے اظہار ہمدردی کرتا ہوں . . . . اس کے بعد راجہ نریندر ناتھ نے قرارداد کی مزید تائید کرتے ہوئے فرمایا کہ وزیر اعظم اور لارڈ بشپ کی تقریروں کے بعد اس ریزولیوش میں کسی مزید تائید کی ضرورت نہیں ۔ لیکن صرف یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہمدردیٔ انسان، انسان کے اعلیٰ فرائض میں سے ہے ۔ مجھے امید ہے کہ آپ سب حضرات اپنی عملی ہمدردی کا ثبوت دیں گے . . . . اس کے بعد نواب نثار علی خان قزلباش ، سردار سمپورن سنگھ اور

مسٹر جاری والا پارس نے مناسب الفاظ میں قرار داد کی تائید کی ۔ اور قرار داد متفقہ طور پر پاس ہوئی ۔''[1]

متفرقات

(۱)

''پچھلے دنوں گاندھی جی نے پنجابیوں کی فوجی برتری کی اہمیت کو کم کرنے کی غرض سے ایک مضمون میں یہ لکھا کہ پنجاب کی بعض قوموں کا پیشہ یہی ہے کہ جو شخص انہیں پیسہ دے اس کی فوج میں بھرتی ہو جائیں اور ان کا زیادہ فوج میں بھرتی ہونا اس بات کی دلیل نہیں ہے کہ وہ مقاصد سے وابستگی رکھتے ہیں ۔ یہ ایک ایسا ناپاک حملہ تھا جس پر پنجاب کی فوجی قومیں بہت آتش زیرپا ہوئیں اور ان کے سر برآوردہ لوگوں نے پنجاب کے وزیر اعظم کی خدمت میں خط لکھ لکھ کر ان پر برافروختگی کا اظہار کیا ۔ چنانچہ صاحب موصوف نے پنچایت افسروں کے ریفریشر کورس کا افتتاح کرتے ہوئے ایک دفعہ اور مسٹر گاندھی کے اس حملے کے خلاف احتجاج کیا ہے اور ان سے مطالبہ کیا ہے کہ وہ اپنے الفاظ واپس لے لیں اور پنجاب کے بہادر سکھوں ، جاٹوں اور مسلمانوں سے معافی مانگیں. . . .

سر سکندر حیات خاں نے اپنی تقریر میں صاف کہہ دیا ہے کہ اگر اس جنگ کے بعد بھی ہمارے حکمرانوں نے ہمیں آزادی نہ دی تو میں پہلا شخص ہوں گا جو ان کے خلاف علم بغاوت بلند کروں گا اور یاد رکھنا چاہیے کہ جو علم بغاوت پنجاب کی بہادر قوموں کے لیڈر کے ہاتھ میں ہوگا وہ اپنے اثر و نفوذ میں گاندھی جی کے ترنگے سے بہت مختلف ہوگا ۔''[2]

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۱ - ایضاً - ۹ جنوری ۱۹۴۰ء۔

۲ - ایضاً - ۱۵ نومبر ۱۹۴۰ء۔

(۲)

''لاہور !- آج کی ڈاک میں مسٹر عبدالحمید متعلم ایم - اے - اسلامیہ کالج لاہور صدر دی پنجاب مسلم سٹوڈنٹس فیڈریشن کے نام قائداعظم کا خط پہنچا جس میں وہ فرماتے ہیں

"میں آپ کی کانفرنس کے انعقاد کا قلبی احساس رکھتا ہوں - میں تجویز کرتا ہوں کہ اس کانفرنس کا نام پاکستان کانفرنس کی بجائے پراونشل مسلم سٹوڈنٹس پاکستان کانفرنس رکھا جائے اور پھر آزادی سے آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ لاہور کے ریزولیوشن کی تاکید کی جائے . . . .

میں آپ کو نصیحت کرتا ہوں کہ آپ مردانہ وار اقدام کریں اور کانفرنس ضرور منعقد کریں - میں کوشش کروں گا کہ سابقہ وعدوں اور مشاغل سے وقت بچا سکوں اور آپ کی کانفرنس میں شرکت کروں . . . .

میں ۱۰ فروری یا اس کے قریب دہلی آ رہا ہوں - آپ اور آپ کے ساتھی مجھے دہلی میں ملیں - آپ کی ملاقات میرے لئے بے حد باعث مسرت ہوگی -''[۱]

(۳)

"اکثر اوقات یونینسٹ پارٹی پر طرح طرح کے الزامات لگائے جاتے ہیں - یہاں تک بھی کہہ دیا جاتا ہے کہ یہ جاعت چند خود غرض افراد کے لیے بنائی گئی ہے جس کا مقصد محض شہری آبادی کو لوٹ کھسوٹ کر دیہاتی زندگی کو تقویت دینے تک محدود ہے- لیکن ذرا تامل سے کام لینے پر خوب اندازہ ہو سکتا ہے کہ یہ الزام بے بنیاد ہے !

یونینسٹ گورنمنٹ کے بنائے ہوئے قوانین ہر ایک مسلمان ، ہندو ، سکھ اور عیسائی کے لیے یکساں طور پر مفید ہیں . . .

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۱ - ایضاً - ۲۵ جنوری ۱۹۴۱ء -

باخبر لوگ جانتے ہیں کہ تھل پروجیکٹ پچھلے تیس برس سے زیر بحث چلا آ رہا ہے جس کا کام جنگ کے ختم ہونے کے بعد شروع ہو گا - اس پروجیکٹ سے ایک نہر میانوالی کے قریب نکالی جائے گی اور جہلم اور سندھ کے درمیانی ریتلے حصے کی بارہ لاکھ ایکڑ اراضی کو سیراب کرے گی . . . .

ادھر ریاست پٹیالہ میں بھاکڑہ ڈیم سکیم کو کامیاب بنا کر پنجاب کے نونہالوں میں زندگی کی لہر پیدا کرنا مقصود ہے . . . .

قانون ملازمین ادارہ ہائے تجارت چودہ سال سے کم عمر لڑکوں کو ملازمت میں لینے سے منع کرتا ہے - اس کے مطابق آٹھویں روز ہر تجارتی ادارہ میں مکمل چھٹی کرنی پڑتی ہے - کسی ملازم سے ۵۴ گھنٹے ہفتہ سے زائد ڈیوٹی نہیں لی جا سکتی - فالتو وقت میں اوسط اجرت سے دو چند ملازم کو دینا پڑتا ہے - ہر ایسے ملازم کو جو کسی تجارتی ادارہ میں متواتر ایک سال کام کرتا رہے تعطیلات کے علاوہ کم از کم پندرہ روز کی رخصت با تنخواہ کا حق ہے اور چھ ماہ متواتر کام کرتے رہنے سے کم از کم سات دن با تنخواہ رخصت کا حق ہے -

اس قانون کے تحت یومیہ اجرت پر پندرہ روز کام کرنے سے ملازم یوم تعطیل کی اجرت کا حقدار ہے - وہ ہر پندرہ روز کے بعد اپنی اجرت وصول کر سکتا ہے - مالکان ادارہ جات کے لیے لازم ہے کہ وہ اپنے ملازمین کی کارگذاری کے اندراجات کا ہر طرح ریکارڈ رکھیں اور افسران مجاز کو گاہے گاہے رجسٹر دکھاتے رہیں -

مذکورہ بالا کے علاوہ قانون مالگذاری ، حسابات کا قانون ، قرضہ بل، دیوالیہ کے طریق عمل میں آسانی، ڈگری کے اجراء کے وقت موروثی اور غیر موروثی جائیداد سے بال بچوں کا پیٹ پالنے کی خاطر کافی حصہ کو ناقابل ضبطی قرار دے دیا گیا نیز اس قسم کے کئی

اور قوانین منظور کر دے گئے ہیں اور کوئی عقلمند شخص یہ کہنے کی جرأت نہیں کر سکتا کہ ان قوانین سے کسی ایک قوم یا فرقہ کو فائدہ پہنچے گا . . . .

رشوت ستانی کے سلسلہ میں عوام کی شکایات پر سیکریٹریٹ میں انسداد رشوت کا ایک خاص محکمہ کھول دیا گیا ہے ۔ یہ صیغہ مرکزی حیثیت رکھتے ہوئے مختلف اضلاع کے حکام کے ذریعے رشوت خوری کے مقدمات کی تحقیقات کرتا ہے ۔ حکومت ان افسروں کو جن کی دیانت پر شبہ ہو جائے نوکری سے علیحدہ کر سکتی ہے ۔ جس افسر کی شہرت تسلی بخش نہ ہو اس کی پنشن گھٹا دی جاتی ہے یا بالکل روک دی جاتی ہے ۔ اس قسم کے دستور کے باوجود ایک بورڈ قائم کیا جاتا ہے جو اضلاع میں سفر کرکے افسروں کے چال چلن کے متعلق لوگوں سے حالات دریافت کرکے افسروں کی شہرت کے متعلق رپورٹ کرتا ہے ۔

یونینسٹ گورنمنٹ چار سال کے اندر مالیہ ، آبیانہ ، لگان اور مالکانہ میں کسانوں کو سات کروڑ روپے کی معافی دے چکی ہے ۔ قحط سالی کی مسئلہ پر تین کروڑ روپے صرف کر چکی ہے . . . .

ایسے حالات میں اگر لوگ لیڈری کی ہوس میں لوگوں کو زیر اثر رکھنے کی خاطر سیاسی اختلاف کے ماتحت یونینسٹ گورنمنٹ یا سر سکندر حیات خاں کی ذات گرامی پر الزامات لگائیں تو نہایت افسوس ناک حرکت ہے ۔"[1]

(4)

Punjab Premier's Call to Arms

Sardar Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, declared in a statement issued to the Press on August 25— a week before the War.

"It appears that the efforts of the Peace Front Powers to save the peace of the World are likely to prove abortive. Great Britain has

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۱ - ایضاً - ۲۶ جون ۱۹۴۱ء۔

continuously and strenuously striven to avert the calamity of a World War. In pursuance of this humanitarian objective, she has gone to the uttermost limit—even to the extent of jeopardising her prestige and courting ridicule....

In this crisis, which may well prove to be a turning point in the history of this country, I appeal to my countrymen that we unhesitatingly take up the challenge which the War Lords of Europe have thrown at the peace-loving nations of the world and assist the Democracies in averting the threat to the liberty and freedom of mankind by throwing in our lot with them, even to the limit of our entire resources.

Those arm-chair politicians who assert that India should keep aloof are either hopelessly ignorant .... or else are callously indifferent to the interests, safety and honour of this country.

.... if England were to suffer a reverse in a World War, India would at once be left completely unprotected and would be at the mercy of any foreign aggressor either from the East or the West...

So far as the Punjab is concerned, I need do no more than repeat the assurance which I gave on behalf of the Province in September last when I guaranteed that the man power and resources of the Punjab will be unhesitatingly and ungrudgingly placed at the disposal of Great Britain and her Allies....

I repeat that this offer is made with no sinister bargaining intent, but on behalf of a self-respecting and brave people, who proffer their hand of friendship and cooperation in a spirit of mutual confidence and trust."[1]

(5)

Sardar Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, the Premier of the Punjab, issued the following statement on September 4, 1939.

"The worst has happened. The efforts of the peace makers have failed ... As such, trusting in Providence, I appeal to my fellow citizens in the Punjab to get ready for the call of duty. We must be prepared for all sacrifices to defend our Motherland, civilisation, justice and fairplay and all the best for which self-respecting peoples may live and die.

The drain on our men, money and materials is likely to be severe, even severer than in the last War. I would, therefore, appeal that from

1- Hayat, Sir Sikander : This War : Why should the Punjab have a hand in it?, Lahore, pp 16—19.

today, the Punjabis must themselves voluntarily impose all possible restrictions on their food and drink and other resources so that every ounce thus saved could be conserved for the common cause.

Moreover, as the first earnest of our patriotic effort, I would appeal to all concerned to place their services and resources at the disposal of their King and Country . . . I feel confident that the Punjab will rise to its highest traditions and once again establish its proud claim to be the sword-arm of India. The Punjab expects every Punjabi to do his duty by his King and Country."[1]

(۶)

"لاہور ۲ اگست: سر سکندر حیات خان وزیر اعظم پنجاب نے جو مشرق وسطیٰ میں جو ہندوستانی فوجوں کے معائنہ کے لیے روانہ ہوئے ہیں اپنی روانگی سے پیشتر ذیل کا بیان جاری کیا ہے۔

''میں صدق دل سے امید کرتا ہوں کہ آل انڈیا کانگریس معقولیت سے کام لے گی اور ورکنگ کمیٹی کے ریزولیوشن میں اس طرح ترمیم کرے گی کہ وہ ریزولیوشن ملک کے لیے فائدہ مند ثابت ہو ۔ لیکن آل انڈیا کانگریس نے ریزولیشن کی تصدیق کرنے کا افسوسناک قدم اٹھایا یا تو موجودہ مرحلہ پر جب کہ ہر ایک ہندوستانی کا پہلا فرض یہ ہے کہ وہ ہندوستان پر منڈلانے والے محوری حملہ کے شدید خطرہ کو دور کریں ۔ کانگرس کا یہ قدم مادر وطن سے دشمنی کے برابر ہو گا . . .

ریزولیوشن میں جو طریق اختیار کیا گیا ہے اس کا مقصد یہ ہے کہ ملک میں افراتفری پھیلا دی جائے ۔ مہاتما گاندھی اور دیگر سر کردہ کانگریسی لیڈروں نے اس سلسلے میں جو وضاحتی بیانات جاری کئے ہیں ان سے ابہام میں اضافہ ہو گیا ہے - - -

پنجاب کا معاملہ

جہاں تک پنجاب کا تعلق ہے ہم اس تحریک کی مخالفت کرنے کی خاص وجہ رکھتے ہیں جس کے شروع کرنے کے لیے کانگریسی

1. Ibid.

لیڈر دھمکی دے رہے ہیں۔ مختلف میدان جنگ کے مختلف محاذوں پر اس صوبہ کے لاکھوں نوجوان لڑ رہے ہیں اور صوبہ پنجاب بحیثیت مجموعی جنگ جیتنے میں مدد دینے کی پالیسی سے منسلک ہو گیا ہے۔ اس پالیسی کو عوام کی خواہشات کی پوری پوری حمایت حاصل ہے۔

جیسا کہ یہ امر صوبہ کی نمائندہ اسمبلی کی آواز سے ظاہر ہے۔ ایک طرف جمہوریت اور آزادی دوسری طرف بربریت کے درمیان جو جنگ لڑی جا رہی ہے ہماری آئندہ زیست کا انحصار اس کے نتائج پر ہے۔ . . .

میں اپنے اس نظریے کا پھر اعادہ کرتا ہوں کہ ہندوستان کو موجودہ جنگ ختم ہونے کے بعد سیاسی آزادی سے محروم نہیں رکھا جا سکتا۔ پنجاب اسی نظریے کے زیر اثر جنگ میں شامل ہوا ہے۔ برطانیہ اور اتحادیوں کی جنگ ہماری جنگ ہے۔ . . .

انگریز ہمیں دھوکہ نہیں دے سکتا اور مجھے یقین ہے کہ وہ ایسا نہیں کرے گا۔ مجھے کانگریس سے بھی امید رکھنی چاہیے کہ وہ ہماری پشت میں چھرا نہیں گھونپے گی۔ لیکن اگر اس نے ایسا کرنے کی کوشش کی تو پنجاب ایسی بغاوت اور سازش کا موزوں جواب دے گا۔"[1]

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۱ - روز نامہ انقلاب - ۴ اگست ۱۹۴۲ء -

CHAPTER XVII

Prominent Muslim Personalities and Political Parties*

Dr. Allama Mohammad Iqbal**

Dr. Allama Mohammad Iqbal was by far one of the greatest men produced by the Punjab. He was born at Sialkot in February 1873. He received his early education in his hometown, graduated from the Government College, Lahore in 1897, and two years later, took his M.A. degree in Philosophy. Soon afterwards he joined the Punjab University Oriental College, and then moved to the Government College, Lahore as Reader in Philosophy. Iqbal, long before the completion of his studies, had started his literary career by participating in several poetic symposia and by contributing articles to various journals. In 1901, when the *Makhzan* was started by Sheikh Abdul Qadir, Iqbal was its regular contributor. He also began to recite his poems in the annual sessions of the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam Lahore where he not only stirred up the feelings and enthusiasm of his people, but also laid the foundations of his own fame. He recited one of his earliest poems *Taswir-i-Dard*, at the annual session of the Anjuman in 1904, wherein he lamented the dissensions which were ripping the nation apart. His other famous poems, written during this period were the *Niya Shiwala* and *Tarana-i-Hindi*, which became popular with all classes of people in India.

In 1905, Iqbal left for Europe for higher studies and applied himself to a deep study of Islamic mysticism and institutions. He also took part in the activities of various Muslim organizations and delivered a number of lectures on Islam and related subjects. Iqbal's visit to Europe left profound impact upon his thinking. On his return, he changed himself from an Indian Nationalist to a champion of Muslim nationhood. He had come to realize that however noble the idea of a common Indian

*This chapter has been written by the editor.

**This is only a brief account and in no way, is claimed to be a comprehensive note on the life and work of the Great Poet of the East.

nationhood might be, it was unrealistic and impracticable.[1] He was also influenced by Abul Kalam's Al-Hilal and by personalities like Shibli, Akbar Allahabadi and Suleman Nadvi.[2]

In 1911 he recited his famous poem *Shikwa* at the annual session of the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam and published *Israr-i-Khudi*, and *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* in 1915 and 1918 respectively. These were followed by the *Payam-i-Mashriq* in 1923 and *Bang-e-Dara* in 1924.

Though in the beginning Iqbal had supported the Khilafat movement, he did not take any active part in it. He also remained aloof from the Hijrat agitation. His greatest contribution to the cause of Indian Muslims was his presidential address which he delivered at the annual session of the Muslim League held at Allahabad in 1930. In that address, he advocated the establishment of a separate homeland for Muslims and this laid the genesis of the movement for Pakistan. After this, Iqbal worked hard for its acceptance by other political parties and leaders. When he went to England to attend the Round Table Conference, he met a number of British leaders and tried to convince them of the righteousness and realism of his call for the creation of a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims. He also urged Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah to return to India and help reorganize the Muslims at that critical time. When Quaid-i-Azam returned and undertook the task of the re-vitalization of the League, Iqbal gave him his unflinching support. He was elected as the president of the revived Punjab Muslim League in 1936, and inspite of his ailing health, worked hard to turn it into an effective and representative body in the province. He also prevented the Unionists from over-taking it after the conclusion of the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact in 1937. Iqbal died on April 21, 1938. Quaid-i-Azam paid him the following tribute in his speech delivered on March, 25, 1945:

"If I have to see the ideal of a Muslim State being achieved and I were then offered to make a choice between the works of Iqbal and the rulership of the Muslim state, I would prefer the former . . . . . . In April 1931, I thought of transforming the Muslim League which was then only an academical institution, into a parliament of Muslim India. From

1. Farukh, Munshi Ghulam Qadir : *Safina-i-Hayat*, p. 23.

2. Ikram, S.M. : *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*, Lahore, 1969, pp. 165-66.

that time to the end of his life, Iqbal stood like a rock by me . . . . . Iqbal was not only a great poet who had a permanent place in the history of the world's best literature, he was also a dynamic personality who during his life time, made the greatest contribution towards rousing and developing of Muslim national consciousness"[1]

Mian Mohammad Shafi

Mian Mohammad Shafi was born on March 10, 1869 in Lahore. After receiving his education in Government College and F. C. College, Lahore, he proceeded in 1889 to England where he joined the Middle Temple for his Bar. During his stay there, Mian Shafi did not restrict himself merely to his studies but also participated in numerous political and social activities. He was elected a member of the Anjuman-i-Islamia, London and also of the Paddington Parliament, a high class political society which included some members of the Parliament, barristers, solicitors, and businessmen amongst its members. He also addressed a few political meetings during the elections of 1892. The same year, after having been called to the Bar, he returned to India.

Mian Shafi started his practice at Hoshiarpur and, within a short time, became a leading lawyer of the district bar. He also took an active part in the educational and social uplift of the Muslims of the district. He played an instrumental role in the foundation of the Anjuman-i-Islamia which established a Middle School in Hoshiarpur. In May 1895 he shifted to Lahore. In 1898 he was elected Secretary and in 1917, President of the Punjab Chief Court Bar Association. In September 1912 and 1918 he was offered the judgeship of the Madras High Court and Punjab Chief Court respectively but he declined to accept the offers.

Mian Shafi took an active and prominent part in the Punjab and Indian politics. He was one of the representatives from the Punjab who were invited at the inauguration of the Anglo-Muhammadan Defence Association of Upper India. He also worked as Vice-President of the Young Men's Muhammadan Association, and was a member of the Executive Committee of the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Lahore and Secretary of the committee formed in 1895 to start a Muslim newspaper under the name of the Observer. When the provincial branch of the All-India Muslim

1. Abdur Rahim, Khawaja (Ed.) *Iqbal—The Poet of the East*, Lahore, 1968. p. xix.

League was founded in Lahore in 1907,he was elected its first General Secretary, which position he retained till 1916. In 1913 he presided over the Annual Session of the Muslim League held at Lucknow where he delivered a forceful address. In 1916 he resigned from the League and founded the All-India Muslim Association for whom he was elected its first General Secretary.

Mian Shafi served as a member of the Punjab Provincial and the Imperial Councils for a number of years. He was nominated to the Provincial Council for the first time in 1909. He was re-nominated in 1910 and again in 1912. In December 1911, he was elected as a representative of the province to the Imperial Legislative Council. In 1914 he was re-elected to the Council by the non-official members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly. Three years later, he was nominated as a representative of the Muslims of the Punjab. Mian Shafi played a prominent role in the proceedings of both the Provincial and Imperial Councils. He held moderate views and his opinions were valued both by the Government and public figures. He opposed the Government over a number of issues. He strongly criticized both the Rowlatt Bills and Sir Michael O'Dwyer's repressive administration in the Punjab.

In July 1919, Mian Shafi was appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council as the member in charge of education. He fully deserved that position in view of his long services in that field. Ever since his return from England he had been taking an active part in the meetings of the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference and had presided over a number of its sectional committees. In 1898 he had been elected as a Trustee of the Aligarh College and had been taking a prominent part in turning the college into a University. He was a member of the delegation which called upon Sir Harcourt Butler, Education Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council for that purpose. Though the delegation failed to convince the government at that time, Mian Shafi later on secured University charter for the College after he himself was appointed as the Education Member. He had also worked very hard for the collection of funds for the proposed Muslim University. He was elected General Secretary of the Punjab branch of the All-India Muslim University Association which collected a sum exceeding three lakhs, while he himself contributed five thousand rupees. Mian Shafi had also been closely associated with the Punjab University and had been nominated its Fellow

in 1897 which position he continued to hold throughout his non-official career and even after his appointment as a member of the Executive Council. He also presided over the All-India Urdu Conference held at Poona in July 1911.

Mian Shafi rendered a yoeman's services to the cause of education during his tenure as the Education Member. Amongst his services may be counted the increased indianization of the educational services, the removal of restri ctions in imparting religious education in government schools and colleges and the revision of government's policy in favour of rapid development of primary education. He was also responsible for putting into effect the recommendations of the Sadler Commission, as a result of which, Teaching and Residential Universities were established at Dacca, Rangoon, Lucknow, Aligarh, Delhi and Nagpur. After the retirement of Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mian Shafi was appointed Law Member in the Viceroy's Executive Council. It was on his advice, that the government was able to adopt a moderate and sympathetic attitude towards the events, which occurred in the wake of the Khilafat and Hijrat movements. He was also appointed the Vice-President of the Executive Council and Leader of the Council of the State in 1922, which position he continued to hold until his retirement in January 1925.

In 1927 Mian Shafi developed sharp differences with the All-India Muslim League headed by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah over the question of cooperation with the Simon Commission. Mian Shafi was in favour of utilizing that opportunity for putting forward the Muslims' demands before the Commission whereas the League had decided to boycot it. As a result of these differences, the League got split up in to the Jinnah and the Shafi factions. The division did not last for long and the two were soon united. Mian Shafi remained a staunch supporter of the principle of separate electorates and was not prepared to forego it at any cost.

After his return from the Round Table Conference, he was again appointed on a temporary vacancy in the Viceroy's Executive Council, but he had served hardly for a few months, when he breathed his last on January 7, 1932.

Justice Shah Din

Justice Shah Din was born at Lahore in 1868. After graduating from Government College, Lahore he proceeded to England in 1887 for

his Bar. There he enrolled himself at the Middle Temple. He soon distinguished himself in his studies and won a number of scholarships and prizes in his various papers. After completing his course, he returned to India in 1890. Within a short time, he created a good impression of himself both in the Bar as well as on the Bench. For some time he also worked as Assistant Legal Remembrancer to the Punjab Government.

Mian Shah Din played a prominent part in many fields—educational, social, political, legal and legislative—especially in the Punjab. Soon after his return from England, he had started taking keen interest in the educational activities and problems of his co-religionists. He read a learned paper on "the Education of the Mussalmans in the Punjab" at the annual session of the Muhammadan Educational Conference, held in December 1893. It was appreciated so much by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan that he was invited to preside over the next session of the Conference.[1] In 1893 Mian Shah Din was nominated a fellow of the Punjab University, and elected a Syndic in 1895—a position which he occupied for about ten years. In 1896 he was elected a Trustee of the Aligarh College. He presided, for the second time, over the session of the Educational Conference held in 1913 at Agra. He continued to take keen interest in the educational activities of the Muslims, at the Punjab University, Aligarh College, and numerous other institutions and places, till the end of his life.

In the political field, Mian Shah Din was associated, from the very beginning, with the Anglo-Muhammadan Defence Association of Upper India, as a founding member of its Council. He was also a prominent member of the Simla Deputation which called upon Lord Minto to present a memorandum containing the demands of the Muslims. He took a leading part in the foundation of the All-India Muslim League in 1906 and presided over its meeting held in March 1908 at Aligarh to finalize its constitution. When the provincial branch of the league was established in the Punjab, he was elected its first president.

Mian Shah Din remained a member of the Punjab Legislative Council for the years 1903—1905, 1905-1906 and 1907-1908. In 1906 he had to resign after he was appointed as an Additional Judge of the

1. At that time he was only twenty-six years of age.

Punjab Chief Court. In 1907 he reverted to the Bar and was for the third time, nominated to the Council but had to leave again in 1908 on his re-appointment to the Chief Court. He remained on the Bench till his death in 1918. He performed the duties of his office with such marked distinction and success that he soon earned a name for integrity, uprighteousness and independence of thought. During the absence of Justice Rattigan, he was appointed to act as the Chief Judge—the first time that an Indian had been appointed to that high office in the Punjab.[1] Justice Shah Din died on July 2, 1918 at the age of about fifty years.

Malik Barkat Ali

Malik Barkat Ali, a prominent Muslim Leaguer from the Punjab, was born in Lahore on April 1, 1885. He received his education at F. C. College, and after having served for sometime as Assistant Professor of English at his own College and the Islamia College, he joined the Punjab Provincial Civil Service in 1907. He, however, resigned in 1914 and after a short time, became the editor of the Observer. He stood first in LL.B. examination in 1916 and was enrolled as a pleader in 1919.

Malik Barkat Ali had joined the Muslim League at an early date. When its provincial branch was established in 1907, he supported the 'Progressive group' which included besides himself, Dr. Allama Mohammad Iqbal, Mian Fazl-i-Husain, Pir Tajuddin, Ghulam Bhik Nairang and Khalifa Shujauddin. This group continued its efforts to bring the provincial league under their own influence and after it was disaffiliated by the Central League, Malik Barkat Ali was elected as the Vice-President of the new Provincial Branch, which he and his friends organized, thereafter. He also worked very hard to make it popular in the province. At the League's anuual session held at Bombay in 1915, he was nominated as a member of its committee to negotiate with the Congress for an agreement. When the League split into two sections over the question of Simon Commission, Malik Barkat Ali remained with Quaid-i-Azam. He also participated in the All-Parties Convention held at Calcutta in 1928. After the Congress' refusal to accept even the moderate demands of Quaid-i-Azam, and the latter's departure for England, Malik Barkat Ali joined the Muslim Nationalist camp. He also played prominent role in

1. *Eminent Mussalmans*, G. A. Nateson, Madras, 1926 p. 380.

organizing the Punjab Muslim Nationalist Conference at Lahore in October, 1931.

Malik Barkat Ali re-entered into the mainstream of national history when Quaid-i-Azam returned from England and decided to re-organize the League as the sole representative organization of the Indian Muslims. He immediately offered his unfliching support to the Quaid in his task of the League re-organization. He was also nominated to the League Central Parliamentary Board as one of the eleven representatives from the Punjab. When the Provincial League was revived in May 1936, Malik Barkat Ali was elected its Vice-President. As Dr. Iqbal, its president, was not keeping good health and the other vice-president, Khalifa Shujauddin, took only mild interest, the task of its re-organization fell mainly on Malik Barkat Ali's shoulders. This was, by no means, an easy task as the League was still in the early stages of its re-organization and had also developed a conflict with the Unionist Party. In the election of 1936, the League nominated seven candidates out of whom only two were elected *i.e.* Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Malik Barkat Ali. Raja Ghazanfar Ali soon joined the Unionist Party and Malik Barkat Ali was left alone to keep the standard of the League flying in the Provincial Assembly. During the League-Unionist conflict, he rendered invaluable services to the former, and played a considerable part in its final success in the Punjab. He was elected unopposed to the Punjab Assembly in 1946, but did not live long and died on April 5, 1946.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan was born at Kot Mirath, District Sialkot, in 1873. After taking his B.A. degree from the Aligarh Muslim University, he went to Bombay where he started his journalistic career by contributing to the Times and the Illustrated Weekly of India. He also worked for some time as secretary to Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk. On the latter's advice, he took service in Hyderabad State, where he rose to be an assistant Home Secretary, Registrar and tutor of the ruler's son. After his return from Hyderabad, he took charge of the Zamindar from his father Maulvi Siraj-ud-Din. His take-over immediately infused a new spirit and within a short time, transformed it into a first -rate paper. It gained its real popularity during the Italian invasion upon Tripoli and the Balkan Wars. These wars also turned it from a loyalist into a hostile

newspaper. Zafar Ali Khan strongly condemned the British 'inaction' with regard to the Italian aggression against Turkey. He also addressed numerous meetings in Lahore, which were attended by as many as twenty to twenty five thousand persons. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lt. Governor the of Punjab, who was already opposed to Zafar Ali Khan, decided to arresthim but before he could implement his decision, Zafar Ali Khan left for Turkey. There he met the Turkish Sultan in Istanbul and delivered the amount of the Turkish Relief Fund, which he had collected in the Punjab. From Turkey he went to London where again he strongly censured the British Government for its various repressive Press Acts enforced in India. On his return, he was accorded enthusiastic receptions in Delhi and Lahore.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan continued his criticism against the repressive activities of the Government. As a result, the publication of the Zamindar was suspended and Zafar Ali Khan, detained in Karamabad. After his release in April 1920 he re-issued the paper but was soon arrested and sentenced for five years' imprisonment on account of a speech he delivered at Khazru, in District Campbellpur. The Zamindar was confiscated as a result of a decree obtained by an Englishman on the charges of libel.

Since the beginning of his political career, Zafar Ali Khan had been closely associated with the Nationalist Muslim leaders and the Congress. He attended the Allahabad Conference in 1929, and gave his full support to the Nehru Report. He vehemently opposed the Simon Commission and took out a long procession in protest against its arrival in Lahore. He was also one of the founder-members of the Majlis-i-Ahrar, but left it soon on account of his differences with some of its leaders.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan rendered several laudable services to the cause of Indian Muslims. Prominent amongst them may be counted his numerous exhortations to them to organize and unite their forces against the fanatical Hindu movements like the Sangathan and Shuddi. He also called upon them to take more interest in trade and commerce. He himself organized a Muslim Bazar outside the Delhi Gate in Lahore, in order to arouse their interest and give them a practical example. During the Shahidganj agitation, he was arrested and detained in Karamabad. A fresh security of seven thousand rupees was demanded from the Zamindar and after it was unable to furnish, the paper was suspended.

With the announcement of the Communal Award in 1932 the Hindus had launched a bitter campaign against its concessions to Muslims. Even Jawahar Lal Nehru had started asserting that there were only two parties in India *i.e.* the Congress and the British government. Zafar Ali Khan was alarmed by this arrogant attitude of the Congress leaders and when Quaid-i-Azam decided to reorganize the Muslim League into the sole organ of the Indian Muslims, Zafar Ali Khan decided to throw his full weight behind the Quaid. He attended the Lucknow session of the Muslim League in 1937 which was also attended by Sikander Hyat Khan and A.K. Fazl-ul-Haq.

From then onwards, Zafar Ali Khan devoted his full energies to the struggle for the creation of Pakistan. During the elections of 1936 he undertook a hectic tour of U.P., Bihar and several other places addressing numerous meetings in support of the Muslim League nominees. He again toured nearly all parts of the country in order to convey the meaning and significance of the Lahore Resolution to the Muslim masses. These exertions fell heavily upon his health and he suffered a paralytic stroke in 1946, from which he never recovered and died on November 27, 1956.

Zafar Ali Khan was one of the most important Muslim leaders produced by the Punjab. He was a political leader, a poet, a critic, a satirist, a journalist, and a novelist at one and the same time. Dr. Allama Iqbal, our National Poet, paid him a rich tribute on January 29, 1936 in the following words :

"میرے نزدیک مولانا ظفر علی خاں ایک غیر معمولی دل و دماغ کے
آدمی ہیں - اُن کی ہمت بلند ہے اور اُن کا قلم اپنی روانی میں دنیا
کے بڑے بڑے مجاہدین کی قلم سے کم نہیں ہے - یوں تو سارا
ہندوستان آن سے متاثر ہوا ہے لیکن پنجاب کے مسلمانوں پر آن کا
خصوصیت سے احسان ہے کیونکہ مذہبی ، ادبی اور سیاسی اعتبار
سے انہوں نے اس صوبہ کی بہت بڑی خدمات سر انجام دی ہیں"[1]

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۱ - محمد اشرف عطا : مولانا ظفر علی خاں - لاہور ، ۱۹۶۲ء صفحہ نمبر ۷

Khan Barkat Ali Khan

Khan Barkat Ali Khan was born at Shahjahanpur in 1821. In 1847 he was appointed Thanedar of Mukerian in the Hoshiarpur district. In 1849 he became a Risaldar in military police and in 1860 was appointed as Tehsildar. Four years later, he was transferred to Lahore, where in 1870 he was promoted as Extra-Assistant Commissioner—the position he occupied till his retirement in 1882. During his stay in the provincial capital, he was especially assigned to attend to and look after the foreign dignitaries during their visit to the province. After his retirement, he settled down in Lahore and devoted himself completely to public service in which he had maintained an active interest throughout his official career as well.

Khan Barkat Ali Khan's main interests lay in the Anjuman-i-Islamia, the promotion of Oriental learning and encouragement of Western education amongst his co-religionists. He was one of the chief supporters of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's movement in the Punjab. It was because of his influence and efforts that Sir Syed's both visits to the Punjab turned to be complete successes. Even prominent Hindus like Sir Dayal Singh Majithia had been present at the Lahore Station to receive him on his first visit to the province. Sardar Dayal Singh also donated a handsome amount to the College fund. When in 1888 the third session of the Muhammadan Educational Conference was held at Lahore, Barkat Ali Khan made all the arrangements and was mainly responsible for its successful meeting. He maintained his keen interest in the Conference throughout his life. It was mainly due to his efforts that the Conference agreed to hold its annual session at his home town *i.e.* Shahjahanpur, in 1895. After the Aligarh College was built a lecture room was named after him as an acknowledgement of his services to the institution and the movement. Barkat Ali Khan, as a Fellow and because of his position in the Anjuman-i-Islamia, also took keen interest in the progress of the University of the Punjab. In 1868 while Dr. Leitner had gone to Simla, he, on his own initiative collected funds and paid off the arrears due to the teachers of the University Oriental College, after their services had been terminated due to the lack of funds. Not only that, he also made adequate arrangements for future subscriptions to ensure their continued service. Three years later, he played an instrumental role in the establishment of the first girls' school at Lahore. He had, by his ceaseless and selfless

activities, earned such an enviable position amongst his co-religionists that even the Lieutenant. Governor of the Punjab, referred to him as "the patriarch of the Lahore Muhammadans."[1] Khan Barkat Ali Khan, after a long life died on August 2, 1905. The Muslims of Lahore paid a humble tribute to his services by erecting in his memory a fine hall in the city which later on became the venue of important Musim meetings and centre of their political activities.

Sardar Muhammad Hayat Khan

Sardar Muhammad Hayat Khan, father of Sir Sikandar Hayat, was born at Wah in 1838. After his father had been killed on account of his support for the British during the Anglo-Sikh War of 1848-49, Sardar Hayat Khan was looked after by John Nicholson, the Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi, who recommended his family to the government for compensation and other awards. Before Nicholson died, he had appointed Sardar Hayat Khan, as a police darogha at Peshawar. In 1862 he was appointed as Extra Assistant Commissioner and in 1871 was promoted as Assistant Commissioner—the first Indian to achieve that position. In 1887 he became the Divisional and Session Judge. He was also nominated to the Punjab Legislative Council.

Sardar Hayat Khan, along with Khan Barkat Ali Khan, was one of the chief supporters of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's movement in the Punjab. He presided over three annual sessions of the Muhammadan Educational Conference, held in 1888, 1889, 1890. He would have presided for a fourth time in 1896, but for certain unavoidable circumstances. In 1873 he had invited Sir Syed Ahmad to visit the Punjab. The visit was a complete success and when Sir Syed again came in 1884, Sardar Muhammad Hayat Khan made elaborate arrangements for his reception. He also played an instrumental role in getting the Land Alienation Act passed by the Punjab Council, inspite of determined opposition by Sardar Harnam Singh and even the reluctance of the Lieutenant-Governor Sir Mackworth Young. He also wrote a volumenous and informative book on the history of the Afghan areas and tribes, which was incorporated in his Hayat-i-Afghani. Sardar Hayat Khan passed away in 1901.

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1. Ikram, S.M. : *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*, Lahore, 1969, p. 197.

The Majlis-i-Ahrar

The Majlis-i-Ahrar was founded in 1929, after the Punjab Khilafat Committee had been suspended by its central body. While some of the members of the Committee formed the Majlis-i-Ahrar, others founded the Muslim Nationalist Party under the leadership of Dr. Muhammad Alam.[1] The Majlis was formally launched, in its first general meeting held on July 31, 1931, in Lahore under the presidentship of Maulana Habib-ur-Rehman[2]. The main purpose of this meeting was to re-assert the Ahrars' support and adherence to the principle of separate electorates. The prominent amongst its founder members were Chaudhry Afzal Haq, Maulana Habib-ur-Rehman Ludhianvi, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana Syed Ataullah Shah Bokhari, Ghazi Abdur Rehman, Sheikh Hissamuddin and Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar. The main objectives of the Majlis were to (*i*) secure independence for the country, (*ii*) foster better relations between communities, (*iii*) establish Islamic system in the country and (*iv*) work for the betterment of masses with special emphasis upon Muslims. The Majlis did not possess many resources and most of its members belonged to the lower tiers of the society.[3] Its main assets were the devotion and zeal of its members and the eloquence of its leaders. Some of them could cast spell-bound influence upon their audience. Inspite of their lack of material resources the Ahrars, within a short period, became one of the strongest political parties especially in the Punjab. Their power was acknowledged both by the government and other political parties.[4]

The Ahrars tried their strength first in the Kashmir agitation launched in 1931. The position of Kashmiri Muslims had been deteriorating under the oppressive rule of its Hindu raja. As a result, a few Muslims protested but the government immediately suppressed their voice. Their echoes were however heard in other parts of the sub-continent. Besides others, the Ahrars also decided to support their cause. They requested the state government to allow them to send an inquiry committee and after its silence, decided to force their entry into the valley. On their way their deputation held meetings at Gujranwala and Sialkot

1. Haq, Afzal Haq : *Tarikh-i-Ahrar*, Lahore (reprint) 1968, pp. 70-71.
2. Ibid. p. 27.
3. Ibid. p. 92.
4. Ibid. p. 127.

which were attended by a large number of people. This alarmed the state government and it decided to receive the deputation as its guests in Srinagar.

In the beginning, the state government was sympathetic and cooperative, but as the Ahrars began to gain influence it became hostile and obstructive. In the meantime, the Muslim students of the Maclagan Engineering College, Lahore went on strike in protest against their principal's indecent remarks about the Holy Prophet. Maulana Daud Ghaznavi, the General Secretary of the Ahrar Party had joined the agitation and had been arrested. Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar, one of the deputationists had to return to Lahore. The strike was however peacefully brought to an end after the principal tendered his apology. The Ahrars' delegation to Kashmir could not achieve much success and had to return in order to reorganize their forces for starting an agitation in the valley. Soon afterwards, batches of twenty-one volunteers began to march into Kashmir. It was estimated that from the Punjab alone, as many as forty-five thousand volunteers entered and courted their arrest. Their sudden rush completely paralysed the administration with the result that the raja handed it over to the British government. The government also formed Glancy Commission to investigate the possibility of introducing constitutional reforms into the state. The Ahrars decided to boycott it and many of their leaders were put behind the bars. The State premier Pandit Har Kishan Kaul was replaced by a British officer Calvin. These arrangements pacified the people to some extent and as the top Ahrar leaders had been arrested, the agitation subsided to a great extent. Though unable to achieve complete success, the Ahrars' agitation considerably helped in awakening the Kashmiri Muslims from their political lethargy.

The Ahrars launched their next movement in the Kapurthala State in 1933. The major cause was the oppression of the Muslim cultivators—at the hands of Hindu moneylenders. The Hindus were opposed to the meetings held by the Muslims of the State in sympathy for their Kashmiri brethren. They had also begun to harrass them with the result that the tension between the two communities increased considerably. Hindu money-lenders refused to advance any loans to Muslims, whereas the latter decided not to work on their lands. The money-lenders who enjoyed considerable influence with the government,

succeeded in persuading it to force the Muslims to resume work on their lands. In the meantime a riot broke out over the passage of *tazia* procession in one of the streets of Sultanpur. The police opened fire killing a few Muslims and arresting about four hundred and fifty. Chaudhry Abdul Aziz of Begowal, Vice-President of the Ahrar Majlis, strongly condemned the partisan attitude of the state officials in his memorandum, submitted to the government. He was arrested on charges of treason. The Ahrars, thereupon, launched their agitation for the redress of Muslims' grievances in the State and the release of Chaudhry Abdul Aziz. Pressed by the growing agitation, the state government ultimately announced the formation of a commission to enquire about the possibility of introducing constitutional reforms. The Ahrars welcomed it and decided to work on the commission. The agitation cooled down and finally came to an end.

By that time, the Ahrars had become an important political party of the Muslims in the Punjab. Their influence however suffered a severe setback due to their silence over the Shahid Ganj tragedy. Majority of the Muslims had hoped that the Ahrars would, as usual, lead a vigorous campaign for the restoration of the mosque, but when the Ahrar leaders remained quiet, they were bitterly disappointed. Their opponents vigorously propagated that they had held aloof, because of the forthcoming elections. The Ahrars maintained that the whole incident had been prepared by their opponents to bring about their downfall. Whatever the origin, their inaction over the issue adversely affected their influence and popularity to such an extent that they could not recover from it later on. Though after the elections, they started a civil disobedience movement for the recovery of the mosque, they could not achieve their objective.

When the Muslim League established a Parliamentary Board in the Punjab to prepare for the elections of 1936, the Ahrars also agreed to join. They however, did not remain in the Board for long and contested the elections as a separate party. Though they had lost much face due to the Shahid Ganj tragedy, they continued to play an impoprtnt role in the political activities of the province. Inspite of differences with other political parties they remained a peaceful and unbiased political organization. Though it could not, till the end, patch up its differences with the Muslim League, many of its members finally supported the League in its struggle for the creation of Pakistan.

As to its programme for the future constitutional set-up for India, the Majlis-i-Ahrar passed its famous resolution in its meeting held at Saharanpur on April 26, 1943. Some of its important extracts have been given as below :

۱ - مجلس احرار اسلام کو کسی ایسی تحریک سے کوئی دلچسپی نہیں ہو سکتی جس کی کامیابی کے لئے لندن کے طواف کی ضرورت یا انگریزی سنگینوں کی احتیاج ہو -

۲ - مجلس احرار اسلام اس حقیقت کو نظر انداز کرنے کے لئے تیار نہیں کہ ہندوستان میں ایک مرکز قائم کیا جائے یا زیادہ اور اس کے صوبوں کی موجودہ تقسیم کو روا رکھا جائے یا اس میں تبدیلی کرنے کی خواہش ہو - ہر حالت میں صلح جویانہ عہد و پیمان اور امن و آشتی کا ماحول ہی بہترین فیصلہ میں مدد دے سکتا ہے -

۳ - مجلس احرار اسلام اس منافرت انگیز پراپیگنڈا کو جو کسی طرح سے بھی کیا گیا یا کیا جا رہا ہے - ہندوستان کے مستقبل یا اکھنڈ بھارت یا پاکستان یا آزاد پنجاب وغیرہ کے قیام کے لیے مہلک سمجھتی ہے اور اس لیے ہر اسکیم کے حامیوں سے درخواست کرتی ہے کہ وہ ملک کی فضا کو مسموم کرنے والی تقریروں ، تحریروں اور دیگر پراپیگنڈا سے باز رہیں اور اپنے راستے میں خود ہی کانٹے نہ بوئیں -

۴ - مجلس احرار اسلام زمانہ کے موجودہ حالات میں فیصلہ کر چکی ہے کہ اب ہمیں ملک کو اندرونی فساد کے فرقہ وارانہ یا اقتصادی خطروں سے بچانے کی ضرورت ہے اس لیے اسی کام پر اپنی پوری توجہ مرکوز کرنی چاہئیے -

۵ - گو مجلس موجودہ وقت میں حکومت برطانیہ سے کوئی مطالبہ کرنا پسند نہیں کرتی اور اپنی قسمت کو اللہ کے سپرد کرنا زیادہ مناسب سمجھتی ہے - پھر بھی وہ ہندوؤں اور مسلمانوں یا مسلم لیگ اور کانگرس کے سمجھوتے کی راہ میں سنگ گراں بننے کی خواہش مند نہیں ہے - اسے ایسے سمجھوتوں سے کچھ زیادہ دلچسپی نہیں تا ہم جو لوگ اس وقت سمجھوتے کی کوشش کرنا چاہیں وہ ان کو روکنا بھی پسند نہیں کرتی - ان حالات میں وہ سمجھوتے کی علیحدہ کوشش کر کے مسلمانوں میں باہمی خلفشار کو ہوا دینا نامناسب سمجھتی ہے -

۶ - مجلس احرار اسلام واضح کر دینا چاہتی ہے کہ اس کا نظریہ یہ نہیں ہے کہ کسی جغرافیائی یا نسلی یا لسانی وغیرہ حدود کو قائم کرنا یا برقرار رکھنا مسلمان کا مذہبی یا حقیقی اور قطعی فریضہ ہے بلکہ ہر حالت میں خدا اور رسول کی دکھائی ہوئی راہ پر چلنا ، دنیا میں نیکی سے رہنا ، نیکی سے تعاون کرنا ، نیکی کی حکومت قائم کرنا اور نیکی کو رواج دینا ہی خلقت انسانی کی خداوندی حکمت و مصلحت ہے اور مجلس احرار اسلام دنیا کے جس حصہ میں بھی ممکن ہو ، حکومت الہیہ کے قیام کی خواہاں ہے -

اس ضمن میں مجلس احرار اسلام یہ واضح کر دینا مناسب سمجھتی ہے کہ کسی علاقہ میں محض مسلمانوں کی اکثریت یا افراد کے ہاتھوں میں حکومت کا آ جانا حکومت الہیہ کا مترادف نہیں -"[1]

The Khaksar Movement

Founder :

The founder of the Khaksar movement, Allama Enayatullah Khan Mashriqi was born at Amritsar in 1888. After taking his M.A. degree from F.C. College Lahore, he proceeded to Christ College, Cambridge for his higher studies. He had an extremely distinguished career, and within five years, took a number of degrees with distinction. He also worked as special correspondent for the Empire Review, and contributed to numerous papers and journals. After his return to India, he was appointed Vice-Principal of Islamia College, Peshawar. He soon rose to be an under-secretary of Eduation in Government of India, but he resigned in 1919 in order to devote his energies completely for the political regeneration of the people. In 1920 he wrote his famous book '*Tazkira*' which was soon followed by '*Isharaat*' and a number of other pamphlets in which he enunciated his ideas for the Khaksar movement.

Movement :

The Khaksar movement played an important role in both the Indian and the Punjab politics. It was based upon military principles

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۱ - افضل حق - تاریخ احرار - صفحہ نمبر ۳۵—۳۶

and its leader exercised complete control in the organization on behalf of its central body *i.e.* Idara-i-Aalia. According to Allama Mashriqi, the disintegration of Muslims' political and social ascendency had been caused by their own disunity and non-adherence to a central organization. Hence their primary need was to restore complete cohesion in their ranks. Allama Mashriqi intended to bring back this unity as well as revive the glorious period of the Pious Caliphate, through his Khaksar movement. For this purpose, he laid down his famous fourteen points which were intended to serve as the basic guidelines of the movement. According to these, all Khaksars were (*i*) to serve the *millat* regardless of religion, creed and colour, (*ii*) to establish the Islamic system as laid down by the Holy Quran (*iii*) to suppress all secretarianism through love and useful social service and refrain from discussing all controversial issues, and (*iv*) to work and strive for the improvement of the economic conditions of all the persons in the society.[1]

The leader of the movement was to enjoy complete authority over the organization; he was to answer for his actions to none but the Idara-i-Aalia, which alone was entitled to remove him. Each 'mohalla' or a group of streets was to have its own leader *i.e.* *Salaar*, Commander or 'dictator'. He was to be a miniature chief in his own rights; each Khaksar living in his area was to tender his complete obedience to him.

The Khaksars were to assemble each evening (in villages after the Asar prayers, and in cities, after the Maghrib prayers) for their military parade, each being equipped with *bailcha*—which was intended to inculcate into them a spirit of humility, obedience and discipline. After that they were to engage themselves in social service and then to assemble for the Isha prayers. This programme was meant to benefit the Khaksars in a number of ways. It was hoped to lead to the (*i*) establishment of unity (*ii*) inculcation of military discipline (*iii*) freeing them from all kinds of sectarian influences and prejudices, and (*iv*) enforcing into them the spirit of equality, love, humility and social service. However noble and lofty the objectives were, the movement failed to achieve enduring success. The main reason was that it failed to break through the prevalent sectarian prejudices which had run deep into the lives of the people. The Congress mounted a vigorous campaign against it, propa-

1. Bashir, Agha : *The Khaksar Movement (Past and Present)- An Appraisal and Appreciation*, Lahore, pp. 13-15.

gating it to be a fascist organization meant to enslave the Hindus. The movement also failed to attract constantly a sufficient number of followers. Then it ran into numerous difficulties with the government over the question of 'military uniform' as a result of which it remained under ban for some years. With the re-emergence of the Muslim League, under the spirited leadership of Quaid-i-Azam, all other Muslim organizations including the Khaksars retreated into background or even oblivion.

The Khaksars generally supported the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan, though they refused to submerge their distinct entity into the League organization. Allama Mashriqi offered his whole-hearted support to Quaid-i-Azam over a number of occasions; Quaid-i-Azam was also sympathetic towards the Khaksars. After their organization had been declared illegal, he successfully urged upon the Punjab premier to remove the ban. When a number of Khaksars were killed as a result of police firing in Lahore, in March 1940, the Quaid visited their wounded members in the hospital and strongly condemned the brutality of the police action.

The Khaksars claim to have played an instrumental role in persuading the veteran Congress leader Rajgopal Acharia for supporting the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan.[1] Rajgopal was convinced by Allama Mashriqi while they were both detained in the Vellore jail. After his release, Rajaji moved resolution for the acceptance of Muslim League's demand, in the annual session of the Congress held at Madras, in 1942. The Congress however rejected and also censured him for the resolution. The Khaksars provided him full support and continued in their efforts to convince the Congress to accept the Muslims' demand for Pakistan.

Allama Mashriqi was opposed to the Partition of the Punjab and Bengal[2]. He also demanded a corridor to connect the two wings. In the beginning of 1947, he issued a statement calling upon his followers to assemble, in the number of three lakhs, on June 30, 1947 in front of the Delhi Red Fort, where he promised to announce his future programme for the organization. The required number however, did not assemble, with the result that he decided to disband the organization. After independence, the movement was again revived and performed numerous social services to the people. Allama Mashriqi breathed his last on August 27, 1963.

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1. Saleemi, Safdar (ed.):*Khaksar-i-Azam AurKhaksar Tehrik*(*Urdu*), Lahore,1967,p.15-16.
2. Ibid. p. 16.

CHAPTER XVII

League's Success in the Punjab*

Malik Khizar Hayat Khan's expulsion from the Muslim League

"After the death of Sir Sikandr Hayat Khan in December 1942, his successor Malik Khizar Hayat Khan had given an undertaking at a meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council in March 1943 that he would reorganize the Muslim League Party in the Panjab Assembly and put fresh life into it.

Till then, the Muslim League Party had only nominally existed and had not functioned even in terms of the so-called Jinnah-Sikandar Pact. An attempt was made by Malik Khizar Hayat to frame some sort of a constitution for the Muslim League Party, but objection was taken to it by some members that it did not establish the distinct and independent character of the Muslim League Party but relegated it to status of subservience to the Unionist Party which had a different creed, policy and objective.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League at its meeting held on 13 November 1943 appointed a committee consisting of Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, Ch. Khaliquzzaman and Khwaja Nazimuddin to examine whether the constitution framed for the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly was in conformity with the fundamental principles, policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League and also consider the objections against certain clauses raised by Nawab Iftikhar Husain of Mamdot, Sheikh Karamat Ali and Mr. Mumtaz Daultana.

For about a year reports continued to reach the Quaid-i-Azam that the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly was not properly organised and was not functioning systematically and that Muslim interests were suffering under the Unionist label . . . . .

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*This chapter consists of extracts from the following:
Ahmed, Jamiluddin: Purgation of Muslim League in the Punjab. I & II, The Pakistan Times, dated Dec. 7 & 21, 1969
The Nawa-i-Waqt (Lahore).

It was in these circumstances that the Quaid-i-Azam in response to the urgent pleas of well-wishers of the Muslim League went to the Punjab on March 19, 1944 to discuss matters relating to the Muslim League Party with its leader Malik Khizar Hayat Khan. He met the Muslim members of the Punjab Assembly on March 20. In the course of discussion he made it clear that neither he nor the Muslim League was a party to what was known as Jinnah-Sikandar Pact. Sir Sikandar Hayat had drawn up the document which was an undertaking to bring the Muslim members of the Assembly into the folds of the Muslim League and wanted to give it publicity so that the world might know that the Punjab was behind the Muslim League. Quaid-i-Azam disclosed that on his return to the Punjab after attending the Lucknow session of the League in October 1937 Sir Sikandar sent him over 70 forms duly filled in by Muslim members of the Assembly expressing their agreement to become members of the League. "From the day these members signed the League pledge", the Quaid maintained, "they ceased to be members of the Unionist Party. Since 1937 the Unionist Party had not been functioning at all . . Its creed and policy were dead, and even Sir Chhotu Ram, who originally belonged to the Unionist Party had formed a separate group with 13 followers. The Unionist Party, therefore, was dead and the Muslim League Party had entered into coalition with other groups."

Malik Khizar Hayat was reported to have indicated at the meeting that Sir Sikandar Hayat had undertaken some commitments and as an honest man he (Malik Khizar Hayat) was bound by those commitments. Replying to this plea, the Quaid-i-Azam explained that by entering into a coalition with Sir Chhotu Ram's group and others Sir Sikandar did not undertake any commitments which were binding on his successor or the Muslim League. He also pointed out that there was no undertaking by Sir Sikandar of a permanent or everlasting nature and the League Party was at liberty to continue the coalition so long as it was desirable to do so. He also said that if anybody stood by honesty and honour, he would always command his (Quaid's) admiration and respect..........

Talks between the Quaid-i-Azam and Malik Khizar Hayat then took place and continued for about ten days. As Malik Khizar Hayat's father Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Tiwana died, the talks were suspended

to be resumed after a short interval. Before leaving for Delhi, the Quaid-i-Azam issued a Press statement throwing light on the talks that had taken place till then. The Quaid asserted : "There cannot be any divided loyalty, it is obvious and, what is more, it has been expressly decided by the All-India Muslim League long time ago that a member of the Muslim League cannot remain in or join any other political party". The Quaid pointed out that the creed of the so-called Unionist Party was Dominion Status and a united Democratic Federal constitution for India as a whole and its policy and programme were mainly in the interest of one class—the Zamindars—whereas the Muslim League stood for independent Pakistan—and was a people's party pledged to safeguard the interests of all classes that constituted the Muslim nation . . . .

"You cannot owe allegiance", he said "to two political parties. There can be no divided loyalty, so far as the League is concerned. The so-called pact clearly lays down that we may continue the present coalition or enter into any other coalition before or after the election. The present coalition is merely at will and formed for specific purposes. The question of the label or the name of the party namely the Unionist Party arises, because it is calculated to mislead the public, and has been in fact utilized and it is openly claimed because of its label that the members of the Muslim League Party are Unionist first and Muslim Leaguers next and are bound by the creed, policy and programme of the so-called Unionist Party. It follows that if this position is accepted, the Muslim League Party in the Assembly is a mere creature of the Unionists; and further it is insisted that, if we take steps to clarify this matter and put our Muslim League Party in the Assembly on a clean basis, then Sir Chhotu Ram would have nothing to do with the Muslim League Party at all, and we are threatened that it must lead to the dissolution and break of the present coalition. . . . ."

It was a matter of Muslim League's internal concern but the Quaid considered it proper to discuss the matter with Sir Chhotu Ram who represented a group in the coalition. The Quaid said, "Sir Chhotu Ram was adamant," and "insists and maintains that every member of the Muslim League Party in the Assembly owes his primary allegiance to the creed, policy and programme of the so-called Unionist Party and is bound by it. The position taken by him is utterly untenable". The Quaid pointed out that the two other non-Muslim Ministers, Sardar Baldev Singh and

Sir Manoharlal, were never Unionists, had nothing whatever to do with the so-called Unionist Party and recognized only the Ministerial Party and not the so-called Unionist Party. It was suggested that, having regard to the position of the Muslim League as the largest and majority party, the label 'Unionist Party' should be dropped and the existing coalition should be called the Muslim League Coalition Party.

Before returning to Delhi, the Quaid-i-Azam also addressed a public meeting at Lahore on April 2. In the course of his speech he said that while the Hindu and Sikh Ministers had declared that they were in the Ministry to safeguard the interests of their respective communities, the Muslim Ministers did not possess the courage to come forward and say that they represented the Mussalmans. The Quaid had found the condition of the Mussalmans deplorable in every department and they were not having a fair deal. He was of the opinion that the only remedy for this state of affairs was to strengthen the Muslim League in every district in the Punjab so that the true well-wishers of the Mussalmans should be returned to the Legislature in the next general. elections. Dealing with the argument that he should not carry on any propaganda for Pakistan in the Punjab, as the Punjab was with the Muslim League only in All-India matters, the Quaid said that the League was fighting for the establishment of Pakistan not in Bombay but in the Punjab which was the key stone of the proposed Pakistan State.

In the course of the protracted discussions, the Quaid-i-Azam tried hard to convince Malik Khizar Hayat that the continuance of the old coalition under the label "Unionist Party" was neither in conformity with the creed, policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League nor in the interests of the Mussalmans of the Punjab. But Malik Khizar Hayat remained adamant in his stand that there could be no change even in the nomenclature of the existing Coalition. . . . .

Talks Break Down

The talks finally broke down on 27 April when the Quaid-i-Azam issued a statement explaining the whole position. He said that he asked Malik Khizar Hayat at the last interview in the afternoon as to what was his final attitude and that of Sir Chhotu Ram and Sardar Baldev Singh regarding the proposals he had placed before Malik Khizar Hayat and suggested that in fairness to both of them he should give him (the

Quaid) the final reply in writing so that there should be no room for misunderstanding. Accordingly, the Quaid dictated a letter to his private secretary ; it was typed and handed over to Malik Khizar Hayat who promised to send his reply to the Quaid by 9 o'clock the same night. Receiving no reply till 9-20 p.m. the Quaid rang up Malik Khizar Hayat and was surprised to learn from him that he had no reply to give except what he had told him verbally. Thereupon the Quaid sent Malik Khizar Hayat a letter through a responsible person but Malik declined to acknowledge even the receipt of the letter on a slip of paper sent along with the letter.

The Quaid again had to send the letter with the slip through Nawab of Mamdot and Mian Mumtaz Daultana. Malik Saheb declined to sign the receipt and receive the letter. They were sent a second time to deliver the letter personally to Malik Saheb and endorse upon the acknowledgement slip that they had in fact delivered the letter personally to him. ....

There were three proposals which had been subject of discussion between the Quaid and Malik Khizar Hayat. These were: (1) that every member of the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly should declare that he owes allegiance solely to the Muslim League Party in the Assembly and not to the Unionist or any other party; (2) that the present label of the coalition, namely "the Unionist Party" should be dropped, (3) that the name of the proposed coalition should be the Muslim League Coalition Party. In the first letter delivered to Malik Khizar Hayat he had been requested to clarify his attitude on these three points.

The second letter delivered by Nawab of Mamdot and Mian Mumtaz Daultana was as follows :

"Dear Malik Khizar Hayat Khan,

You promised to send me your reply to my letter dated April 27 which was given to you this afternoon, by 9 o'clock at the latest tonight and I waited for it and rang you up that you have no reply to give except what you told me verbally. That is going back on your promise to give me reply in writing. You said too many things verbally to me that it was impossible to know what your position was.

I once more request you to give me your reply in writing and if I do not hear from you immediately in reply to this letter, I shall conclnde

that you do not accept the three proposals or any of them that were made in my letter, and in view of this Muslim League now will have to decide as to what course of action they should adopt.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. A. Jinnah."[1]

"Soon after the negotiations between Quaid-i-Azam and Malik Khizar Hayat had broken down, the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Conference was held on April 30, 1944, under the presidentship of Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar. Quaid-i-Azam attended the Conference and took the opportunity to explain the whole position to the Muslims who had assembled from all over the Province.... Quaid-i-Azam asserted that it was Malik Khizar Hayat's duty as a member of the Muslim League to come to that session at Sialkot and explain his position and he could contend that the stand taken by Quaid-i-Azam was wrong. Instead Malik Khizar Hayat issued a lengthy statement, ignoring the Muslim League as if it did not exist at all. He thus violated the discipline of the party of which he was a member.

Khizar's statement

Quaid-i-Azam then dealt with Malik Khizar Hayat's statement point by point. It was, he said, misleading and full of half-truths. The tenor of Malik Khizar Hayat's statement showed that he was speaking not as a Muslim Leaguer but as the representative of some outside agency. Quaid-i-Azam categorically denied Malik Saheb's statement that he had promised not to interfere in provincial matters. Clearly the provincial Muslim Leagues and Muslim League parties in the Provincial Assemblies had to conform to the fundamental principles and policies of the All-India Muslim League, otherwise there would be no point in having an All-India organization.

Malik Khizar Hayat had claimed that any change in the label of the Ministry would be against the commitment made to his colleagues by his predecessor Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan. The Quaid-i-Azam asked what was the commitment? He pointed out that it was clearly laid down in the so-called Pact that it was open to the Muslim League Party to carry on the present coalition or to enter into any other new coalition. The question of changing the label had arisen because the Muslim component of the Unionist Party had been exploited and rendered ineffective and it

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1. Ahmad, Jamiluddin : Purgation of Muslim League in the Punjab—I, The Pakistan Times, dated Dec. 7, 1969.

was essential to clarify the position of the Muslim League Party beyond doubt, make it an effective instrument for the protection of Muslim rights and interests and enable it to play its part in the struggle for the establishment of Pakistan. Since the so-called Pact had proved inimical to the interests of the Muslims of the Punjab, Quaid-i-Azam asserted amidst thundering cheers: "How could there be a pact between a leader and a follower? . . . .

The Muslim League's position vis-a-vis other parties and communities was also elucidated by Quaid-i-Azam. He said even if they were in stable majority anywhere they would invite other communities and ask them to choose their representatives who enjoyed their confidence and the Muslim League would find places for them in the cabinet. This was a fair course and was different from the attitude of the Congress which insisted that representatives of the minorities should abjure their parties and unconditionally join the Congress before any place in the cabinet was given to them. . . .

The non-Muslim Ministers of the Unionist Cabinet issued on May 3, 1944 a joint statement on the League-Unionist controversy. Commenting on this statement, Quaid-i-Azam said it made it clear that "it was not the so-called Jinnah-Sikandar Pact nor anything over and above it by way of secret commitments that may have been made as alleged and stated by Malik Khizar Hayat Khan recently, by his revered predecessor, Sir Sikandar and himself, the nature of which has not up to the present moment been disclosed which prevents them from entering into a coalition with the Muslim League but that the non-Muslim Punjab Ministers are ready and willing to agree to the formation of a League coalition ministry, provided they are satisfied with regard to the points raised in their statement."

Quaid-i-Azam explained that it would be obvious to any intelligent man that an all-India understanding or settlement could not be accomplished when they were dealing with only three non-Muslim Ministers in the Punjab whose position was as follows :

"Sir Chhotu Ram does not represent more than nine Jat Hindu members of the Punjab Assembly and this is the only sanction behind him. Sardar Baldev Singh does not represent more than ten members as his group consists of only ten Sikh members out of a total number of 28 Sikhs. And Sir Manoharlal has no following of any kind whatsoever"

These Ministers thus did not represent more than 20 members out of the total number of 175 members of the Punjab Assembly. The demand that the Muslim League should come to an all-India settlement or understanding with them was, therefore, characterised by Quaid-i-Azam as "Preposterous." . . . .

About the same time as the negotiations between Malik Khizar Hayat and Quaid-i-Azam broke down, there was a development which showed as to what extent the Unionists could go in their vendetta against the Muslim League. Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, on the death of his father, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, had been elected to the Punjab Assembly on the Muslim League ticket and had been appointed Minister in the Cabinet headed by Malik Khizar Hayat. Realising his duty as a Muslim Leaguer, Sardar Shaukat Hayat made speeches in support of the Muslim League and Pakistan from the Muslim League platform at different centres. This obviously was disliked both by the Unionist Ministers and the British Governor, Sir Bertrand Glancy. They became vindictive, and the Governor arbitrarily removed Sardar Shaukat Hayat from ministership without making known the charges against him or giving him an opportunity to defend himself. . . .

The Council of the All-India Muslim League passed a resolution condemning "the action of the Governor of Punjab in dismissing Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, as apart from the question of his power to dismiss an individual Minister by virtue of the power conferred upon him under Section 51 of the Government of India Act, he never furnished the particulars of allegations or charges against Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, nor did he allow him any opportunity to give his explanation or defence before dismissal, which is the inherent right of every citizen according to the rules of natural justice. .... The Council called upon the Government of India and the British Government to recall the Governor. . . . . .

In the course of a speech at the Lahore City Muslim League Conference on July 31, 1944 Quaid-i-Azam disclosed that "Sir Chhotu Ram let the cat out of the bag on April 4 when, in the course of an interview with him, Sir Chhotu Ram told him that Malik Khizar Hayat had solemnly assured his non-Muslim colleagues that he was a nominal Muslim Leaguer, and that he had no faith in the League's creed, policy and programme." . . .

In keeping with his democratic attitude, the Quaid referred the whole matter to the Committee of Action which was a body charged with responsibility for maintenance of discipline and observance of the principles of the Muslim League. The Committee issued a notice to Malik Khizar Hayat to explain his position and also invited him to meet members of the Committee. Malik Saheb refused to send any explanation or to appear before the Committee. Thereupon, the Committee, after reviewing the whole situation, resolved to remove him from membership of the Muslim League in view of the breach of party discipline and contravention of rules, principles and policies of the Muslim League that he had committed. He had the right to appeal against the decision of the Committee to the Council of the All-India Mus lim League. He did not avail himself of this right. Instead he demanded that the issue be referred to a Muslim judge of a High Court which was an unheard of procedure in the history of any political organization.

The Council of the All-India Muslim League which met at Lahore on July 30, 1944 took cognisance of the matter and passed the following resolution: "The Council approves and endorses the action taken by the Committe of Action in expelling Hon'ble Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, for his utter disregard of the wishes of the Muslims of India in general and the Muslims of the Punjab in particular and for having acted in contravention of the rules, aims and objects of the All-India Muslim League and also contrary to the decision of the League authorities that a member of the Muslim League cannot owe allegiance to two political parties and notes with contempt that Malik Khizar Hayat Khan has not even cared to place his case before the Council of the All-India Muslim League which is the highest national tribunal consisting of several able and eminent jurists and instead desires to refer his case to a judge outside the national Council which evidently means that he is ashamed of facing the Mulim nation on this issue and accepting its verdict."

There was a marked sense of relief and satisfaction in Muslim League circles that the position of the Muslim League vis-a-vis the Unionist Party had been clarified . . . . The genuine Muslim Leaguers in the Punjab, particularly the students, were happy that they would now have the opportunity to carry on the work of the Mulim League and spread its message among the masses incubus. An immediate outcome

unhampered by the Unionists, of the defection of the Unionists from the Muslim League was the formation in the Punjab Assembly a small but vigorous party of genuine Muslim Leaguers numbering twenty with Nawab Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot as leader. Prominent among its members were Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Sheikh Karamat Ali, Mr. Mumtaz Daultana and Sufi Abdul Hamid. From then on, the Muslim League in the Punjab advanced by leaps and bounds".[1]

1. Ahmad, Jamiluddin : Op. cit., Dec. 21, 1969.

سردار شوکت حیات کی برطرفی

''سردار شوکت حیات خاں نے وزارت سے برطرفی کے متعلق ایک اخباری بیان میں کہا ہے کہ سرکاری طور پر یہ بتایا گیا ہے کہ میری برطرفی ایک نہایت نامنصفانہ کارروائی کی بنا پر عمل میں لائی گئی ہے اور میں نے اپنے اختیارات کا ناجائز استعمال کیا ہے۔

میں اس موقع پر اس کیس کی تفصیلات میں نہیں جانا چاہتا کہ لاہور کارپوریشن کی ایک لیڈی سپرنٹنڈنٹ کو میرے حکم سے ملازمت سے الگ کیا گیا۔ میں نے وزیراعظم سے درخواست کی تھی کہ اس کیس کے متعلق تمام ریکارڈ شائع کیا جائے یا مجھے موقع دیا جائے کہ میں پبلک کے سامنے تمام تفصیلات کو پیش کروں۔ اس لیڈی سپرنٹنڈنٹ کیخلاف رشوت ستانی کے الزامات تھے اور میں نے ان کی پوری تحقیقات کی اور اس فیصلہ پر پہنچا کہ وہ اس ملازمت کے اہل نہیں۔ مجھے آج بھی اس بات کا یقین ہے کہ میرا فیصلہ صحیح اور انصاف پر مبنی ہے... چنانچہ اب میں مناسب خیال کرتا ہوں کہ پبلک مین ہونے کی حیثیت سے میں اپنی عزت کے تحفظ کے لیے حکومت کے ساتھ اپنی خط و کتابت کو اپنی ذمہ داری پر پبلک کے سامنے پیش کروں۔

میں نے وزیراعظم کو چند خطوط لکھے اور ان سے اپنے خلاف لگائے ہوئے الزامات کی تفصیل طلب کی۔ دریں اثنا ہزایکسی لیسنی گورنر کو بھی خط لکھا۔۔۔ اس پر مجھے گورنر کی طرف سے جواب ملا جس میں کہا گیا کہ کونسل کی میٹنگ میں صفائی کا موقع دیا گیا تھا لیکن میری طرف سے جو صفائی دی گئی اس سے گورنر کو تشفی نہیں ہوئی---

اس پر میں نے انہیں ایک خط لکھا جسمیں میں نے حیرت کا اظہار کیا کہ بقول ان کے مجھے ایک میٹنگ میں صفائی کا موقع دیا گیا تھا کیونکہ وھاں ساری بحث پانچ دس منٹ میں ختم ہوگئی تھی - مزید برآں اپنی صفائی پیش کرنے کیلئے مجھے کوئی نوٹس نہیں دیا گیا تھا --- اس کے بعد میں نے وزیراعظم کو بھی ایک خط لکھا کہ میرے کیس کی تفصیلات مہیا کی جائیں اور مجھے وضاحت کا موقع دیا جائے - لیکن ادھر خاموشی رہی --- وزیراعظم نے اپنے آخری خط میں لکھا کہ اس کیس کی تفصیلات حکومت کے خفیہ راز ہیں جن کی اشاعت کی اجازت نہیں دی جا سکتی اور پبلک کو اس امر کا کوئی حق نہیں کہ وہ حکومت کو کسی ایسی دستاویز کو شائع کرنے پر مجبور کرے -''۱

پنجاب مسلم لیگ کی ترقی و کامیابی

پنجاب مسلم لیگ کی طرف سے تنظیمی دوروں کا آغاز

''پنجاب مسلم لیگ کے تنظیمی دوروں کے اثرات اور متوقع نتائج کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے میاں ممتاز دولتانہ جنرل سیکرٹری پنجاب پراونشل مسلم لیگ نے نمائندہ پریس کو ایک بیان میں بتایا کہ ان دوروں سے لیگی کارکنوں میں ایک نئی اور ترقی پسند روح پھونکی جارہی ہے - ہمارا مقصد اپنے کارکنوں کو اسلامی سیاست کے پس منظر، مسلمانان ہند کے ذہنی اور سیاسی ارتقاء، مسلم لیگ کے نصب العین اور جنگ آزادی میں مسلمانوں کے فرائض سے آگاہ کرنا ہے تاکہ مسلم لیگ کا ہر کارکن موجودہ سیاسی کش مکش میں ہماری جماعت کا ایک موثر اور صحت مند عضو بن سکے -

ان تنظیمی دوروں کے وفد نے جو میاں ممتاز دولتانہ، رانا نصراللہ

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۱ - روزنامہ نوائے وقت - ۷ دسمبر ۱۹۴۴ء

خاں اور چوہدری عطا اللہ جہانیاں پر مشتمل ہے پانچ اضلاع یعنی فیروز پور، جالندھر، ہوشیار پور، لدھیانہ اور لاہور کے لیگی کارکنوں کی کانفرنسوں کو خطاب کیا اور مندرجہ بالا موضوعات پر بحث کی۔''۱

لیگی وفد دوآبہ بست جالندھر میں

''پنجاب پراونشل مسلم لیگ کا ایک وفد ۔۔۔ ۳ جون سے ۱۳ جون تک دوآبہ بست جالندھر میں دیہات کا دورہ کرے گا۔ پروگرام کے مطابق ان دس یوم کے دورے کے دوران میں مختلف مقامات پر آٹھ جلسے منعقد کئے جائیں گے جنہیں وفد خطاب کرے گا۔''۲

لائیلپور، جھنگ اور شیخوپورہ میں

''صوبائی مسلم لیگ کے تنظیمی وفد نے جو میاں محمد ممتاز دولتانہ جنرل سیکرٹری، چوہدری عطااللہ جہانیاں وغیرہ پر مشتمل تھا ۔۔۔ ۴ تا ۶ مئی ۴۵ء لائیلپور، جھنگ اور شیخوپورہ کا تنظیمی دورہ کیا اور ہرمقام پر مسلم لیگ ورکرز کانفرنس منعقد کرکے لیگ کارکنوں کو تنظیم کی تلقین کی ۔۔۔ تنظیمی وفد کا ہر دورہ ہر مقام پر نہایت کامیاب رہا ۔ لیگ کارکنوں نے ارکان وفد کو یقین دلایا کہ وہ مستقبل قریب میں اپنی تنظیمی سرگرمیاں تیز تر کر دیں گے اور کوشش کی جائے گی کہ مناسب مشورہ کے بعد اپنے اپنے اضلاع میں پاکستانی عشرہ منا کر و جمہور مسلمین کو زیادہ سے زیادہ تعداد میں لیگ کا ممبر بنا کر پرائمری لیگوں کا ایک جال بچھا دیا جائے ۔''۳

قصور میں لاہور مسلم لیگ کا اجلاس

''لاہور ضلع مسلم لیگ کا سپیشل اجلاس بمقام قصور منڈی ایک شاندار پنڈال میں منعقد ہوا ۔ دیہاتی مسلمان بھی ایک بڑی تعداد میں شریک ہوئے . . .

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۱ - ایضاً ۳ مئی ۱۹۴۵ء
۲ - ایضاً ۴ مئی ۱۹۴۵ء
۳ - ایضاً ۹ مئی ۱۹۴۵ء

پہلی نشست بعد نماز جمعہ زیر صدارت خواجہ غلام محمد صاحب ایم۔ایل۔اے۔ منعقد ہوئی۔ خان رب نواز خاں جنرل سیکرٹری ضلع مسلم لیگ نے اپنی تعارفی اور استقبالیہ تقریر کے دوران میں اجلاس کے اغراض و مقاصد پر روشنی ڈالی . . .

مولانا بشیر احمد صاحب اخگر... نے دلکش اور دل افروز انداز میں واضح کیا کہ جب تک انگریز اور ہندو کی سیاست اس ملک میں موجود ہے اس کے مقابلے کے لئے قائد اعظم محمد علی جناح مسلمانان ہند کے بہترین رہنما اور ترجمان ہیں۔ جب پاکستان قائم ہو جائے گا اس وقت علمائے دین کے مشورہ سے طرز حکومت قائم کی جائے گی۔ احراری دوستوں کی آگاہی کے لئے فاضل مقرر نے احرار لیڈر چوہدری افضل حق صاحب مرحوم و مغفور کے قصور والے خطبے کا حوالہ دیا جس میں چوہدری صاحب موصوف نے فرمایا تھا کہ دیکھنا پاکستان کی مخالفت نہ کرنا یہ دکھے دل کی آواز ہے . . .

دوسری نشست بعد نماز عشاء زیر صدارت حضرت مولانا ظفر علی خاں ایم۔ایل۔اے۔ (سنٹرل) منعقد ہوئی۔

افتخار ملت نواب افتخار حسین صاحب والئی ممدوٹ صدر صوبہ مسلم لیگ پنجاب اور سردار محمد حسین صاحب ایم۔ایل۔اے نے حاضرین سے اپیل کی کہ وہ مسلم لیگ کو مضبوط کریں . . .

آخر میں مولانا ظفر علی خاں صدر جلسہ نے فرمایا کہ ہم نے محمد علی جناح کو اس لئے اپنا قائد اعظم بنایا ہوا ہے کہ اس کو دنیا کا بڑے سے بڑا لالچ دے کر بھی کوئی خرید نہیں سکتا۔"[1]

منٹگمری میں تنظیمی دورہ

"پنجاب پراونشل مسلم لیگ کے تنظیمی وفد نے جو کہ نواب افتخار حسین آف ممدوٹ اور چوہدری عطا اللہ جہانیاں پر مشتمل تھا، مورخہ ۸ مئی کو منٹگمری ڈسٹرکٹ مسلم لیگ ورکرز کے ایک

۱۔ ایضاً ۱۰ مئی ۱۹۴۵ء

اجلاس سے خطاب کیا ۔ مقامی معاملات کے علاوہ موجودہ سیاسی اور سماجی موضوعات پر بھی بحث ہوئی ۔ ارکان وفد نے کارکنوں کو مسلم لیگ کی سرگرمیوں کے بارے میں تنقید کی دعوت دی تاکہ مسلم لیگ کی پالیسی کی مختلف پہلوؤں سے وضاحت ہو سکے اور باہمی مباحثہ سے اسلامی سیاست کا پس منظر صاف اور عام فہم ہو جائے ۔"۱

گورداسپور میں

"صوبائی مسلم لیگ پنجاب کا تنظیمی وفد جو نواب افتخار حسین آف ممدوٹ صدر صوبہ مسلم لیگ ، رانا نصراللہ خاں ایم ۔ ایل ۔ اے آرگنائزنگ سیکرٹری جالندھر ڈویژن اور چوہدری عطا اللہ جہانیاں وغیرہ پر مشتمل تھا گورداسپور مسلم لیگ ورکرز کانفرنس میں شمولیت کی غرض سے بذریعہ پٹھانکوٹ میل کل مورخہ ۲۲ مئی کو صبح لاہور سے روانہ ہوا ۔ بٹالہ ریلوے سٹیشن پر سٹیل ورکرز یونین اور لیبر یونین کے سینکڑوں کی تعداد میں نمائندے مع مسلم لیگ کارکنوں اور نیشنل گارڈ رضاکاروں کے موجود تھے ۔ چنانچہ جب ٹرین پلیٹ فارم میں داخل ہوئی تو فضا مسلم لیگ زندہ باد ، پاکستان زندہ باد ، قائد اعظم زندہ باد اور نواب ممدوٹ زندہ باد کے نعروں سے گونج اٹھی . . . نواب صاحب نے لیڈروں اور مجمع کو خطاب کرتے ہوئے فرمایا کہ مسلم لیگ کو مزدوروں سے پوری پوری ہمدردی ہے ، آپ لوگوں کے مطالبات اور تکالیف پر مناسب غور کیا جائے گا . . .

جب یہ ٹرین گورداسپور ریلوے سٹیشن پر پہنچی تو ضلع مسلم لیگ کے کارکنوں اور رضا کاروں کی ایک بہت بڑی تعداد پلیٹ فارم پر موجود تھی جنھوں نے اراکین وفد کا پر جوش نعروں کے ساتھ استقبال کیا . . .

دو بجے بعد دوپہر ایک وسیع پنڈال میں لیگ کارکنوں کی اہم تنظیمی کانفرنس زیرصدارت شیخ چراغ دین صاحب وکیل منعقد ہوئی ۔

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۱ ۔ ایضاً ۱۱ مئی ۱۹۴۵ء

صاحب صدر نے فرمایا۔ 'برادران وطن ۔ دوسری طاقتوں کے مقابلہ میں مسلمانوں کی قومی جماعت مسلم لیگ کی طاقت کا اندازہ اسی صورت میں لگایا جا سکتا ہے کہ ہر اہم مقام اور قصبہ میں ہماری ابتدائی پرائمری لیگوں کا ایک جال پھیلا ہوا ہو اور ہم ایک نظم کے ماتحت اپنے ہائی کمانڈر کے حکم پر اپنی قومی ترقی کے لئے کوشاں نظر آئیں ۔

نواب افتخار حسین آف ممدوٹ نے اپنی تنظیمی رپورٹ پیش کرتے ہوئے فرمایا کہ ہمارے اس دورے کا مقصد یہ ہے کہ ہم سب کارکن ایک نظم کے ماتحت اپنے مقصد اور مسلک کی تکمیل کریں ۔ ہم سب کے کام کی غرض ایک ہو . . . پنجاب میں یونینسٹ پارٹی نے سترہ لاکھ روپیہ زمیندارہ لیگ کے نام پر جمع کیا ہے اور تیرہ لاکھ مزید جمع کرنے کا ارادہ رکھتی ہے ۔ اس تیس لاکھ روپے سے آئندہ انتخابات لڑے جائیں گے ۔ مسلم لیگ کو چونکہ عوام کی ہمدردی حاصل ہے اور بہت کچھ توقع ہے کہ عوام انتخابات میں مسلم لیگ کا ساتھ دیں گے پھر بھی اہم اخراجات کیلئے مسلم لیگ کے پاس کم از کم پانچ لاکھ کا فنڈ جمع رہنا ضروری ہے ۔ لہذا آپ کا فرض ہے کہ آپ لیگ کے اس فنڈ کی فراہمی میں لیگ کی ہر ممکن امداد کریں اور اپنے ضلع و صوبہ کے طول و عرض میں مسلم لیگ کی پرائمری شاخوں کا نہ ختم ہونے والا ایک جال بچھا دیں ۔

چوہدری عطا اللہ جہانیاں نے اپنی تنظیمی تقریر میں کہا کہ دورے کا مقصد یہ ہے کہ مسلم لیگ کے سپاہیوں کی صف بندی اور پاکستان کے مجاہدوں کی صف آرائی یعنی دوسروں کی تنظیم کرنے سے پہلے تم خود متحد و منظم ہو جاؤ۔ آج ہم نے اپنی تنظیم سے مسلمانوں میں سیاسی شعور کی پستی کو دور کرنا ہے ۔" ۱

''صوبائی مسلم لیگ کے تنظیمی وفد کی آمد کے سلسلے میں ۲۲ مئی کی رات کو دس بجے ضلع گورداسپور مسلم لیگ کے زیر اہتمام ایک

۱۔ ایضاً ۲۵ مئی ۱۹۴۵ء

پبلک جلسہ زیر صدارت رانا نصر اللہ خاں ایم - ایل - اے - منعقد کیا گیا . . .

چوہدری عطا اللہ جہانیاں نے اپنی پرجوش اور حقائق سے لبریز تقریر میں سیاسیات حاضرہ کی وضاحت کرتے ہوئے فرمایا کہ ہمارے سامنے سب سے بڑا سوال ہندوستان کی آزادی کا ہے اور ہم آزاد ہندوستان میں آزاد نظام دیکھنا چاہتے ہیں . . .

آپ نے مسلم لیگ کے مسلک اور سیاسی پالیسی کی وضاحت کرتے ہوئے فرمایا - آج کی مسلم لیگ خان بہادروں اور نوابوں کی جماعت نہیں بلکہ ملک کی قومی جماعت بن چکی ہے - آج قوم کی سر بلندی کے لئے قوم پر سے ہزاروں خان بہادروں اور نوابوں کو قربان کیا جا سکتا ہے - لیکن قوم کو خان بہادروں پر قربان نہیں کیا جا سکتا -

آج اس جماعت میں نواب ممدوٹ ، ممتاز دولتانہ ، شوکت حیات ، راجہ غضنفر علی ، رانا نصر اللہ خاں ، چوہدری سرفراز خاں اور چوہدری روشن الدین جیسی ہستیاں موجود ہیں جنہوں نے مسلم قوم کی سر بلندی کے لئے اپنی وزارتوں ، پارلمینٹ سیکرٹری شپ ، رجسٹراریوں ، زیلداریوں اور نمبرداریوں کو قربان کرکے قوم کا ساتھ دیا اور حق و باطل کی جنگ میں حق کا ساتھ دیا - ،، ۱

اگر سرکاری افسران نے مداخلت نہ کی تو پنجاب میں مسلم لیگ کو شاندار کامیابی ہوگی -

''خان‌بہادر نذیر احمد خان پریذیڈنٹ سٹی مسلم لیگ (منٹگمری) نے ایک بھرے اجلاس میں تقریر کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ ہندوستانی مسلم مفکر اور رہنما ہمیشہ سے پاکستان کی تفسیر پیش کرتے رہے ہیں - مرکزی اسمبلی

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۱ - ایضاً ۲۶ مئی ۱۹۴۵ء

کے انتخابات نے ثابت کر دیا ہے کہ مسلم لیگ ہی مسلمانوں کی واحد نمائندہ جماعت ہے۔ چنانچہ دنیا دیکھ رہی ہے کہ مسلم لیگ کو سو فی صد کامیابی حاصل ہوئی ہے ... آپ نے امید ظاہر کی کہ اگر صوبائی انتخابات منصفانہ طریقے پر ہوئے اور اگر سرکاری افسروں نے بیجا مداخلت نہ کی تو مسلم لیگ کو پنجاب میں ویسی ہی کامیابی حاصل ہوگی جو مرکزی اسمبلی کے انتخابات میں حاصل ہوئی تھی۔ ''۱

لیگ کو نظر انداز کرنے سے مسلمان ہمیشہ کے لیے غلام بن کر رہ جائے گا۔

''جب سردار شوکت حیات خاں بذریعہ کار کیمبل پور پہنچے تو ہزاروں مسلمانوں نے شوکتِ پنجاب کا شاندار استقبال کیا۔ جب سردار صاحب کی کار تلہ گنگ پہنچی تو مشتاق ہجوم نے آپ کا شاندار استقبال کیا۔

ایک عظیم الشان پبلک جلسہ میں سردار شوکت حیات خاں نے پاکستان کے مسئلہ کو نہایت واضح اور غیر مبہم انداز میں پیش کیا۔ صوبائی انتخابات کی اہمیت بتاتے ہوئے آپ نے فرمایا کہ اسی میں مسلم لیگ کی کامیابی یا ناکامی سے سواد اعظم کی زندگی اور موت کا سلسلہ وابستہ ہے۔ اگر اس نازک موقع پر مسلمان اپنی واحد نمائندہ جماعت کو نظر انداز کردینے کا مجرم بنا تو اس کے نوشتہ تقدیر میں اس کے لئے دائمی غلامی لکھی جائے گی۔ اسکے بعد آپ ٹمن تشریف لے گئے جہاں آپ نے لیگی امید واروں کو ووٹ دینے کی اپیل کی۔ ''۲

قائد اعظم محمد علی جناح کی مسلمانان پنجاب سے توقعات

''جامع مسجد کہوٹہ کے خطیب مولوی عبدالرحمٰن نے قائد اعظم سے اپنی ایک ملاقات کے تاثرات بیان کرتے ہوئے کہا ہے کہ مسٹر جناح نے فرمایا کہ پنجاب ہی پاکستان کا سنگ بنیاد اور جسمِ ملت کا دل ہے۔ مگر آپ نے اس پر افسوس کا اظہار کیا کہ پنجاب میں مسلمان اپنی نمایاں اکثریت کے باوجود صنعت و حرفت، تجارت اور سیاسی

۱۔ ایضاً ۳۔ جنوری ۱۹۴۶ء
۲۔ ایضاً

بیداری میں اپنے برادران وطن سے بہت پیچھے ہیں - جب تک مسلمان اور خصوصاً پنجاب کا مسلمان اپنی موجودہ زبوں‌حالی سے مکمل طور پر آگاہ نہیں ہوگا اور عملی طور پر اپنی بیداری کا ثبوت نہیں دے گا اس وقت تک سیاسی نجات مشکل ہے - میں محسوس کررہا ہوں کہ ہندوستان کا مسلمان اور خصوصاً پنجاب کا مسلمان آج سے دس سال پہلے کی نسبت بیدار ہو چکا ہے اور اپنی سیاسی شیرازہ بندی میں کوشاں نظر آ رہا ہے - دس سال پیشتر مسلمان ایک نعش کی مانند تھا - آج اس میں زندگی کے آثار پائے جاتے ہیں اور میری یہ آرزو ہے کہ میں اپنی زندگی میں اس نیم مردہ نعش کو اپنے قدم پر کھڑے دیکھ سکوں -'' ۱

سیالکوٹ میں جلسہ

''مسلم پنجاب جسکی عظیم اکثریت نوے فی صد دیہات میں بستی ہے پہلی دفعہ اپنی سیاسی تنظیم مسلم لیگ سے وابستہ ہو کر زندگی کی ایک نئی کروٹ لے رہا ہے - مسلم لیگ کی آواز آج دیہاتی پنجاب کے کونے کونے میں گونج رہی ہے اور ضلع سیالکوٹ اسی گونج کا بڑھتا ہوا مرکز بن رہا ہے - پنجاب کے دوسرے ضلعوں کے مسلمان جاٹوں کو نسلی عصبیت کی لعنت میں گرفتار کرنے کا خواب جو آنجہانی سر چھوٹو رام نے جاٹ مہا سبھا کی شکل میں دیکھا تھا پریشان ہو چکا ہے - مسلمان جاٹ مسلمان قوم کے ساتھ ہیں - انہوں نے جاٹ مہا سبھا کے بت کو پاش پاش کر کے رکھ دیا ہے -

بد و ملھی میں جس وقت آٹھ ہزار مضبوط ہاتھ مسلم لیگ کے امیدوار کی حمایت میں بلند ہوئے اور جس جوش سے علاقے کے سردار غلام حیدر ملھی نے سرخضر حیات کی غداری پر اظہار نفرت کیا اسی سے مندرجہ بالا تصریحات کی پوری پوری تصدیق ہوجاتی ہے - دور دراز دیہات کے آئے ہوئے مسلمان جاٹوں اور دوسری اقوام کے افراد کا ایک عظیم‌الشان

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۱ - ایضاً ۱۰ جنوری ۱۹۴۶ء

جلسہ بدوملھی میں دیہاتی پس منظر کے درمیان منعقد ہوا جس میں سردار شوکت حیات ۔ راجہ غضنفر علی خاں ، شیخ کرامت علی ، میاں افتخار الدین اور ممتاز دولتانہ نے اپنے دیہاتی بھائیوں کو موجودہ انتخابی جدو جہد کی نوعیت سے آگاہ کیا ۔،،۱

۱۱ جنوری کو پنجاب کے طول و عرض میں یوم فتح

،،مقامات ذیل پر ۱۱ جنوری کو یوم فتح منایا گیا اور مسلمانوں نے چراغاں کیا ۔ ہم قارئین سے معذرت خواہ ہیں کہ جگہ کی قلت کے باعث صرف ان مقامات کے نام دینے پر اکتفا کرتے ہیں ۔

شملہ ۔ کرتار پور ۔ عارف والا ۔ ہوشیار پور ۔ جالندھر ۔ امرتسر ۔ علی پور ۔ جگراؤں ۔ باغبانپورہ ۔ خواتین شملہ ۔ جھنگ ۔ جہلم ۔ ڈومیلی ضلع جہلم ۔ چاہ راج والا ۔ زنانہ مسلم لیگ گوجرانوالہ ۔ قلعہ دیدار سنگھ ۔ گوجرانوالہ ۔ اکبر پورہ ۔ چوہڑ کانہ منڈی ۔ جالندہر شہر ۔ خیر پور سادات ۔ مہر پور ۔ منگروال ۔ چوکی گبول ۔ پیر پورہ ۔ گبرارئیں ۔ پرتاب پور ضلع جالندھر ۔ ساھیوال ضلع سرگودھا ۔ پنڈی بھٹیاں ۔ جھنگ مگھیانہ شہر ۔ سپاٹو ضلع شملہ ۔ گجرات ۔ قصور ۔ بٹالہ ۔ ایمن آباد ۔ سوہاوہ ۔ ملک وال ۔ سمندری ۔ تاندلیانوالہ ۔ ساڈہورہ جموں ۔ دہرم شالہ ۔ کلا نور ضلع گورداسپور ۔ ملتان ۔ کھاریاں ۔ عیسیٰ خیل ۔ بہرام پور بٹالہ ۔ سرانوالہ ۔ بودلا ضلع فیروز پور ۔ ظفر وال ضلع سیالکوٹ ۔ نظام آباد ۔ نور پور ۔ کانگڑہ شوپیاں ۔ ایم ۔ اے ۔ او کالج امرتسر ۔ کپور تھلہ ۔ راولپنڈی لال کرتی ۔ مٹھن کوٹ چک نمبر ۸۹ ۔ اڑ مٹر شہر ۔ کرنال ۔ للیانی ۔ گجرات ۔ حصار ۔ ملتان ۔ انبالہ ۔،،۲

پنجاب کے انتخابات میں مختلف پارٹیوں کی تگ و دو

،،صوبائی انتخابات میں تقریباً سات سیاسی جماعتیں سر گرمی سے حصہ لے رہی ہیں کل ۱۷۵ نشستوں کے لئے تقریباً ۵۵۰ امید وار کھڑے کئے گئے ہیں جن کی تفصیلات یہ ہیں ۔

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۱ ۔ ایضاً ۱۰ جنوری ۱۹۴۶ء

۲ ۔ ایضاً ۱۵ جنوری ۱۹۴۶ء

مسلم لیگ ۸۴، کانگریس ۶۷، اکالی ۲۶، کیمونسٹ ۲۷، احرار ۱۸، ریڈیکل پارٹی ۳۔ یونینسٹوں نے تقریباً ساری نشستوں سے کسی نہ کسی امیدوار کو اپنا ہی لیا ہے۔ اب تک کانگریس کے ۱۱، یونینسٹ پارٹی کے دو اور مسلم لیگ کے ۳ امیدوار بلا مقابلہ صوبائی اسمبلی کے رکن منتخب ہوچکے ہیں۔ ہندو سبھا نے کسی حلقے سے اپنا امیدوار کھڑا نہیں کیا۔"[1]

دیہاتی مسلمانوں میں مسلم لیگ کی بڑھتی ہوئی مقبولیت

"علامہ علاؤالدین صدیقی صاحب پنجاب کے مختلف اضلاع کے دورہ کے بعد ایک بیان میں فرماتے ہیں کہ حال ہی میں میں نے پنجاب کے اضلاع کا دورہ کیا ہے۔ اللہ تعالیٰ کے فضل و کرم سے حالات ہر طرح مسلم لیگ کی کامیابی اور حصول پاکستان کے مؤید ہیں صرف اتنا کہنا ضروری ہے کہ جہاں شہری حلقوں میں سو فیصد کامیابی کی امید ہے، وہاں دیہاتی حلقوں میں مخالفین کی ضمانتیں ضبط کرانے کے لیے مزید کوشش درکار ہے۔ بیچارے سادہ دل دیہاتیوں کے ایمانی فریضہ پر بیسیوں قسم کی بجلیاں گرائی جا رہی ہیں۔ شہری مسلمان کا فرض ہے کہ دیہات کے مسلمان کو تازہ ترین حالات سے واقف رکھنے کے لیے دوسرے کرے اور فتنہ کو فرو کرنے کی کوشش کرے۔ بہتر ہوگا کہ جو مجاہدین تبلیغی دوروں کے لیے تیار ہوں وہ پراونشل لیگ کے دفتر کو اطلاع دے دیں اور جس حلقہ میں جانا چاہتے ہوں وہاں کے لیگی امیدوار سے مشورہ کریں۔ وقت تنگ ہے اور کام بہت زیادہ ہے۔ خداوند کریم ہمارا ساتھ دے۔"[2]

پنجاب اور بنگال میں لیگ کی کامیابی یقینی امر ہے

"مدراس اسمبلی کی لیگ پارٹی کے لیڈر مسٹر عبدالحمید خاں نے ایک بیان میں لندن ٹائمز کے اس افتتاحیہ پر کڑی تنقید کی ہے جو اس نے پرسوں ہندوستان کی آئینی صورت حال کے متعلق لکھا۔ مسٹر عبدالحمید

۱۔ ایضاً ۱۷ جنوری ۱۹۴۶ء

۲۔ ایضاً ۱۸ جنوری ۱۹۴۶ء

کا کہنا ہے پنجاب میں گلاینسی خضر ایکسز اور صوبہ سرحد میں خان برادرز کی ناکام کوششوں کے باوجود ان دونوں صوبوں میں لیگ کو شاندار کامیابی حاصل ہوگی۔ یہ صحیح ہے کہ لیگ کو اگر سو فی صد کامیابی بھی حاصل ہوجائے تو بھی وہ پنجاب اور بنگال میں خالص لیگ وزارتیں قائم نہیں کر سکتی۔ اس کی وجہ وہ مہلک ترین کمیونل ایوارڈ ہے جس نے ان دونوں صوبوں میں مسلمانوں کو اقلیت بنا چھوڑا ہے۔ بدقسمتی یہ ہے کہ تمام صوبوں میں خالصۃً ہندو حکومتوں کا قیام ممکن ہے لیکن ہم اکثریت کے صوبوں میں مسلمان دوسری جماعتوں اور عناصر کی مدد کے بغیر اپنی وزارتیں قائم نہیں کر سکتے۔ کیونکہ انتخابات ایک فرسودہ آئین کے ماتحت ہو رہے ہیں۔ ٹائمز کو علم ہونا چاہیے کہ اب مسلمانوں کے سامنے یہ مسئلہ نہیں کہ آیا موجودہ حالات میں مسلم لیگ پنجاب اور بنگال میں اپنی وزارتیں بنا سکتی ہے یا نہیں، اصل سوال یہ ہے کہ مسلمان ایک علیحدہ قوم ہیں، مسلم لیگ ان کی واحد نمائندہ جماعت ہے اور مسلم قوم قیام پاکستان کی موید ہے۔"[1]

سکھ لیڈر کی طرف سے کانگرس کی مذمت

"اکالی لیڈر ماسٹر تارا سنگھ نے پشاور میں اکالی کانفرنس کی صدارت کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ مسلمانوں کا مطالبہ پاکستان اتنا ہر دلعزیز ہو چکا ہے کہ اب میں یقین سے کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ انتخابات کے فوراً بعد کانگرس مسلم لیگ سے پاکستان کی اساس پر مفاہمت کرلے گی۔ اس وقت سکھوں کو مشکل کا سامنا کرنا ہوگا۔ عین ممکن ہے کہ ہندوستان میں خانہ جنگی تک نوبت آجائے کیونکہ انڈین نیشنل کانگرس کے ماتحت ہندو، سکھوں کو کچلنے پر تلے ہوئے ہیں۔ کانگرس اپنا محاذ تبدیل کر چکی ہے۔ وہ برطانیہ اور برطانوی ملوکیت کے خلاف لڑنے کی بجائے مسلمانوں اور سکھوں سے نبرد آزما ہے۔ اب کانگریس نے سکھوں کو کچلنے کے لیے اپنی تمام مساعی مرکوز کر رکھی ہیں۔ ماسٹر تارا

۱۔ ایضاً ۲۰ جنوری ۱۹۴۶ء

سنگھ نے کہا ہم اس وقت تک آزاد نہیں ہوسکتے جب تک ہندو اس ملک میں مسلمانوں اور سکھوں پر تسلط قائم کرنے کے خواہاں رہیں گے ۔ سرحد میں اکالی پارٹی کی شکایات کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے ماسٹر تارا سنگھ نے کہا کہ نام نہاد آزادی پسند کانگریس یہاں سکھوں کی آزادی کے راستے میں مزاحم ہورہی ہے ۔''[1]

پنجاب صرف اسلامی ہند کی نہیں پورے عالم اسلام کی تقدیر ہے ۔

''کل سے مسلمانان پنجاب ہندوستان کے مسلمانوں کے مستقبل کے متعلق اپنا فیصلہ دینا شروع کر دیں گے۔ پنجاب کے طول و عرض میں پولنگ شروع ہو چکا ہو گا ۔ اس انتخاب کی اہمیت کے متعلق ان کالموں میں بہت کچھ لکھا جا چکا ہے مگر مسلمانوں کے بعض اہل غرض افراد اور گروہ جن کے سامنے کوئی پروگرام نہیں مسلمانوں کی توجہ کو اصل مسئلہ سے ہٹانے کے لئے یہ پروپیگنڈا کر رہے ہیں کہ انتخابات کی جنگ صرف وزارت کی جنگ ہے اور جمال لغاری ، عاشق حسین اور خضرٹوانہ کی جگہ فیروز خاں نون ، افتخار حسین ممدوٹ اور ممتاز دولتانہ چاہتے ہیں ۔ مگر حقیقت یہ ہے کہ یہ جنگ وزارتوں کی جنگ نہیں ۔ مسلمانان پنجاب کے ووٹوں سے اس بات کا فیصلہ نہیں ہو گا کہ پنجاب کا آئندہ وزیراعظم خضرحیات ہوگا یا فیروز خاں نون ایمانداری کی بات یہ ہے کہ مسلمانان پنجاب کے ووٹوں سے تو اس امر کا فصیلہ ہو گا کہ ہندوستانی مسلمان اس نیم براعظم میں جس کا نام ہندوستان ہے ہمیشہ کے لئے ہندو اکثریت کے غلام بن کر رہیں گے یا مسلمانوں کو اپنی اکثریت کے علاقوں میں اپنی آزاد و خود مختار ریاستوں کے قیام کا حق حاصل ہو گا ۔ اگر خدا نخواستہ مسلمانان پنجاب نے ٹھوکر کھائی اور ان کا فیصلہ پاکستان کے خلاف ہوا تو ابدی غلامی کی ذلت خضرحیات اور شوکت حیات کے لئے یکساں رسوا کن ہو گی ہندو اکثریت کی غلامی میں مسلمان راجپوت کا حال مسلمان جاٹ سے بہتر

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1 ۔ ایضاً

نہیں ہو گا ۔ جب مسلمان قوم غلام ہو گی تو گوجر ، جاٹ ، ارائیں ، جمال خان اور ممدوٹ سب غلام ہوں گے ۔ تیس روپے ماہوار کمانے والے اور تین ہزار روپیہ ماہوار تنخواہ لینے والے غلام میں بحیثیت غلام کوئی فرق نہیں ہوگا ۔ غیر کا غلام وزیراعظم بن کر بھی غلام رہتا ہے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ مسلمانان پنجاب کو مسلمانان ہند کی غلامی اور آزادی کے سوال پر اپنا فصیلہ دینا ہے ۔ پنجاب کی نہیں ہندوستان کی نہیں ساری دنیا کی آنکھیں ان پر لگی ہوئی ہیں ۔ آسام کے مسلمانوں نے ۹۲% آراء پاکستان کے حق میں دیں ۔ سندھ کے مسلمانوں نے آپس کے انتشار اور باہمی جھگڑوں کے باوجود ۹۸% ووٹ پاکستان کے حق میں دیئے ۔ تیسرا اور سب سے اہم استصواب پنجاب کے مسلمانوں سے ہو رہا ہے اور اسی صوبہ میں اصل فیصلہ ہو گا ۔ جہاں تک ہندو اکثریت کے صوبوں کا تعلق ہے انشاالله مسلمانوں کی ایک نشست بھی کسی غیر لیگی جماعت کو نہیں ملے گی ۔ پنجاب کے مسلمانوں کو سوچنا چاہیے کہ اُن کا فرض کیا ہے ۔ یو ۔ پی ، سی پی ، بہار ۔ اڑلیسہ ، بمبئی ، مدراس کے مسلمانوں کے سو فی صد ووٹ مسلم لیگ کو ملیں گے ۔ بنگال میں مسلم لیگ سو فی صد نشستیں جیت رہی ہے ۔ آسام میں مسلم لیگ بانوے فی صد نشستیں جیت چکی ہے ۔ سندھ میں ۹۸ فی صد ووٹ پاکستان کے حق میں پڑے ۔ کیا پنجاب اسلامی ہند کی رہنمائی نہ کرے گا ؟ خدا نخواستہ اپنے ماتھے پر یہ کلنک کا ٹیکہ لگوائے گا کہ جب سارے ہندو ستان کے مسلمان آزادی ملت کی منزل کی طرف گامزن تھے پنجابی مسلمان نے اُن کی پیٹھ میں چھرا گھونپا اور اُن کے راستے میں روڑے اٹکائے ، نہیں ، نہیں ، ہر گز نہیں ۔ پنجاب صرف اسلامی ہند کی نہیں پورے عالم اسلام کی تقدیر ہے ۔ پنجابی مسلمان اپنی ملت دوستی ، غیرت ملی اور بیداری کا ثبوت دے گا اور استقلال ملی اور آزادی ملت کی اس جنگ میں اپنے قائدانہ مقام کو پہچانتے ہوئے داد شجاعت دے گا ۔ ہندو یہ جانتا ہے کہ پنجابی مسلمان نے اپنا فیصلہ پاکستان کے حق میں دیا تو پاکستان بن کر رہے گا ۔ انگریز یہ سمجھتا ہے کہ مسلمانان پنجاب کا فتویٰ پاکستان کے حق میں ہوا تو اسے ماننے کے بغیر کوئی چارہ نہیں رہیگا ۔ مسلمانان پنجاب ، پاکستان آپکی مٹھی

میں ہے اسے حاصل کرنا یا کھو دینا آپ کے اختیار میں ہے۔ آپ کے ووٹ ممدوٹ اور شوکت حیات کے لئے نہیں ہیں آپکا ووٹ تعمیر پاکستان کے لئے بنیادی اینٹ کا درجہ رکھتا ہے۔'' ۱

پنجاب میں لیگ کی کامیابی پر قائداعظم اور دیگر اکابرین کے پیغامات۔

''قائداعظم محمد علی جناح نے نواب ممدوٹ صدر صوبہ مسلم لیگ کو پنجاب کے انتخابات میں کامیابی پر مندرجہ ذیل پیغام بھیجا ہے۔

''دلی مبارک باد قبول فرمایئے۔ پنجاب کے مسلمانوں نے واضح کر دیا ہے کہ پنجاب پاکستان کا سنگ بنیاد ہے۔ ساری مشکلات کے باوجود نوے فی صدی کامیابی ایک شاندار کارنامہ ہے جس پر میں آپ اور مسلمانان ہند فخر کرسکتے ہیں۔ براہ کرم ان مسلمانوں تک جنہوں نے لیگ کے امیدواروں کی امداد کی اور انہیں ووٹ دیئے میرا شکریہ پہنچا دیجئے۔ انہوں نے ثابت کر دیا ہے کہ پنجاب کے مسلمانوں کا فتویٰ یہ ہے کہ مسلم لیگ ہی مسلمانان ہند کی واحد نمائندہ جماعت ہے۔۔۔۔''

''نوائے وقت کے نامہ نگار خصوصی مسٹر زیڈ۔ اے۔ سلیری لندن سے تار دیتے ہیں کہ پنجاب کے انتخابات میں مسلم لیگ کی کامیابی نے لیگ کے مخالف حلقوں کو حیران کر دیا ہے۔ اب تک انڈیا آفس اور برطانوی مدبر پنجاب کی صیحح صورت حال کے متعلق لا علمی کا اظہار کرتے تھے حتیٰ کہ لارڈ پتھک لارنس نے بھی اپنی پریس کانفرنس میں نمائندہ نوائے وقت کے سیاسیات پنجاب کے متعلق سوالوں کا جواب دتیے وقت گول مول باتیں کیں۔ مگر انتخابی نتائج کے بعد ان کا لب و لہجہ بدلا ہوا تھا۔

سر ناظم الدین نے جو آج امریکہ جا رہے ہیں نمائندہ نوائے وقت سے یہ کہا کہ پنجاب کے مسلمانوں نے معجزہ کر دکھایا ہے انہیں میرا سلام پہنچا دیں۔ آپ نے امید ظاہر کی کہ بنگال کے نتائج اس سے بھی بہتر ہوں گے اور بنگال پنجاب سے بازی لے جائے گا۔'' ۲

۱۔ ایضاً یکم فروری ۱۹۴۶ء

۲۔ ایضاً ۲۶ فروری ۱۹۴۶ء

لاہور میں مسلم لیگ کا جلسہ

"آج چار بجے شام باغ بیرون موچی دروازہ میں مسلمانان لاہور کا ایک عظیم الشان اجتماعی جلسہ مولوی غلام محی الدین صاحب قصوری کی صدارت میں منعقد ہوا۔

نواب زادہ لیاقت علی خان جنرل سیکرٹری آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ نے حاضرین کو مخاطب کرتے ہوئے فرمایا کہ سب سے پہلے میں مسلمانان پنجاب کو اس امر پر دلی مبارک پیش کرتا ہوں کہ انہوں نے حکومت اور مسلم لیگ کے مخالفین کی انتہائی کوششوں کے باوجود مسلم لیگی امید واروں کو اتنی بھاری تعداد میں کامیاب کرایا۔ نواب زادہ صاحب نے کہا کہ پنجاب کے مسلمانوں نے اپنا فتویٰ پاکستان کے حق میں صادر کرکے ہندوستان کے دس کروڑ مسلمانوں کی عزت کو بچا لیا ہے۔ انتخابات کی طرف اشارہ کرتے ہوئے آپ نے کہا کہ ہم نے انتخابات صرف دو باتوں کو سامنے رکھ کر لڑے تھے۔ اول یہ کہ دنیا پر واضح کیا جا سکے کہ ہندوستان کے دس کروڑ مسلمان ایک علیحدہ قوم ہیں۔ دوم وہ پاکستان چاہتے ہیں۔ الحمدللہ کہ انتخابات نے دونوں چیزوں کو صحیح ثابت کر دکھایا ہے۔ اب ہماری پارٹی کے ارکان کی تعداد ۷۸ ہو گئی ہے۔ نواب زادہ لیاقت علی خان نے نئی وزارت کی تشکیل کے مسئلہ پر روشنی ڈالتے ہوئے کہا کہ ایوان میں سب سے بڑی پارٹی مسلم لیگ ہو گئی ہے دوسرے درجہ پر کانگرس پارٹی اور تیسرے درجہ پنتھک اکالی پارٹی ہے۔ یونینسٹ پارٹی کی صحیح تعداد کا اندازہ لگانا بہت ہی مشکل کام ہے۔ اس نام نہاد پارٹی کے لیڈر اس بد نصیب صوبے کے وزیر اعظم ملک خضر حیات خاں ٹوانہ ہیں۔ صوبے میں ایک ایسی پائدار وزارت کے قیام کے لیے جسے تمام طبقوں کی تائید حاصل ہو نواب آف ممدوٹ نے دوسری دو بڑی پارٹیوں کانگرس اور اکالی پارٹی کے لیڈروں سے گفت و شنید کی۔ کیونکہ انتخابات نے یہ ثابت کردیا ہے کہ اگر صوبے کے مسلمان مسلم لیگ کے ساتھ ہیں تو کانگرس کو ہندوؤں کا اعتماد حاصل ہے اور اکالی پارٹی سکھوں کی نمایندہ جماعت

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۱ - ایضاً

ہے - اسی حقیقت کے پیش نظر نواب ممدوٹ لیڈر مسلم لیگ پارٹی نے کانگرس کو بھی پیشکش کی اور اکالی پارٹی کی طرف بھی تعاون کا ہاتھ اٹھایا تاکہ صوبے میں ان تینوں پارٹیوں کی کولیشن سے ایک مضبوط اور پائدار وزارت بن سکے - کانگرس نے ہماری اس پیشکش کو ٹھکرایا اور اپنے اس عمل کے جواز میں مختلف بہانے گھڑنے شروع کردئیے - لیکن حقیقت یہ ہے کہ اس پیش کش کو ٹھکرانے سے کانگرس کا مقصد صرف یہ تھا کہ مسلمانوں کو ان کے جائز حقوق سے محروم کر دیا جائے اور جس طرح ہو سکے مسلمانوں کے ان نمایندوں کو نظر انداز کر کے چند غدار مسلمان یونینسٹ ممبروں کی مدد سے مسلم اکثریت کے صوبے پر کانگرس کا ہندو راج قائم کیا جائے - نواب صاحب نے اکالی پارٹی سے گفت و شنید کا تذکرہ کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ گفت و شنید کے دوران میں اکالی لیڈر سردار بلدیو سنگھ نے اپنے اخباری بیان میں کہا تھا کہ صوبے کے انتظامی امور میں تو اکالی پارٹی کا مسلم لیگ کے ساتھ سمجھوتہ ہو چکا ہے لیکن ابھی تک پاکستان کے بارے میں ہمارا کوئی فیصلہ نہیں ہو سکا - کیا اس اعلان سے سردار بلدیو سنگھ کا مطلب یہ تھا کہ ہم ایک وزارت کی خاطر پاکستان سے دستبر داری کا اعلان کر دیں ؟ نواب زادہ نے کہا کہ میں دنیا پر واضح کردینا چاہتا ہوں کہ ایک وزارت کیا ہم اپنے محبوب نصب العین پاکستان پر ایک ہزار وزارتیں قربان کر سکتے ہیں - ہمیں اس پاکستان کی خاطر ایک نہیں دس کروڑ مسلمان بھی قربان کرنے پڑیں تو ہم اس میں دریغ نہیں کریں گے - نواب زادہ صاحب نے کہا کہ تشکیل وزارت کے اس ڈرامے میں اہم پارٹ مولانا آزاد کا ہے جنہیں صرف اس غرض سے لاہور بھیجا گیا تھا کہ مسلمانوں کے درمیان تشت و افتراق کی آگ کو ہوا دیں اور جس طرح بن پڑے مسلمانوں کو ان کے جائز حقوق سے محروم کر کے صوبے پر ہندو کانگرس کا راج قائم کر دیں . . .

نواب زادہ لیاقت علی خان نے نہایت زور دار لفظوں میں اعلان کیا کہ اگر گورنر نے نام نہاد کولیشن پارٹی کو قبول کر لیا تو اس کا مطلب اس کے سوا اور کیا ہو سکتا ہے کہ گورنر یا تو اندھا ہے یا

وہ بد نیت ہے . . . میں گورنر اور برادران وطن پر غیر مبہم الفاظ میں واضح کر نا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس صوبے میں، وزارت قائم کرنا صرف مسلمانوں کا حق ہے کسی دوسری طاقت کو یہ حق نہیں پہنچتا کہ وہ مسلمانوں پر ان کی مرضی کے خلاف کوئی وزارت ٹھونس دیں ۔ نواب زادہ نے کہا کہ اس وقت صوبے کے ایوان میں مسلم لیگ پارٹی کے ۷۸ ارکان ہیں اور لیگ پارٹی کے لیڈر کو ایوان کے دس اور ممبروں نے یہ لکھ کر دے دیا ہے کہ وہ مسلم لیگ کے ساتھ تعاون کریں گے ۔ اس طرح مسلم لیگ کو ۸۸ ارکان کی تائید حاصل ہے ۔ لیگ پارٹی کا لیڈر اس وقت ایک مضبوط اور پائدار وزارت بنانے پر قادر ہے اگر گورنر نے نواب آف ممدوٹ لیڈر لیگ پارٹی کو وزارت بنانے کا موقع نہ دیا تو اس کا مطلب یہ ہو گا کہ گورنر مسلمانوں کے ساتھ ظلم کرنا چاہتا ہے اور ہمارے صبر کا امتحان لینا چاہتا ہے ۔ میں گورنر اور برطانوی حکومت پر واضح کر دینا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہمارے صبر کا پیمانہ لبریز ہو چکا ہے ۔ ہم ایک گال پر طمانچہ کھانے کے بعد دوسرا گال پیش کرنے کے عادی نہیں ۔ میں متنبہ کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ایسی کوششوں کے نتائج نہایت خطرناک ہوں گے ۔ اب مسلمان بیدار ہو چکے ہیں ۔ وہ ایسی کوششوں کا جواب پوری طاقت سے دیں گے . . . نواب زادہ صاحب نے کہا کہ میں پوری ذمہ داری کے ساتھ اعلان کرتا ہوں کہ اگر گورنر کی اس قسم کی حرکت سے نا خوشگوار واقعات پیدا ہوئے تو اس کی ذمہ داری ان لوگوں پر عائد ہوگی جو اس قسم کی وزارت قائم کر رہے ہیں جسے صوبے کی مسلم رائے عامہ کا قطعاً اعتماد حاصل نہیں . . .

سردار شوکت حیات خاں نے اپنی تقریر میں کولیشن وزارت کی طرف اشارہ کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ کولیشن وزارت کے نتائج اس قدر ہولناک ہوں گے کہ ان کا تصور بھی نہیں کیا جا سکتا ۔ سردار شوکت حیات نے اعلان کیا کہ میں انگریز اور ہندو دونوں کو تنبیہ کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اگر ان لوگوں کی ملی بھگت نے پاکستان پر ہاتھ ڈالنے کا

منصوبہ گانٹھا تو پنجاب کے مسلمان اپنی جانیں قربان کرنے سے ہرگز دریغ نہ کریں گے ۔ ہمیں دنیا کی کوئی طاقت بھی پاکستان سے علیحدہ نہیں کر سکتی ۔ ہمارے مخالفین کو معلوم ہونا چاہیے کہ پنجاب کا مسلمان عدم تشدد کے عقیدے پر ایمان نہیں رکھتا ۔

مولانا عبد الستار خاں نیازی نے ایک طویل تقریر میں مولانا آزاد کی سازشوں اور کانگرس یونینسٹ گٹھ جوڑ کے منصوبوں کو تشت از بام کیا اور کہا کہ ہندو چند غدار مسلمانوں کی امداد سے ہم پر حکومت کرنے کے خواب سے جتنی جلدی دستبردار ہو جائیں اتنا ہی ان کے حق میں اچھا ہوگا ۔ مقرر نے ملک خضر حیات خان ٹوانہ کو متنبہ کیا کہ وہ غیر مسلموں کے ہاتھ میں کھیل کر صوبے کی مسلم آبادی کے مفاد کو تباہ نہ کریں ۔''۱

گورنر کے غیر آئینی اقدام کی قائد اعظم کی طرف سے پر زور مذمت

''قائد اعظم نے ایسوسی ایٹڈ پریس کے نامہ نگار کو ایک انٹرویو میں بتایا کہ مسلمانان پنجاب نے انتخابات میں نوے فی صد کامیابی حاصل کرکے پاکستان کے حق میں فیصلہ دے دیا ہے ۔ جہاں تک تشکیل وزارت کا تعلق ہے متعدد بار بتایا جا چکا ہے کہ یہ مسئلہ ہمارے لیے ثانوی حیثیت رکھتا ہے ۔ کانگرس ۱۹۱۹ اور ۱۹۳۵ کے آئینوں کے مطابق کام کرنا چاہتی ہے تو بڑی خوشی سے ایسا کرے ۔ ہم تو موجود آئین کو ختم کر کے رہیں گے . . . قائد اعظم نے بتایا کہ اب تک جو اطلاعات موصول ہوئی ہیں ان سے یہی ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ آزاد اور خضر نے اپنے تمام اصولوں کو قربان کر کے اتحاد کر لیا ہے اور دنیا پر ظاہر کرنے کی کوشش کی ہے کہ انہوں نے صوبے کو دفعہ ۹۳ سے بچا لیا ہے ۔ سکھوں کا طرز عمل افسوس ناک ہے ۔ کانگرس اور یونینسٹ دونوں پارٹیوں کا خاصہ ہے کہ وہ اغیار کو اپنے جال میں پھنسانے کے لیے ایسے مواعید کرتے ہیں جنہیں پورا کرنے کی تکلیف کبھی گوارا نہیں کی جا

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۱ ۔ ایضاً ۸ مارچ ۱۹۴۶ء

سکتی - حقیقت یہ ہے کہ موجودہ کولیشن مسلم لیگ دشمنی کی وجہ سے وجود میں آئی ہے - قائد اعظم نے سر رابرٹ گلینسی کو اپنی روانگی سے پیشتر . . . خضرحیات کو تشکیل وزارت کی دعوت دے کر اپنے اختیارات کے ایک اور بار ناجائز استعمال پر آفرین کہی ۔،،[1]

پنجاب میں یوم پاکستان

،،نواب افتخار حسین آف ممدوٹ صدر پنجاب مسلم لیگ نے ایک بیان میں اسلامیان پنجاب سے اپیل کی ہے کہ وہ ۲۳ مارچ کو نہایت پر امن طور پر یوم پاکستان منائیں - نواب صاحب نے کہا ہے آج ۲۳ مارچ کو مسلمانان ہند کا قومی دن ہے - ۲۳ مارچ ۱۹۴۰ء سے جبکہ قرار داد پاکستان منظور کی گئی تھی مسلمان یہ دن پر امن طریقے سے پورے جوش و خروش اور مسرت سے مناتے چلے آ رہے ہیں - مجھے افسوس کے ساتھ یہ کہنا پڑتا ہے کہ حکومت پنجاب نے مسلم لیگ کے خلاف تشدد کا لامتناہی سلسلہ جاری کر رکھا ہے اور وہ ہمیں تقریر اور آزادی عمل سے محروم رکھنے کے لیے آخری حد تک جا چکی ہے - اب اس نے بلا وجہ لاہور میں دفعہ ۱۴۴ نافذ کر دی ہے - اسی طرح اس نے پبلک جلسوں اور دوسری تقاریب پر پابندی عائید کر دی ہے - پنجاب گورنمنٹ نے اپنے اختیارات کا ناجائز استعمال کیا ہے جسکی میں پر زور مذمت کرتا ہوں لیکن چونکہ آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ نے ابھی ڈائرکٹ ایکشن کا فیصلہ نہیں کیا لہذا میں اسلامیان لاہور سے یہ اپیل کروں گا کہ وہ پبلک جلسے اور دوسرے مظاہرے نہ کریں - لیکن وہ پر امن طور پر اپنی دکانیں آراستہ کریں اور مساجد میں اجتماع کریں اور اپنے مکانات اور تجارتی علاقوں میں مسلم لیگ کے پرچم لہرائیں- مجھے یقین ہے کہ وہ دن دور نہیں جب ہم ایک آزاد فضا میں سانس لے سکیں گے -"[2]

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۱ - ایضاً ۹ مارچ ۱۹۴۶ء

۸ - ایضاً ۲۴ مارچ ۱۹۴۶ء

کو سبز پاکستانی جھنڈوں سے سجایا گیا۔ مسلم لیگی رضا کار اور پرائمری لیگوں کی طرف سے عوام میں پاکستانی جھنڈے تقسیم کئے جا رہے تھے اور اس طرح ہر مسلمان کا سینہ جو ذرہ بھر بھی مسلم لیگ اور حصول پاکستان سے ہمدردی رکھتا تھا پاکستانی جھنڈے اور نشانات لگا رکھے تھے۔ ٹانگوں، بیل گاڑیوں اور سائیکلوں پر مسلم لیگی نشانات لہرارہے تھے۔ آج بعد نماز عصر مسلمانان لاہور کے دو عظیم الشان اجتماع یوم پاکستان منانے کے لئے شاہی مسجد اور مسجد وزیر خاں میں ہوئے۔ شاہی مسجد میں میر محمد دین اور دوسرے نوجوانان نے اپنے پاکستانی نغموں سے حاضرین کو محظوظ کیا۔ مسجد وزیر خاں میں مسٹر دانیال لطیفی، میاں محمد ممتاز خاں دولتانہ جنرل سیکرٹری صوبائی مسلم لیگ اور خان عبدالستار نیازی ایم۔ ایل۔ اے۔ نے پاکستان اور مسلم لیگ کے مسلک پر تقریریں کیں۔

میاں ممتاز دولتانہ نے اپنی تقریر میں مطالبہ پاکستان کی غرض وغایت پر تفصیلی تبصرہ کرتے ہوئے حاضرین کو خراج تحسین ادا کیا۔ آپ نے اپنی نمائندہ جماعت مسلم لیگ کی کامیابی کے لئے ہر قسم کی مشکلات کا مردانہ وار مقابلہ کیا ہے جو سیاسی دنیا میں ایک تاریخی حیثیت رکھتا ہے۔ آپ نے دنیا پر یہ ثابت کر دیا ہے کہ مسلمانان پنجاب پاکستان چاہتے ہیں۔ اگر چند غدار مسلمانوں کی غداری کی وجہ سے ہم وزارت بنانے میں ناکام رہے ہیں اصل چیز ہمارے سامنے ہندوستان کی آزادی اور حصول پاکستان ہے۔ ہماری منزل پاکستان ہے۔ اگر آپ پہلے کی طرح مضبوطی سے کام کرتے چلے گئے تو انشاءاللہ وہ وقت دور نہیں جب آپ اپنے مقصد کے حصول میں بہت جلد کامیاب ہوجائیں گے۔"۱

۱۔ ایضاً ۲۶ مارچ ۱۹۴۶ء

میں پنجاب سے اسلامی ہند کے لیے اُمید اور جرأت کا پیام لئے جا رہا ہوں

قائد اعظم کا الوداعی پیغام

''قائد اعظم محمد علی جناح صدر آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ اپنی ہمشیرہ مس فاطمہ جناح کی معیت میں آج شام کو بذریعہ طیارہ دہلی روانہ ہوگئے - ہوائی اڈہ پر نواب ممدوٹ ، نواب زادہ رشید علی خان ، میاں افتخار الدین اور بہت سے طلبا اور لیگی کارکنوں نے آپ کو الوداع کہی - روانگی سے پہلے قائد اعظم نے ایسوسی ایٹڈ پریس کے نمائندہ کو ایک ملاقات میں بتایا کہ میں پنجاب سے اُمید اور حوصلے کا ایک پیغام اسلامی ہند کے لئے لے جا رہا ہوں تا کہ ہماری پاکستان حاصل کرنے کی جد و جہد جاری رہے - آپ نے اپنے بیان کوجاری رکھتے ہوئے فرمایا کہ میں نے لاہور میں قریباً ایک ہفتہ قیام کیا اور ہر طبقہ کے لوگوں سے ملا - میں نے پنجاب کے مسلمانوں میں ہر جگہ حوصلہ اور عزم کی ایک امید دیکھی اور مجھے یقین ہو گیا کہ مسلمان پاکستان حاصل کرنے کے لیے چٹان کی طرح مستعد ہیں - آپ نے فرمایا کہ ۱۹۳۶ کے بعد میں کئی بار پنجاب میں آیا لیکن میں نے اب کے پہلی مرتبہ دیکھا کہ پنجاب کے کئی مسلمان ایک نئی زندگی سے ہم کنار ہیں اور وہ ہر معاملے میں کامل اعتماد اور یک جہتی سے ہمنوا اور ہم آواز ہیں - گذشتہ دو سالوں میں پنجاب مسلم لیگ ، کارکنان لیگ اور طلبا نے لگا تار قربانیاں اور ایثار کیا ہے - قومی کام نہایت شاندار طریقے سے سر انجام دئیے ہیں - - -

آپ نے ایک اور بیان میں پنجاب مسلم سٹوڈنٹس فیڈریشن کی خدمات کو سراہتے ہوئے طلبہ کو داد تحسین دی ہے اور ان کی بے غرض خدمت اور سرگرمی کا پر زور الفاظ میں اعتراف کرتے ہوئے انہیں مبارک باد دی - آپ نے کہا کہ انتخابات نے ہمارے لیے پاکستان کی جنگ میں نئے باب کا افتتاح کر دیا ہے تا کہ ہم جلد پاکستان حاصل کرلیں -''[1]

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۱ - ایضاً ۲۷ مارچ ۱۹۴۶ ء

میں پنجاب سے اسلامی ہند کے لیے آمید اور جرأت کا پیام لئے جا رہا ہوں

قائد اعظم کا الوداعی پیغام

''پنجاب اسمبلی کی تاریخ میں اسمبلی چمبر آج پہلی مرتبہ اللہ اکبر پاکستان زندہ باد اور مسلم لیگ زندہ باد کے نعروں سے گونج اٹھا ۔ جب اسمبلی کا اجلاس ختم ہوا تو لیگ پارٹی کے ممبروں نے اللہ اکبر ، پاکستان زندہ باد، مسلم لیگ زندہ باد اور قائد اعظم زندہ باد کے نعرے بلند کئیے ۔ وزیٹر گیلری سے بھی ان نعروں کا پر جوش جواب دیا گیا اور ہال کئی منٹ ان نعروں سے گونجتا رہا ۔''۱

سر خضر حیات نے وزارت عظمیٰ کی خاطر مسلمانوں کے مفاد قربان کر دیئے ۔

''پنجاب لیگ اسمبلی پارٹی کے لیڈر نواب ممدوٹ نے پنجاب اسمبلی کے بجٹ کے سیشن پر تنقید کرتے ہوئے مندرجہ ذیل بیان دیا ۔

'پنجاب اسمبلی کے اس مضحکہ خیز اجلاس سے یہ واضح ہو گیا ہے کہ سر خضر حیات اپنے معدودے چند گروہ کو برسر اقتدار رکھنے کے لیے انتہائی ذلت پر آمادہ ہیں ۔ علاوہ ازیں کانگریسی ممبران اسمبلی کی ذہنی بے چینی بھی واضع ہو گئی ہے ۔ سر خضر حیات نے اپنی وزارت عظمیٰ کے لیے مسلمانان پنجاب کے مفاد قربان کر دیئے ہیں ۔ انہیں اس دفعہ اپنے عہدے کیلئے بہت زیادہ قیمت ادا کرنی پڑی ۔ جو عہدہ مدت سے مسلمانوں کے ورثہ میں چلا آ رہا تھا اسے ایک غیر مسلم کو سپرد کرتے ہوئے ان کے ضمیر نے ان پر ملامت نہ کی ۔ اپنے ساتھیوں کے

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۱ - ایضاً ۲ اپریل ۱۹۴۶ ء

ہاتھوں میں کھلونا بننے پر بھی انہیں کوئی روحانی کوفت محسوس نہ ہوئی۔ کولیشن نے انہیں اپنا آلہ کار بنا رکھا ہے - کانگریسی پارٹی نیا لبادہ اوڑھ کر یونینسٹوں کی طرف سے ان کے جرائم کی بھی پشت پناہ بنی ہوئی ہے -"[۱]

لدھیانہ مسلم لیگ کا جلسہ

"مقامی مسلم لیگ کے زیر اہتمام ایک عظیم الشان پبلک جلسہ منعقد ہوا جس میں سردار شوکت حیات خاں نے تقریر کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ مسلمانوں کو پاکستان کے لیے ہر قسم کی جانی اور مالی قربانی پیش کرنے کے لیے تیار رہنا چاہیے -

مسٹر مظہر جمیل نے اپنی تقریر میں میونسپل کمیٹی لدھیانہ کے اجلاس میں پیش ہونے والی اس قرار دار کی پر زور مذمت کی جس کے مطابق پنجاب وزارت کے دو مسلمان وزراء کو سپاس نامہ پیش کرنے کی تجویز ہے - میونسپل کمیٹی لدھیانہ کو متنبہ کیا گیا کہ اگر اس نے یہ قرار دار منظور کی تو مسلمان ، قوم کے غداروں کا سیاہ جھنڈیوں سے استقبال کرنے پر مجبور ہونگے -

مسٹر مظہر جمیل نے کہا کہ مسلمانان پنجاب کی جنگ سکھوں سے نہیں - یہ جنگ اُن کے مطالبہ پاکستان کے لیے ہے - نوابزادہ مظہر محمود نے اپنی تقریر میں سردار شوکت حیات کو یقین دلایا کہ مسلمانان لدھیانہ پاکستان کے لیے ہر قربانی پیش کرینگے -"[۲]

خضرحیات کا شکوہ

"یونائیٹڈ پریس کی اطلاع ہے کہ آج خضرحیات نے وزارتی مشن سے ملاقات کے دوران انہیں ایک میمورنڈم پیش کیا جس میں انہوں نے

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۱ - ایضاً

۲ - ایضاً ٦ اپریل ١٩٤٦ء

لکھا کہ انتخابات میں مسلم لیگ مذہب کے نام پر جیتی ہے - انہوں نے شکوہ کیا ہے کہ انتخابات کے بعد مسلمانوں نے غیر لیگی مسلمان ممبران اسمبلی کا سوشل بائیکاٹ کر رکھا ہے - سر خضرحیات نے کہا کہ یونینسٹ پارٹی آزادی کی حامی ہے لیکن وہ تقسیم پنجاب کے سخت خلاف ہے - یونینسٹ پارٹی کے مسلمان ممبر پاکستان کے حامی ہیں -'' ۱

پنجاب لیگ کا جلسہ''

''آج شام کے پانچ بجے ممدوٹ ولا میں صوبائی مسلم لیگ کی مجلس عاملہ کا ایک اہم اجلاس نواب آف ممدوٹ کی صدارت میں منعقد ہوا جو متواتر تین گھنٹے تک جاری رہا - مجلس عاملہ نے متعدد قرار دادیں باتفاق رائے منظور کیں -

ایک قرار دار میں مجلس عاملہ نے قائداعظم محمد علی جناح کی لیڈر شپ پر کامل اعتماد کا اظہار کرتے ہوئے انہیں یقین دلایا کہ اس نازک اور تاریخی موقعہ پر جبکہ ملت اسلامیہ ہند کے مستقبل کا فیصلہ ہو رہا ہے پنجاب کے معتمد و منظم مسلمان عوام اپنے محبوب قائداعظم کے ہمنوا ہیں اور وہ موقع آنے پر بڑی سے بڑی آزمائش پر پورا اتریں گے -

مجلس عاملہ نے ایک قرار دار میں پنجاب کے ہندو و سکھ عوام کو یقین دلایا کہ باوجودیکہ ہندوستانی سیاسی تلخی اور مناقشت کے جذبات سے سرشار ہو چکے ہیں اور اس کی بڑی حد تک ذمہ داری ہندو لیڈر شپ اور ہندو پریس پر ہے لیکن اس کے باوجود پنجاب صوبائی مسلم لیگ کی مجلس عاملہ انصاف اور روا داری کی علمبردار ہے اور وہ ہندو و سکھ بھائیوں کی ترقی و خوشی کی بھی اسی طرح تمنائی ہے جیسے کہ وہ

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۱ - ایضاً ۷ اپریل ۱۹۴۶ء -

اپنی قوم کو خوشحال دیکھنا چاہتی ہے ۔ مجلس عاملہ نے صوبے میں بہتر اور خوشگوار فضا قائم کرنے کے لیے ہندو اور سکھ لیڈر شپ سے اپیل کی ہے کہ وہ راشٹریہ سیوک سنگھ جیسی فاشسٹ جماعتوں کو قائم کر کے مسلم عوام کو خوفزدہ اور مشتعل کرنے کی جسارت نہ کریں اور فرقہ وارانہ فسادات کے لیے غیر مسلم آبادی کو خفیہ طور پر مسلح کرنے کی تیاریاں چھوڑ دیں ۔۔۔۔

مجلس عاملہ اپنے محبوب قائداعظم کے ان الفاظ کو دہراتی ہے کہ جہاں ہم ہر قسم کی بہتری کی توقع رکھتے ہیں وہاں ہم ابتر حالات کا مقابلہ کرنے کے لیے بھی تیار ہیں ۔ مجلس عاملہ پنجاب کے مسلم عوام سے مطالبہ کرتی ہے کہ وہ قربانی ، تحمل اور خود اعتمادی کے جذبے سے سرشار ہو کر ہر قسم کے حالات کا مقابلہ کرنے کے لیے تیار رہیں ۔

مجلس عاملہ نے آن افواہوں کے سلسلے میں ایک قرار دار منظور کی ہے کہ حکومت پنجاب لاہور کارپوریشن میں غیر مسلموں کی حمایت میں مسلمانوں اور غیر مسلموں کی مخصوص نشستوں کا تناسب درہم برہم کرنے کا ارادہ رکھتی ہے اور وہ کارپوریشن کے لیے غیر مسلموں کی زیادہ تعداد کو نامزد کرنا چاہتی ہے ۔ مجلس عاملہ نے اعلان کیا ہے کہ لاہور کے مسلمان ایسی کسی کارروائی کو برداشت نہیں کریں گے ۔"[1]

پنجاب آئین ساز اسمبلی کے مسلمان ارکان کا انتخاب

" آج پنجاب مسلم لیگ پارٹی کا اجلاس اسمبلی چمبر میں منعقد ہوا ۔ آس اجلاس کا مقصد آئین ساز اسمبلی کے لئے لیگ کے سولہ نمائیندوں کا انتخاب تھا ۔ نواب ممدوٹ دہلی سے ہوائی جہاز کے ذریعہ اجلاس میں شرکت کیلئے لاہور پہنچے ۔ پارٹی نے نواب ممدوٹ کو اختیار دے دیا ہے کہ وہ پنجاب سے نمائیندوں کی فہرست مرکزی پارلیمنٹری بورڈ کو بھیج دیں ۔ آخری انتخاب مرکزی پارلیمنٹری بورڈ کرے گا ۔ معلوم ہوا ہے کہ مندرجہ ذیل نام زیر غور ہیں

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۱ ۔ ایضاً ۲۵ اپریل ۱۹۴۶ء۔

خلیفہ شجاع الدین ، شیخ محمد امین ، میاں بشیر احمد ، خان بہادر چودھری نذیر احمد ، میجر کفایت علی ، میر غلام بھیک نیرنگ ، شیخ فیض محمد ، سر فیروز خان نون ، بیگم شاہ نواز ، میاں نور اللہ ، راجہ غضنفر علی خاں ، مسٹر ممتاز دولتانہ ' مہر محمد صادق ۔ امید کی جاتی ہے کہ نواب ممدوٹ ایک دو روز تک اپنی فہرست مرکزی بورڈ کو بھیج دیں گے ۔''۱

دستور ساز اسمبلی کیلئے پنجاب مسلم لیگ کے نمائندے

'' ہندوستان کے سب صوبوں میں دستور ساز اسمبلی کے انتخابات مکمل ہوگئے ہیں ۔ مسلم لیگ نے کل ۷۹ مسلمان نشستوں میں سے ۷۴ نشستیں حاصل کی ہیں ۔

پنجاب کی طرف سے قائداعظم محمد علی جناح ، سردار عبدالرب نشتر ، پروفیسر ابوبکر حلیم (مسلم یونیورسٹی علی گڑھ) ، نواب ممدوٹ ، سرفیروز خان نون ، بیگم شاھنواز ، میر غلام بھیک نیرنگ ایم۔ ایل۔ اے۔ (مرکزی) ، شیخ کرامت علی، سید امجد علی ، راجہ غضنفر علی ، چودہری نذیر احمد ایڈوکیٹ منٹگمری ، چودہری محمد حسن ایم۔ ایل۔ اے۔ وکیل لاھیانہ ، مسٹر ممتاز دولتانہ ، ڈاکٹر ملک عمر حیات پرنسپل اسلامیہ کالج ، میاں افتخار الدین (پندرہ ارکان)''۲

پنجاب میں لیگ کے آٹھ لاکھ ممبر بھرتی ہو چکے ہیں

'' پنجاب میں مسلم لیگ کے ممبر بھرتی کرنے کی آخری تاریخ ۱۳ جولائی تھی۔ صوبائی مسلم لیگ کے دفتر سے استفسار پر معلوم ہوا ہے کہ لیگ کے ۸ لاکھ کے قریب ابتدائی ممبر بھرتی ہو چکے ہیں ۔ گویا پنجاب کی مسلم آبادی کا ۵۵ فی صدی حصہ مسلم لیگ کی رکنیت قبول کر چکا ہے ۔

۱- ایضاً ۲۹ جون ۱۹۴۶ء

۲- ایضاً ۲۵ جولائی ۱۹۴۶ء

صوبائی مسلم لیگ کے انتخابات یکم دسمبر تک منعقد ہوں گے۔ اس سلسلہ میں صوبائی لیگ کے کونسلروں کو ۲۰ نومبر تک اطلاع بھیج دی جائے گی۔ پرائمری لیگوں کے انتخابات یکم ستمبر سے ۱۲ ستمبر تک مکمل ہو جائیں گے اور ۱۳ ستمبر سے ۳۰ ستمبر تک تمام پرائمری لیگوں کے انتخابات کے نتائج متعلقہ ضلع یا شہری لیگ کے پاس پہنچ جائیں گے۔"[1]

پنجاب میں فوراً عملی اقدام شروع ہو جائے گا۔

"مسٹر ممتاز دولتانہ جنرل سیکریٹری پنجاب صوبائی لیگ نے ۲ اگست کو فری پریس کے نمائندے سے گفتگو کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ اگر کانگریس اور لیگ متحد ہو کر برطانیہ سے جنگ کرتیں تو بہت اچھی بات تھی - - - -

مسٹر دولتانہ نے مزید کہا کہ مسلمانان پنجاب فوراً ہی تحریک عملی اقدام شروع کر دیں گے۔ پنجاب میں تحریک کا فوری مقصد شہری آزادی کی جنگ ہوگا خاص کر دفعہ ۱۴۴ ختم کرانا جو اتحادی پارٹی کی حکومت ہر شہر اور قصبہ پر ایز پورے صوبے میں گزشتہ انتخابات کے بعد عاید کر چکی ہے۔ چونکہ اس پروگرام میں فوری عوامی اقدام کی ضرورت پڑے گی اس لیے ہائی کمان سے پوچھے بغیر عوام سے اپیل کی جائے گی - - - - یہ انٹرویو ۲ اگست کو دیا گیا تھا مگر حکومت پنجاب نے لیگ کی طرف سے سول نافرمانی کے آغاز سے پہلے ہی دفعہ ۱۴۴ واپس لے لی۔ مسٹر دولتانہ نے سلسلہ گفتگو جاری رکھتے ہوئے فرمایا کہ پابندی کی خلاف ورزی شروع ہی میں بڑے پیمانے اور شدید قسم کی تحریک نہیں بنے گی پھر بھی ہم اپنے راستہ میں کوئی رکاوٹ قبول نہیں کریں گے - - - - - اگر پرامن طریقے ناکام رہے تو ٹیکس ادا کرنے سے انکار وغیرہ اور پھر ہر طریقہ کار شروع کر دیا جائے گا۔ ہم عوام کے پاس پہنچ کر انہیں عملی جد و جہد کے لیے تیار کریں گے۔"[2]

۱۔ ایضاً ۳۔ اگست ۱۹۴۶ء
۲۔ ایضاً ۷۔ اگست ۱۹۴۶ء

جنگِ حصول پاکستان میں ''پنجاب،، اسلامیان ہند کا بازوئے شمشیر زن ثابت ہوگا۔

''مسلمانان ہند کی جنگِ حصول پاکستان میں پنجاب ایک دفعہ پھر بازوئے شمشیرزن ثابت ہوگا۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ہم یہ اعلان کرنے میں کوئی تامل محسوس نہیں کرتے کہ ہماری جنگ ہندوستان کی بسنے والی قوموں کے کسی طبقہ کے خلاف نہیں۔ ہم اس نیم براعظم میں بسنے والی قوموں کے لیے مکمل اور غیر مشروط آزادی حاصل کرنے کے لیے اب قربان گاہ میں اتر رہے ہیں۔

میاں ممتاز دولتانہ جنرل سیکرٹری پنجاب مسلم لیگ نے ایک انٹرویو کے دوران ان خیالات کا اظہار کرتے ہوئے آنے والی جنگ کے لیے مسلمانان پنجاب کو کمربستہ ہونے کی اپیل کی۔ آپ نے کہا اگرچہ ہم اس چیز پر یقین رکھتے ہیں کہ فوجوں کو مرکزی کمان کے احکام کے ماتحت لڑنا چاہئے تاہم جب مقصد واضح اور نصب العین ظاہر ہے تو ماتحت افسروں کو مرکز کی ہدایات کے بغیر بھی اپنا پروگرام وضع کرنے میں کوئی دقت محسوس نہیں کرنی چاہئے۔ آپ نے کہا کہ اگر آج بھی پنجاب میں دفعہ ۱۴۴ کا نفاذ ہوتا تو ہم خدا کے فضل سے اس کی دھجیاں اڑا کر رکھ دیتے۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ سوالوں کا جواب دیتے ہوئے آپ نے کہا کہ صوبائی مسلم لیگ کے مقصد سے لیگ کونسل کے فیصلے سینکڑوں کی تعداد میں لیگ کی شاخوں کو روانہ کر دیئے گئے ہیں۔ تمام شاخوں سے استدعا کی گئی ہے کہ وہ نہایت منظم طور پر نماز جمعہ کے بعد جلسے کر کے مسلم عوام کو ان قراردادوں کا مفہوم بتائیں اور جہاں جہاں ہو سکے نماز تراویح کے بعد کھلی جگہوں پر پبلک جلسے منعقد کئے جائیں۔

یونینسٹ وزارت کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے آپ نے کہا کہ اگر خدا تعالیٰ نے جنگ کا نقارہ بجنے سے پہلے پہلے ان کی رہنمائی نہ کی اور نام نہاد مسلم وزیروں نے دشمنوں کا آلہ کار بن کر مسلم عوام پر ظلم و ستم کے ہتھیار اٹھائے تو مجھے یقین ہے کہ اس وزارت کا قصر گتے کے

مکان کی طرح فوراً ہی ٹوٹ جائے گا ۔ بیان جاری رکھتے ہوئے آپ نے کہا اب ہم ڈپلو میسی ، گفت و شنید ، گول میز کانفرنس اور سیاسی شعبدہ بازی کے میدان کو پیچھے چھوڑ کر قربانی، ہمت، عزم اور جہدالبقا اور تنازع الحیات کی وادی میں داخل ہو رہے ہیں ۔ کامیابی کی کنجی مسلم عوام کے ہاتھ میں ہے ۔ اگر وہ منظم اور باہمت فوج کی طرح لڑیں تو انشااللہ تھوڑے ہی عرصہ میں کامیابی ان کے قدم چومے گی ۔"۱

حصول پاکستان کے لیے پٹیالہ کے مسلمانوں کی پیش کش ۔

"مسلمانان پٹیالہ کی طرف سے میں قائداعظم کو یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ حصول پاکستان کے لیے اہل پٹیالہ صف اول میں اپنے پہلے کئے ہوئے وعدے کے مطابق قربانیاں پیش کرنے کے لیے تیار ہیں ۔ علاقہ پٹیالہ کی مسلم لیگوں نے دس ہزار مجاہدین کی فہرست مرکز پٹیالہ کو روانہ کی ہے . - - - - شوق و جہاد کا یہ عالم ہے کہ دھڑا دھڑ والینٹیئر نام لکھوا رہے ہیں ۔لکھنے والے لکھ بھی نہیں سکتے ۔ چار یوم میں ۳۸۵ نام نئے درج ہو چکے ہیں اور ابھی تانتا لگا ہوا ہے ۔ ۱۶ اگست کی ہڑتال کرنے والوں کا یہ حال ہے کہ خود آ کر دفتر سے ہدایات حاصل کرتے ہیں ۔ (خادم القوم محمد نذیر جنرل سیکرٹری مسلم لیگ مرکزیہ پٹیالہ) ۔"۲

یوم عمل منانے کے لیے پنجاب مسلم لیگ کی وسیع تیاریاں ۔

"کل پنجاب پراونشل مسلم لیگ کا جلسہ ہوا جس میں آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کے ڈایریکٹ ایکشن اور ترک خطابات کے فیصلوں کو عملی جامہ پہنانے کے سوال پر غور ہوا ۔ جلسہ تین گھنٹے جاری رہا ۔ میجر مبارک علی شاہ ایم۔ ایل۔ اے۔ نے اعلان کیا کہ وہ اپنا ایم۔ بی۔ ای۔ کا خطاب ترک کرتے ہیں ۔ ملک فیروز خان نون اور ڈسڑکٹ لیگوں کے عہدیداروں نے خاص دعوت پر میٹنگ میں شرکت کی ۔ جلسہ میں ۱۶

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۱ ۔ ایضاً ۸ ۔ اگست ۱۹۴۶ء۔
۲ ۔ ایضاً ۱۰ ۔ اگست ۱۹۴۶ء۔

اگست کو صوبہ کے طول و عرض میں جلسے منعقد کرنے کا وسیع پروگرام طے ہوا ۔ اس سلسلہ میں ابتدائی لیگوں کو ہدایات جاری کی گئیں ۔''[1]

۱۶ اگست کا مظاہرہ اسلامیان پنجاب کی تاریخ میں فقیدالمثال ہوگا ۔

" بیرون لاہور سے آمدہ اطلاعات سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ ۱۶ اگست کا مظاہرہ مسلمانان پنجاب کی تاریخ میں فقیدالمثال واقع ہو گا ۔ اس روز مسلمان باوقار طریقے سے پرامن رہتے ہوئے برطانوی وعدہ شکنی اور ہندو کانگریس کی فسطائی چالوں کے خلاف زبردست احتجاج کریں گے ۔ لاہور میں اس مظاہرہ کا آغاز ایک بڑے پیمانہ پر پبلک جلسے کی شکل میں ہو گا ۔ یہ جلسہ اسلامیہ کالج کی گراونڈ میں نواب صاحب ممدوٹ کے زیر صدارت منعقد ہوگا ۔ نوائے وقت کے سٹی رپورٹر نے شہر کا چکر لگا کر معلوم کیا کہ اس روز مسلم حلقوں میں مکمل ترین ہڑتال ہو گی ۔ اس روز ایک بھی مسلمان کی دکان کھلی نہ رہے گی ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ میاں ممتاز دولتانہ نے مسلمانوں کی توجہ اس امر کی طرف دلوائی کہ ۱۶ اگست کا دن براہ راست اقدام (ڈائیریکٹ ایکشن) کا دن نہیں ۔ یہ صرف براہ راست اقدام کی تیاری کے لئے مظاہرہ کا دن ہے''[2]

تمام تندرست مسلمان مسلم لیگ کے رضا کار بن جائیں ۔

" پنجاب مسلم لیگ کی مجلس عاملہ نے اسلامیان پنجاب کے نام مندرجہ ذیل اپیل جاری کی ہے ۔

''اب اسلامیان پنجاب کو اپنے تئیں آنے والی جدوجہد کے لئے تیار کرنا ہے کیونکہ یہی جدوجہد براعظم ہندو ستان میں مسلمانوں کو آزاد اور با عزت حیثیت دلا سکتی ہے ۔ اس جنگ میں ہمیں ایسے با ہمت انسانوں کی ضرورت ہے جنہوں نے اسلام اور پاکستان کی خدمت کے لئے اپنی جانوں تک کی قربانی کرنے سے دریغ نہیں کیا اور جنہوں نے اپنے

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۱ - ایضاً ۱۳ - اگست ۱۹۴۶ء

۲ - ایضاً ۱۵ - اگست ۱۹۴۶ء

آپ کو عزم صمیم کے ساتھ ڈسپلن کا پابند بنا رکھا ہے اور وہ مرکزی احکام کی بجا آوری کے لئے ہمیشہ تیار رہتے ہیں''۱

آزادی ہند کے لئے مسئلہ پاکستان کا حل ضروری ہے

" جہانیاں میں مسلم لیگ کانفرنس کی صدارت کرتے ہوئے ملک فیروز خان نون نے سامعین کو سکھوں سے اپنے تعلقات خوشگوار کرنے کی اپیل کی ۔ ملک صاحب نے کہا کہ مذہبی عقاید کے اعتبار سے سکھ مسلمانوں کے زیادہ قریب ہیں۔ میاں افتخار الدین ایم۔ ایل۔ اے۔ نے کہا کہ مسلمانوں نے ہندوستان کے کسی حصہ میں بھی فرقہ وارانہ منافرت پھیلانے کی کوشش نہیں کی ۔ میاں صاحب نے کہا کہ مسئلہ پاکستان کا حل ہندوستان کی آزادی کے اصول کے لیے اشد ضروری ہے ۔''۲

صوبہ مسلم لیگ کی مشائخ کمیٹی

"(۱) حضرت سید محمد صاحب محدث کچھوچھہ شریف سجادہ نشین درگاہ اشرفیہ

(۲) حضرت امین الحسنات پیر صاحب مانکی شریف

(۳) امیر ملت حضرت پیر جماعت علی شاہ صاحب محدث علی پور

(۴) حضرت خواجہ نظام الدین صاحب سجادہ نشین تونسہ شریف

(۵) حضرت مخدوم محمد رضا شاہ صاحب درگاہ پیران پیر ملتان

(۶) حضرت پیر قمر الدین صاحب سجادہ نشین سیال شریف

(۷) حضرت صاحبزادہ غلام محی الدین صاحب گولڑہ شریف

(۸) حضرت سید فضل شاہ صاحب سجادہ نشین جلال پور شریف

(۹) سردار افتخار حسین خان صاحب آف ممدوٹ، صدر پنجاب مسلم لیگ

(۱۰) سردار شوکت حیات خان صاحب ڈپٹی لیڈر پنجاب مسلم لیگ اسمبلی

(۱۱) ملک فیروز خان نون

(۱۲) نواب محمد حیات قریشی

۱۔ ایضاً ۴ ۔ ستمبر ۱۹۴۶ء

۲۔ ایضاً ۱۵ ۔ اکتوبر ۱۹۴۶ء

اس کمیٹی کے سیکرٹری مولوی محمد ابراہیم علی چشتی فاضل ہند مقرر ہوئے ہیں ۔"۱

خضرحیات وزارت کا استعفیٰ

"مسلمانان پنجاب کو مبارک ہو کہ ان کا خلوص ، ان کا عزم ، ان کی ہمت اور ان کا استقلال رنگ لایا اور پنجاب کی غیر نمائیندہ و غیر جمہوری وزارت سرشام ہی ٹوٹ گئی۔ یہ مسلمانوں کے جذبہ ایثار کی کامرانی ہے اور مسلمان بجا طور پر اس فتح مبین کا اظہار کر سکتے ہیں ۔ ہم نے مسلم لیگ کی تحریک پر تبصرہ کرتے ہوئے لکھا تھا کہ وزارت کی کھوکھلی جڑیں بھی اکھڑ چکی ہیں اور اب وزارت کی مثال اس مرجھائے ہوئے پودے کی سی ہے جسے بانس کے سہارے کھڑا کیا گیا ہو اور یہ پودا آج نہ گرا تو کل ضرور گرے گا ۔ الحمد اللہ کہ ہمارا یہ اندازہ درست ثابت ہوا اور ۲ مارچ کی شام کو ملک خضرحیات خان ٹوانہ نے اپنا استعفیٰ گورنر پنجاب کی خدمت میں پیش کر دیا ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ چنانچہ بجٹ سیشن ملتوی کر دیا گیا اور جب تک یہ اخبار آپ کی خدمت میں پہنچے گا گورنر لیگ پارٹی کے لیڈر کو تشکیل وزارت کی دعوت دے چکے ہوں گے ۔

پنجاب میں غیر جمہوری کانگریس یونینسٹ وزارت کا خاتمہ اور لیگ وزارت کا قیام اس صوبہ کی تاریخ کا اہم ترین واقعہ ہے ۔ اس سے صرف سیاسیات پنجاب کا رخ نہیں بدلے گا بلکہ سیاسیات ہند میں بھی زبردست تبدیلیاں رونما ہوں گی ۔ آل انڈیا معاملات میں ہندو کانگرس کے مقابلہ پر مسلم لیگ کی پوزیشن خاصی کمزور تھی۔ اس کی وجہ یہ تھی کہ پنجاب کی حکومت مسلم لیگ کے دائرہ اثر سے باہر تھی ۔ ہندو کانگریس مسلم لیگ سے سمجھوتہ کرنے سے انکار کرتی رہی ۔ اسکی بڑی وجہ یہی تھی کہ وہ پنجاب میں لیگ وزارت کے بغیر منصوبہ پاکستان کی تکمیل ناممکن سمجھتی تھی ۔ بدلے ہوئے حالات میں کانگریس کے رویہ میں فوری تبدیلی ناگزیر ہے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ پنجاب کے اس آئینی انقلاب کا صوبہ سرحد پر

۱- ایضاً ۲۱ نومبر ۱۹۴۶ء

بھی اثر پڑے گا اور غالب امکان اسی بات کا ہے کہ وزارت سرحد بھی ٹوٹ جائے گی - - - - - - یہاں پنجاب میں کولیشن وزارت کا مسئلہ بھی توجہ طلب ہے - اسوقت لیگ اسمبلی پارٹی کے ارکان کی تعداد ۷۹ ہے - شیخ امین مرحوم کی نشست ابھی خالی ہے لیکن وہ بھی لازمی طور پر لیگ ہی کی نشست ہوگی - اسلئے ۱۷۵ کے ایوان میں لیگ ممبروں کی اپنی تعداد ۸۰ ہے - تادم تحریر ۸ یونینسٹ مسلمانوں کی لیگ پارٹی میں غیر مشروط شرکت یقینی ہے - اس طرح لیگ پارٹی کے ممبروں کی اپنی تعداد ۸۸ ہو جائے گی - کانگریس اسمبلی پارٹی کے ارکان ۵۰ اور اکالی پانتھک پارٹی کے ارکان ۲۲ ہیں - یونینسٹ پارٹی کے باقی ماندہ ممبروں کی تعداد پانچ یا چھ رہ جائے گی - باقی سات آٹھ ممبر انڈ یپنڈنٹ ہوں گے - اس میں کوئی شک نہیں کہ وہی وزارت صوبہ کے لیے بہترین وزارت ہے جس میں لیگ - اکالی اور کانگریسی تینوں پارٹیوں کے نمائندے شامل ہوں - مگر جب تک کانگریس سے آل انڈیا سمجھوتہ نہ ہو جائے اس صوبہ میں کانگرس لیگ کولیشن کے امکانات بہت کم ہیں - - - - اکالی پارٹی سے کولیشن چنداں مشکل نہیں ہونی چاہئیے - انڈی پینڈنٹ عیسائی ممبر، کچھ اچھوت اور غیر مسلم یونینسٹ (اس میں صرف غیر مسلم ہی رہ جائیں گے) لازمی طور پر نئی وزارت سے تعاون کریں گے اس لیے وزارتی پارٹی کے ارکان کی تعداد کم از کم ایک سو تو ضرور ہو گی اور پانتھک پارٹی سے سمجھوتہ ہو جائے تو نئی وزارت کو کم و بیش سوا سو ممبروں کی تائید حاصل ہوگی - اس صورت میں حزب اختلاف کانگریس پارٹی ہوگی اور اس کے ممبروں کی تعداد ۵۰ ہے -

ہمیں امید ہے کہ سب پارٹیاں وقت کی نزاکت کا احساس کرتے ہوئے ایسی فضا پیدا کرنے کی کوشش کریں گی جو باہمی سمجھوتہ کے لیے سازگار ہو - کیونکہ سب پارٹیوں میں با عزت سمجھوتہ میں ہی اس صوبہ کی بھلائی ہے -

ہمیں یقین ہے کہ لیگ وزارت کا قیام اس صوبہ کی خوشحالی اور بہتری کا پیش خیمہ ثابت ہوگا - لیگ پارٹی کے ارکان اور رہنما اپنی عظیم الشان ذمہ داری کا احساس کرتے ہوئے یہ ذمہ داری اہل اور محنتی

اصحاب کو سو نہیں گے اور پنجاب امن اور ترقی کے راستہ پر گامزن ہو گا ۔ آخر میں ہم ملک خضرحیات کو بھی ان کے اس فیصلہ پر مبارکباد دیتے ہیں ۔ ماضی میں قوم کو ان سے بے حد نقصان پہنچا مگر اب جب انہوں نے ملت کے متفقہ مطالبہ کے سامنے سر جھکا دیا ہے ہم انہیں ہدیہ تبرک پیش کرتے ہیں کہ انہوں نے صحیح فیصلہ کیا ۔''۱

خان آف ممدوٹ کو وزارت بنانے دی جائے۔ نہیں تو نئے انتخابات کرائے جائیں ۔

''آج عارضی حکومت کے رکن محترم راجہ غضنفر علی خان نے پنجاب کی موجودہ آئینی صورت حال کے متعلق ایک بیان میں گورنر پنجاب سے یہ مطالبہ کیا ہے کہ یا تو پنجاب میں لیگ اسمبلی پارٹی کے لیڈر خان آف ممدوٹ کو وزارت بنانے کی اجازت دی جائے یا پھر موجودہ اسمبلی توڑ کر صوبہ میں نئے انتخابات کرائے جائیں

راجہ صاحب نے کہا ہے کہ اس سلسلہ میں ضروری کارروائی کو معرض تاخیر میں ڈالنا اور دفعہ ۹۳ نافذ رکھنا نہایت ہی بے قاعدہ اور غلط کارروائی ہو گی خصوصاً ان حالات میں جبکہ برطانوی حکومت آئیندہ سال ہندوستان کو خالی کر دینے کا اعلان کر چکی ہے ۔ لہذا فرقہ وارانہ فسادات عوام کے حقوق کی تکمیل میں حائل نہیں ہونے چاہئیں - - - - اگر گورنر پنجاب یہ خیال کریں کہ پنجاب میں اسمبلی کے کسی رکن کو بھی ٹھوس اکثریت کی تائید حاصل نہیں ہو سکتی تو وہ فوراً پنجاب اسمبلی توڑ کر صوبہ میں نئے انتخابات کرائیں ---۔ یہ ایک واضح حقیقت ہے کہ خان آف ممدوٹ ایک ایک کولیشن وزرات میں اقلیتوں کے نمائیندے شامل کرنے پر آمادگی ظاہر کر چکے ہیں لیکن اگر اقلیتوں کے گروپ ان سے تعاون نہ کریں اور وزارت میں اپنا جائز حصہ لینا منظور ہی نہ کریں یہ تو اکثریت کی پارٹی کا قصور نہیں ہے''۔۲

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۱ ۔ ایضاً ۴ مارچ ۱۹۴۷ء

۲ ۔ ایضاً یکم اپریل ۱۹۴۷ء

مسلم لیگ پنجاب میں وزارت بنا سکتی ہے

"پنجاب مسلم لیگ کے جنرل سیکرٹری مسٹر دولتانہ نے لالہ بھیم سین سچر کے حالیہ بیان کے سلسلہ میں ایک مفصل بیان جاری کیا ہے جس میں انہوں نے یہ دعویٰ کیا ہے کہ مسلم لیگ پنجاب میں وزارت بنانے پر قادر ہے اسے پنجاب اسمبلی میں اکثریت کی تائید حاصل ہے - ان حالات میں وزارت بنانے کا آئین کی رو سے حق صرف مسلم لیگ کو ہی ہے"-[۱]

مسلم لیگ کو پنجاب اسمبلی میں اکثریت کی تائید حاصل ہے

"آج پنجاب مسلم لیگ کے جنرل سیکرٹری اور آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کے مجلس عمل کے رکن ممتاز دولتانہ ایم - ایل - اے - نے ایک طویل بیان میں یہ اعلان کیا ہے کہ مسلم لیگ پارٹی پنجاب میں وزارت بنانے پر قادر ہے - ممتاز دولتانہ نے اپنے بیان میں یہ نکات پیش کئے ہیں -

(۱) موجودہ پنجاب اسمبلی میں ہمیں قطعی اکثریت حاصل ہے - ان حالات میں وزارت مرتب کرنا ہمارا آئینی حق ہے -

(۲) اگر گورنر غیر آئینی طریق کار اختیار نہ کریں تو ہم نئے انتخابات میں حصہ لینے کو تیار ہیں - استصواب رائے عامہ سے ہم خوف زدہ نہیں ہیں -

(۳) ہم دوسری پارٹیوں سے سمجھوتہ کرنے کو تیار ہیں - اس مقصد کے لئے ہم ایک گول میز کانفرنس میں باعزت مصالحت کی شرائط پر غور و خوض کر سکتے ہیں ---

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۱ - ایضاً ۲ اپریل ۱۹۴۷ء

میاں ممتاز دولتانہ رقم طراز ہیں -

اس وقت پنجاب اسمبلی میں تین پارٹیاں مسلم لیگ ، اکالی پارٹی اور کانگریس موجود ہیں - مسلم لیگ کو موخرالذکر دونوں جماعتوں پر کافی نمایاں اکثریت حاصل ہے - جہاں تک ان ممبروں کا تعلق ہے جو کسی پارٹی کے ساتھ وابستہ نہیں ان میں سے اتنے ممبر مسلم لیگ کو تعاون کا یقین دلا چکے ہیں جن کی مدد سے مسلم لیگ کو ایوان ہیں اکثریت حاصل ہو جائے گی - - - -

ممتاز دولتانہ حکومت پنجاب کے سنسر شپ پر نکتہ چینی کرتے ہوئے رقم طراز ہیں کہ لالہ بھیم سین سچر نے قتل و غارت، لوٹ مار اور آتشزدگی کے متعلق جو کچھ لکھا ہے اس پر سنسر معترض نہیں ہوا ہے - انہیں الزام تراشی کی پوری اجازت دی گئی ہے - لیکن جب ہم اپنی پوزیشن عوام کے سامنے پیش کرنے کی کوشش کرتے ہیں تو سنسر کرم فرمائی کی فوری ضرورت محسوس کرتا ہے - تمام دنیا کو اب علم ہو چکا ہے کہ فسادات کیسے شروع ہوئے، موجودہ طوفان سے قبل کونسے جلسے ، نعرے ، مظاہرے ، تشدد اور خون ریزی کی دھمکیاں اور انسانیت کے خلاف شرمناک جرائم کا ارتکاب ہوا - خون ریزی کو ختم کرنے کی کوشش کس نے کی - لوٹ مار اور آتش زدگی کی واردات کو ختم کرنے کی کس نے تگ و دو کی - کس جماعت کے نمایندے ہندو اور سکھ لیڈروں کے گھروں پر پہنچے اور ان سے امن قائم کرنے کے لئے مشترکہ سرگرمیاں شروع کرنے کی اپیل کی - لالہ بھیم سین سچر دھمکیوں کا ذکر کرتے ہیں - وہ اپنی ان اشتعال انگیز تقریروں کو بھول گئے ہیں جو انہوں نے ۳ - ۴ مارچ کو کیں اور اسی کے بعد ایک افسوسناک خونی ڈرامے کا آغاز ہوا . . . . پورے ایک سال تک پنجاب کی ۴۳ فی صدی آبادی صوبہ میں حکومت کرتی رہی - لیکن ہم نے تشدد پر اترنے کے لئے لوگوں کو کبھی اشتعال نہیں دیا - ہم آج صوبہ کی ۴۳ فی صدی آبادی کو یہ دعوت دیتے ہیں کہ وہ ۵۷ فی صدی کے ساتھ تعاون کر کے پنجاب میں امن و امان اور انصاف قائم کرائیں - ہم صرف اپنے

حقوق کے طالب ہیں۔ ہم کسی کو اس کے جائیز حقوق سے محروم کرنے کے متمنی نہیں ہیں۔''[1]

لاہور میں مسلم لیگی ممبران اسمبلی اور لیگ کے عہدیداروں کا اجتماع

''لاہور میں پنجاب کے مسلم لیگی ممبران اسمبلی اور مسلم لیگی برانچوں کے صدر اور سیکرٹریوں کا جو مشترکہ اجلاس منعقد ہوا تھا اس میں فیصلہ کیا گیا کہ صوبہ میں ایک لیگل ڈیفنس کمیٹی، مرکزی ریلیف کمیٹی اور حالات کی نگہداشت رکھنے والی مرکزی کمیٹی کا قیام فوراً عمل میں لایا جائے۔ خان آف ممدوٹ اور لیگ اسمبلی کے ساٹھ ارکان اور اضلاعی لیگوں کے ساٹھ عہدیداروں نے شرکت کی۔۔۔۔ فیصلہ ہوا کہ ہر ڈویژن سے فنڈ جمع کیا جائے گا۔ ملتان سے ۳۰ لاکھ لاہور ڈویژن سے ۲۵ لاکھ، خاص لاہور سے دس لاکھ، راولپنڈی ڈویژن سے ۲۰ لاکھ، جالندھر سے ۲۵ لاکھ، اور انبالہ ڈویژن سے دس لاکھ روپے جمع کئے جائیں گے۔ میجر عاشق حسین ایم۔ ایل۔ اے اور کیپٹن عابد حسین ایم۔ ایل۔ اے راولپنڈی ڈویژن کا دورہ کریں گے۔ ممتاز دولتانہ ضلع ملتان کا دورہ کریں گے۔''[2]

پنجاب کے حکام بے گناہوں پر تشدد نہ کریں

''کل آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کی مجلس عمل نے مسٹر محمد اسماعیل خان کی صدارت میں پنجاب، صوبہ سرحد و دہلی کے حالات کے متعلق اہم قراردادیں منظور کیں۔۔۔۔ پنجاب کے متعلق اپنی قرار داد میں مجلس عمل نے حکومت پنجاب سے مطالبہ کیا ہے کہ وہ ایسے حالات پیدا کرنے کی ضمانت دے جن میں حکام فساد زدہ علاقوں سے متعلقہ آرڈی ننس سے تفویض کردہ وسیع اختیارات کو بے گناہوں پر ظلم کرنے کے لیے اور ان سے بلا وجہ انتقام لینے کے لیے ناجائیز استعمال نہ کریں۔ مجلس عمل نے یہ رائے ظاہر کی ہے کہ پنجاب کے فسادات صوبہ کے ہندو اور سکھوں کے لیڈروں کی ان اشتعال انگیز تقریروں کا نتیجہ ہیں جو انہوں نے خضر

۱۔ ایضاً
۲۔ ایضاً

وزارت مستعفی ہونے کے بعد کیں تھیں ۔"۱

پنجاب مسلم لیگ سنٹرل ریلیف کمیٹی کی مسلمانان پنجاب سے اپیل

"فسادات پنجاب میں قوم کے زخم مرہم چاہتے ہیں ۔ قوم کے یتیموں کے آنسو آپکی آستینوں کی طرف بڑھ رہے ہیں ۔ بیواؤں کی آوازیں آپ کے کانوں تک پہنچ رہی ہیں ۔ قوم ہی ان زخموں پر مرہم رکھ سکتی ہے اور قوم ہی ان کے آنسو پونچھ سکتی ہے ۔

پنجاب پراونشل لیگ نے اس سلسلہ میں کام کرنے کے لیے پنجاب مسلم ریلیف کمیٹی مقرر کی ہے جو فوری امداد کا کام اپنے ہاتھ میں لے چکی ہے ۔ آپ صاحب استطاعت ہیں ۔ اپنی استطاعت کے مطابق ہمارا ہاتھ بٹائیے ۔ دوسروں کو اس کارخیر کے لیے آمادہ کریں اور جس قدر چندہ جتنی جلدی ممکن ہو سکتا ہے ۔ بنک کی شاخ یا براہ راست خان افتخار حسین خان آف ممدوٹ صدرصوبہ مسلم لیگ پنجاب کے نام بھجوائیں ۔"۲

پنجاب مسلم لیگ کی طرف سے فساد زدہ مسلمانوں کو ہدایات

"اپریل ۱۹۴۷ء کی شام کو پانچ بجے ممدوٹ ولا میں پنجاب سنٹرل مسلم لیگ ریلیف کمیٹی کا ایک اہم مشاورتی اجلاس زیر صدارت خان افتخار حسین آف ممدوٹ منعقد ہوا ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ اور اجلاس میں غور و خوض کے بعد مندرجہ ذیل تجاویز پیش کی گئیں ۔

(۱) تمام فساد زدہ علاقوں کے مسلمانوں سے بالعموم اور مقامی مسلم لیگیوں سے بالخصوص درخواست ہے کہ اپنے علاقوں کے نقصانات پوری تفصیل کے ساتھ مقامی ڈسٹرکٹ میجسٹریٹ کے پاس اندراج کرائیں اور اس کی نقل سنٹرل ریلیف کمیٹی لاہور کو بھیجیں ۔

(۲) مسلم تاجروں کو جو اس ہنگامے میں بے پناہ نقصانات ہوئے ہیں

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۱ ۔ ایضاً

۲ ۔ ایضاً ۶ اپریل ۱۹۴۷ء۔

اس کے پیش نظر مسلم چیمبر آف کامرس سے درخواست کی جائے کہ چیمبر اپنے مصیبت زدہ تاجروں کی امداد کے لیے جلد سے جلد عملی قدم اٹھائے ۔

(۳) جو صاحب فساد زدہ علاقوں میں تشریف لے جائیں وہاں کے حالات سے متعلق اپنی رپورٹ پنجاب سنٹرل مسلم لیگ ریلیف کیمٹی کو لاہور کے پتہ پر ارسال کر دیں ۔''۱

پنجاب میں دفعہ ۹۳ کا فوری خاتمہ ضروری ہے

''پنجاب میں مسلم لیگ کے صدر خان افتخار حسین آف ممدوٹ نے پاکستان ٹائمز کے نامہ نگار کو بتایا کہ کس طرح ۱۹۳۵ کے بعد پنجاب کی مسلم اکثریت پر ہمیشہ اقلیتوں کا غلبہ قائم رکھا جاتا رہا ہے ۔ مسلم لیگ اور مسلمان دس سال تک یہ صورت حال برداشت کرتے رہے جس کا نتیجہ آج ہماری آنکھوں کے سامنے ہے ۔

پنجاب میں دفعہ ۹۳ کے خاتمہ کی ضرورت پر زور دیتے ہوئے خان آف ممدوٹ نے کہا کہ گورنر پنجاب نے صوبائی اسمبلی میں پارٹیوں کی پوزیشن کا غلط اندازہ لگایا ہے ۔ اگر گورنر کی رائے یہ تھی کہ لیگ پارٹی کے لیڈر کو ایوان میں اکثریت کی تائید حاصل نہیں تو انہیں کسی دوسرے شخص کو وزارت بنانے کی دعوت دینا چاہیے تھا ۔ اگر گورنر اس کوشش میں ناکام رہیں تو وہ صوبہ میں فوراً نئے انتخاب کرائیں ----
خان ممدوٹ نے صوبہ میں اہم ملازمتوں پر غیر مسلموں کے غلبہ کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے بتایا کہ صوبہ کے تین فنانشل کمشنر ، پانچ ڈویژنل کمشنر اور پانچ ڈپٹی انسپکٹر جنرل پولیس غیر مسلم ہیں ۔ تیس ڈپٹی کمشنروں میں سے صرف آٹھ مسلمان ہیں ---۔ اریگیشن ، وٹرنری ، میڈیکل اور پی ۔ ڈبلیو ۔ ڈی کے محکموں میں بھی مسلمانوں کے ساتھ سخت نا انصافی ہو رہی ہے ۔ میں دعویٰ سے کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ مجموعی طور پر صوبہ کی تمام انتظامی سروسوں میں مسلمانوں کا تناسب ۱۸ - ۲۰ فی صدی سے زیادہ نہیں

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۱ ۔ ایضاً

ہے ۔ خان آف ممدوٹ نے کہا کہ مسلمانوں نے پورے دس سال تک یہ سب کچھ برداشت کیا ۔ لیکن جب خضرحیات ٹوانہ مستعفی ہوگئے اور مسلمانوں کو جائیز حقوق استعمال کرنے کا موقع ملا تو اقلیتوں سے اس صورت حال کا تخیل تک برداشت نہ ہو سکا ۔''۱

پنجاب میں امن بحال کرنے کے لیے مسلم لیگ وزارت کا قیام ضروری ہے

''پنجاب اسمبلی کی مسلم لیگ پارٹی کے ڈپٹی لیڈر سردار شوکت حیات نے نمائیندہ پریس سے انٹرویو کے دوران میں کہا کہ صوبہ پنجاب میں امن و امان قائم کرنے کے لیے مسلم لیگ وزارت کا فوری قیام ازحد ضروری ہے ----

سردار صاحب نے کہا کہ میرے خیال میں امن بحال کرنے کا ایک طریقہ یہ بھی ہے کہ صوبہ میں مسلم لیگ کی ورزات قائم کی جائے ۔ ہم حکومت میں کسی ایک پارٹی کی شمولیت کا انتظار نہیں کر سکتے ۔ سردار صاحب نے کہا کہ فرقہ وارانہ کشیدگی دور کرنے کا ایک اور طریقہ یہ بھی ہے کہ یا تو سکھوں کو غیر مسلح کر دیا جائے یا پھر مسلمانوں کو بھی تلوار رکھنے کی اجازت دی جائے ۔

سکھوں کے مطالبات کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے سردار شوکت حیات نے کہا کہ مسلمانان پنجاب سکھوں کا تعاون حاصل کرنا چاہتے ہیں ۔ میں ذاتی تجربہ کی بنا پر یہ کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ جنگ کے نتائج سب کے لیے نقصان دہ ہوتے ہیں ۔ سکھوں اور مسلمانوں میں لڑائی کسی صورت میں بھی برداشت نہیں کی جا سکتی کیونکہ نہ سکھ مسلمانوں کا خاتمہ کر سکتے ہیں اور نہ ہی مسلمان سکھوں کا ۔ اگر سکھ اپنی علیحدہ حکومت کے خواہاں ہیں تو انہیں کوئی سکیم پیش کرنی چاہیے کہ وہ کہاں اپنی حکومت قائم کر سکتے ہیں ۔''۲

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۱ - ایضاً ۱۶ - اپریل ۱۹۴۷ء
۲ - ایضاً ۱۷ - اپریل ۱۹۴۷ء

پنجاب میں قیام امن کے لئے گول میز کانفرنس منعقد کرنے کی تجویز۔

" پنجاب مسلم لیگ کے جنرل سیکرٹری اور آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کی مجلس عمل کے رکن مسٹر دولتانہ نے ایک بیان میں یہ تجویز پیش کی ہے کہ پنجاب میں امن و تعاون اور باہمی اعتماد پیدا کرنے کے لیے تینوں بڑی قوموں کے نمائندوں کو گول میز کانفرنس میں بلایا جائے۔"۱

مسلم لیگ کی اپیل کے مطابق ایک کروڑ روپیہ فوراً جمع کیا جائے

" پنجاب مسلم لیگ کی مجلس عمل کے سیکریٹری میاں عبدالباری صاحب نے مندرجہ ذیل بیان جاری کیا ہے

'خان افتخار حسین ممدوٹ صدر پنجاب مسلم لیگ نے مسلم لیگ کی کی تنظیم اور اس کے مختلف شعبوں کے اخراجات کی کفالت کے لئے مسلم قوم سے ایک کروڑ روپیہ فراہم کرنے کی اپیل کی ہے ---- لہذا ہر فرد ملت کا فرض ہے کہ وہ اپنی آزادی کے لئے سامان تعمیر فراہم کرے اور اپنے صدر کی آواز پر لبیک کہتے ہوئے ایثار وخلوص کے مظاہرے میں سبقت لے جانے کی کوششیں کرے تا کہ پنجاب مسلم لیگ کا مجوزہ سرمایہ چند دنوں میں پورا ہو سکے۔"۲

۱۵ اگست کو مغربی پنجاب میں مسرت و شادمانی کے مظاہرے نہیں ہونگے

" ۱۴ اگست کو سردار شوکت حیات خان اور میاں ممتاز دولتانہ نے ایک مشترکہ بیان میں اعلان کیا ہے کہ ۱۵ اگست کی تقریب پر مغربی پنجاب کے کسی حصہ میں مسرت و شادمانی کے مظاہرے نہیں ہونگے۔ اپنے بیان میں رقم طراز ہیں کہ

"پنجاب مسلم لیگ نے فیصلہ کیا ہے کہ ۱۵ اگست کی تقریب پر جب کہ انتقال اقتدار کی کارروائی عمل میں لائی جائے گی مغربی پنجاب کے کسی بھی حصہ میں مسرت و شادمانی کے مظاہرے نہیں ہوں گے

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۱ - ایضاً ۳۰ اپریل ۱۹۴۷ء

۲ - ایضاً ۲۸ مئی ۱۹۴۷ء

اس دن نماز جمعہ کے بعد صرف نوافل ادا کئے جائیں کے اور پاکستان کی عظمت و سر بلندی اور مسلم اقلیت کے علاقوں میں مسلمانوں کی فلاح و بہبود کے لیے دعائیں مانگی جائیں گی۔

آج صبح سردار شوکت حیات خان نے گورنر پنجاب سر ایوان جینکنز سے ڈیڑھ گھنٹہ تک تبادلہ خیالات کیا۔ معلوم ہوا ہے کہ اس ملاقات میں یہ سوال زیر بحث آیا کہ مشرقی پنجاب کی اقلیتوں کی حفاظت اور وہاں کے پناہ گزینوں کو امداد بہم پہنچانے کے لیے کون سے اقدامات کئے جائیں یاد رہے کہ شیخ فضل الٰہی مغربی پنجاب کی حکومت کی طرف سے مشرقی پنجاب کے پناہ گزینوں کو ضروری امداد بہم پہنچانے کے انتظامات کی نگرانی کے کام پر مامور کیے جا چکے ہیں۔"[۱]

۱۔ ایضاً ۱۳ اگست ۱۹۴۷ء

باب نوز دسم

تقسیم پنجاب و فسادات*

سکھوں کو مسلمانوں اور ہندوؤں کے خلاف کوئی بغض نہیں

"اکالی پارٹی کے لیڈر ماسٹر تارا سنگھ نے پشاور میں کل رات تقریر کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ سکھوں کو مسلمانوں یا ہندوؤں کے خلاف کوئی شکوہ اور بغض نہیں۔ وہ کسی قوم پرتفوق حاصل کرنا نہیں چاہتے نہ ہی وہ اپنے لیے کوئی خاص ویٹو اختیارات حاصل کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ ماسٹر جی نے کہا کہ وزارتی مشن نے یہ اعلان تو کر دیا ہے کہ سکھ ایک بڑی قوم ہیں لیکن انہیں ان کے حقوق عطا نہیں کیے جو سکھوں سے بہت بڑا مذاق ہے۔ سکھوں کو ان کے وجود تک سے محروم کر دیا گیا ہے۔ سکھ کسی ایسی سکیم کو قبول نہیں کریں گے جس کے مطابق محض حکمرانوں کی تبدیلی رونما ہو جائے۔ موجودہ سکیم سے جہاں تمام سکھ قوم کو صرف چار ووٹ ملے ہیں وہاں بنگال کے یورپینوں کو ان کے مقابلے میں کہیں زیادہ نمائیندگی مل گئی ہے۔"[1]

خالصہ پنجاب میں امن قائم نہیں ہونے دے گا

"کل دسہرہ گراؤنڈ لائل پور میں سکھوں کی ایک بہت بڑی کانفرنس کرنل نرنجن سنگھ ڈکٹیٹر کونسل آف ایکشن کی صدارت میں منعقد ہوئی۔ ماسٹر تارا سنگھ نے تقریر کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ وزارتی مشن نے سکھوں کو (ب) گروپ میں حق استقلال دیکر انہیں بالکل ہی مسلمانوں کے رحم و کرم پر ڈال دیا ہے جسے سکھ ہرگز قبول نہ کریں گے ------- ماسٹر جی نے کانگریس کے رویہ پر بھی نکتہ چینی کی اور کہا کہ کانگرس وزارتی

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*اس باب کا مواد روزنامہ نوائے وقت (لاہور) سے اخذ کیا گیا ہے

1 - روزنامہ نوائے وقت یکم جون ۱۹۴۶ء

مشن کی تجاویز منظور کر کے ہمیں عین منجدھار میں چھوڑ گئی ہے۔ اس نے سکھوں سے کئے گئے تمام وعدوں کو فراموش کر دیا ہے۔ ہمیں مشورہ دیا جا رہا ہے کہ ہم پھر کانگرس پر اعتبار کریں اور اس کے ساتھ مل جائیں۔ لیکن ان ناصحین کو یاد رکھنا چاہیے کہ سکھ ایسا کرکے سیاسی خودکشی نہیں کرنا چاہتے۔------۔ گیانی کرتار سنگھ ایم۔ ایل۔ اے نے تقریر کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ سکھوں کو (ب) گروپ میں بالکل مسلمانوں کے رحم وکرم پر ڈال دیا گیا ہے اس کی وجہ یہ ہے کہ انگریز مسلمان ملکوں کو خوش کرنا چاہتے ہیں کیونکہ اسے روس کا خطرہ ہے۔ گیانی کرتار سنگھ نے وزارتی مشن کی تجاویز کے بارے میں کہا کہ ان تجاویز کو قبول کرنے کا مطلب پاکستان کو دعوت دینا ہے ---۔ اگر مسلم لیگ اس پروگرام پر عمل درآمد کرانے میں کامیاب ہو گئی تو جہاں مسلمان اپنے تمام مقاصد کو حاصل کریں گے وہاں (ب) گروپ میں سکھوں کی ہستی ختم ہو جائے گی۔ مسلم لیگ کے اس پاکستان کو روکنے کا ایک ہی ذریعہ ہے کہ گرو کے سچے خالصے ۲۵/۳۵ سال تک پنجاب میں امن و امان قائم نہ ہونے دیں اور گڑبڑ جاری رکھیں۔ نہ نو من تیل ہو گا، نہ رادھا ناچے گی۔،،[1]

مسلمانوں نے پنجاب کے کسی مقام پر ہندوؤں اور سکھوں کے خلاف نعرے نہیں لگائے

”آج شیخ صادق حسن۔ایم۔ایل۔اے۔ نائب صدر پنجاب مسلم لیگ نے ایک بیان میں گیانی کرتار سنگھ کے تازہ بیان پر کڑی نکتہ چینی کرنے کے بعد سکھ لیڈروں کو یہ دعوت دی ہے کہ وہ مسلمانوں کے اس مطالبے کی ہمنوائی کریں کہ عبادت گاہیں و مذہبی مقامات، خوفناک ہتھیاروں اور بارود کے سٹور نہ بنایں جائیں۔ شیخ صادق حسن نے کہا ہے گیانی کرتار سنگھ نے اپنے بیان میں مسلم لیگ کی صوبہ کی تحریک پر اعتراضات کرتے ہوئے اسے فرقہ وارانہ تحریک ظاہر کیا ہے اور اسے غیر مسلموں کے لیے دل آزار بتایا ہے۔ میں گیانی صاحب کو یہ چیلنج دتیا ہوں کہ وہ

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۱ ۔ ایضاً ۲ جولائی ۱۹۴۶ء

پنجاب کے کسی مقام کی ایسی مثال پیش کریں جہاں مسلمانوں نے جلوس میں ہندوؤں یا سکھ لیڈروں یا اپنے سیاسی نصب العین کے خلاف ایک بھی نعرہ لگایا ہو۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ گیانی صاحب نے یہ دعویٰ کیا ہے کہ امرتسر میں فساد کے پہلے روز صرف سکھ ہی تشدد کا شکار ہوئے ہیں۔ میں ان کے سامنے سول ہسپتال میں ہلاک اور زخمی ہونے والوں کی پہلے دن کی فہرست رکھنا چاہتا ہوں۔ جو پہلے دس افراد ہسپتال میں داخل کئے گئے۔ ان میں صرف ایک ہندو تھا۔"[1]

پنجاب کے فسادات میں ہلاک ہونے والوں کی تعداد

" ایسوسی ایشن پریس کو سرکاری ذرائع سے معلوم ہوا ہے کہ پنجاب کے فرقہ وارانہ فسادات میں کل ۲۰۹۰ اشخاص ہلاک اور ۱۷۰۸ مجروح ہوئے۔ ابھی حکومت کو ہلاک اور زخمی ہونے والوں کی پوری اطلاع وصول نہیں ہوئی۔ اس سلسلے میں اعداد وشمار جمع کیے جا رہے ہیں۔"[2]

خون ریزی اور آتشزدگی کے واقعات کی مذمت

" پنجاب مسلم لیگ اسمبلی کے ڈپٹی لیڈر سردار شوکت حیات نے ایک بیان میں پنجاب کے سکھوں کو یہ یقین دلایا ہے کہ پنجاب میں لیگ کی حکومت قائم ہو جانے کی صورت میں، سکھوں کے جائز حقوق تسلیم کئے جائیں گے اور ان سے زندگی کے ہر شعبہ میں پورا انصاف ہو گا سردار شوکت حیات نے کہا کہ مسلم لیگ پنجاب میں ایک پارٹی کی حکومت نہیں چاہتی لیکن اگر دوسری جماعتوں نے اپنی ضد سے کام لیتے ہوئے مسلم لیگ سے عدم تعاون جاری رکھا تو ہم انتظام حکومت کی تمام ذمہ داری قبول کرنے میں پس و پیش نہیں کریں گے۔ میں ماسٹر تارا سنگھ اور دوسرے لیڈروں کو یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ ہم ان کے نمائندوں کے لیے دروازہ کھلا رکھیں گے۔ وہ جب چاہیں حکومت میں شامل ہو

۱۔ ایضاً یکم اپریل ۱۹۴۷ء

۲۔ ایضاً ۴ اپریل ۱۹۴۷ء

سکیں گئے ۔"[1]

صوبائی اسمبلی کے عیسائی ممبران کی طرف سے مسلم لیگ کی حمایت

"آج پنجاب اسمبلی کے سپیکر دیوان بہادر ایس - پی - سنگھا نے پنجاب اینگلوانڈین ایسوسی ایشن لاہور برانچ کے سالانہ جلسہ عام میں تقریر کرتے ہوئے کہا "پاکستان آ رہا ہے لہذا پنجاب کی اقلیتیں جتنی جلدی اس کا احساس کر لیں اتنی ہی جلدی صوبہ میں پرامن فضا پیدا ہو سکے گی - پنجاب کے فسادات کی تاریخ بیان کرتے ہوئے دیوان بہادر سنگھا نے کہا کہ ایک وقت تھا کہ مسلمان ہر شعبہ زندگی میں پسماندہ تھے لیکن سیاسی بیداری کے ساتھ آزاد ہندوستان میں انہیں اپنی آزاد پوزیشن کا احساس ہو چکا ہے ۔ عام طور پر یہ خیال کیا جاتا ہے کہ مسلمانان پنجاب کا رویہ معقول نہیں لیکن میں تجربے کی بنا پر کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ اس میں صداقت کا شبہ تک موجود نہیں ۔ مسلم لیگ نے پنجاب میں اقلیتوں سے مفاہمت کے لیے ہمیشہ فراخدلانہ شرائط پیش کیں لیکن بعض خود غرض لوگ سمجھوتہ کے لیے روشن امکانات کو وقت پر ختم کرتے رہے - جس دن خضر وزارت مستعفی ہوئی سکھوں کو آلہ کار بنایا گیا تا کہ گورنر پر یہ ظاہر ہو جائے کہ اگر صوبے میں لیگ وزارت قائم ہوئی تو غیر مسلم اس کو ناکام بنا دیں گے - کانگریسیوں نے اس شام کپور تھلہ ہاؤس میں ایک عام جلسہ کا اہتمام کیا اور فرقہ وار لیڈروں کو تقریریں کرنے کی دعوت دی - تارا سنگھ نے جو تقریر کی صوبہ کو اس کے نتائج بھگتنے پڑے - بعد کی صورت حال میں راشٹریہ سیوک سنگھ نے اہم پارٹ ادا کیا -

دیوان بہادر سنگھا نے کہا کہ صوبہ میں سیاسی تعطل کو دور کرنے کا واحد طریق یہ ہے کہ اقلیتوں کو اس امر کا احساس ہو جائے کہ اکثریت کو اقلیت میں تبدیل نہیں کیا جا سکتا لہذا صوبائی نظم و نسق میں اس کا جائز حصہ تسلیم کیا جائے۔

عیسائی ممبران کی پوزلیشن واضع کرتے ہوئے دیوان بہادر سنگھا نے

۱- ایضاً

کہا کہ وہ کسی فریق کی خاص طور پر ہمنوائی کرنا نہیں چاہتے نہ کسی فرقہ وارانہ وزارت کے قیام کے سلسلہ میں کوئی فریق بننا چاہتے ہیں لیکن اگر کوئی وزارت قائم ہو گئی تو وہ اس کا ساتھ دیں گے ۔"۱

سکھ لیڈر کی طرف سے پنجاب کی تقسیم کی مخالفت

"سکھ ممبران پنجاب اسمبلی کی طرف سے تقسیم پنجاب کی جو حمایت کی گئی اس کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے مشہور سکھ لیڈر بابا کھڑک سنگھ نے کہا کہ پنجاب کو دو حصوں میں تقسیم کرنے کی سکیم نا قابل عمل ہے مجوزہ تقسیم پنجاب سکھوں میں پھوٹ ڈال دے گی اور سکھوں کی یک جہتی کو نقصان پہنچے گا ۔

بابا کھڑک سنگھ نے کہا ہے کہ تقسیم پنجاب کے سلسلہ میں سکھوں کا استصواب رائے مفید ثابت ہوگا ۔"۲

انبالہ مسلم لیگ کی طرف سے تقسیم پنجاب کی مخالفت

"سٹی مسلم لیگ انبالہ کے اجلاس میں یہ قرار پایا کہ کانگریس کی تجویز تقسیم پنجاب کے لیے نہایت نقصان دہ اور خطرناک ہے ۔ مسلم لیگ اس تجویز کی پرزور مذمت کرتی ہے اور اس کے خلاف ہر قسم کی جدوجہد اور قربانی کے لیے ہر مرحلہ پر آمادہ ہوگی ۔"۳

تقسیم پنجاب کے سوال پہ کانگریس کی مضحکہ خیز پالیسی

"تقسیم پنجاب اور کانگریس کے متعلق مسلمانوں کی پوزیشن اس قدر واضح اور غیر مبہم ہے کہ ہندو پریس اور ہندو لیڈروں کی اس سلسلہ میں غوغا آرائی کے باوجود ہم نے خاموش رہنا ہی مناسب سمجھا ہے مگر اس معاملے میں کانگریس نے جو رویہ اختیار کیا ہے اس کے متعلق چند گزارشات ناگزیر ہیں ۔ ہندو کانگریس کی پوزیشن اب تک یہ رہی ہے کہ ہندوستان کی وحدت کو قائم و برقرار رکھنا ایک مقدس فرض ہے ۔ کانگریس مٹ جائے

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۱ ۔ ایضاً ۵ اپریل ۱۹۴۷ء۔
۲ ۔ ایضاً ۶ اپریل ۱۹۴۷ء۔
۳ ۔ ایضاً ۸ اپریل ۱۹۴۷ء۔

گی مگر تقسیم ملک پر کسی صورت میں رضا مند نہ ہوگی لیکن اب پنڈت نہرو تقسیم پنجاب کی حمایت کر رہے ہیں ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ کانگریس اور کانگریسی لیڈروں کی اس پالیسی سے یہ حقیقت واضح ہو جاتی ہے کہ تقسیم ملک کوئی ایسا پاپ نہیں جو بقول گاندھی جی گناہ گار اور دنیا و آخرت دونوں میں لے ڈوبے۔ نہ ہندوستان کی وحدت گؤ ماتا کے جسم کی طرح واجب الاحترام ہے ۔ کانگریس تقسیم ہند کے لیے تیار ہے بشرطیکہ لیگ پنجاب اور بنگال کی تقسیم پر رضا مند ہو جائے۔ گویا لیگ صوبائی تقسیم پر رضا مند ہو یا نہ ہو کانگریس اب تقسیم ملک کا اصول مانتی ہے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ کانگریس تقسیم ملک کے اصول کی اس بنا پر مخالف تھی کہ ہندوستان ایک ہی ملک ہے اور ہندوستانی ایک ہی قوم ہیں ۔ مذہب کی بنا پر قوم بدل نہیں جاتی اس لیے مذہب کی بنا پر ملک کو تقسیم بھی نہیں کیا جا سکتا ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ سوال یہ ہے کہ اب کانگریس کس حیثیت سے تقسیم پنجاب و بنگال کا مطالبہ کرتی ہے ؟ ظاہر ہے کہ یہ مطالبات بنگال اور پنجاب کے ہندوں اور سکھوں کی خاطر کئے جا رہے ہیں اور وہی کانگریس جو سارے ہندوستان کے مسلمانوں کو ہندو اکثریت کے ماتحت رکھنا چاہتی ہے یہ کہتی ہے کہ ہم جس قدر ہندو سکھوں کو پنجاب و بنگال میں مسلمان اکثریت کے غلبہ سے بچا سکیں اسی قدر غنیمت ہے ۔ اگر اس جذبہ کے ماتحت تقسیم کا مطالبہ ہندو مہا سبھا کرتی تو وہ قطعاً حق بجانب تھی کہ وہ ایک ہندو جماعت تھی ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ اس طرح اگر صوبہ پنجاب کے خیمہ بردار کانگریسی لیڈر تقسیم کا نعرہ لگائیں تو وہ بھی قابل معافی ہیں ۔ لیکن جب پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو ، سردار پٹیل، بہار میں مسلمانوں کے پاکٹ کے مخالف بہار ہی کے لیڈر ڈاکٹر راجندر پرشاد ہندوؤں اور سکھوں کی خاطر تقسیم پنجاب و بنگال کا مطالبہ کریں تو بجا طور پر ان سے یہ سوال پوچھا جا سکتا ہے کہ وہ کس حیثیت سے یہ مطالبہ کر رہے ہیں ؟ ہندوؤں کے لیڈر ہونے کی حیثیت سے ؟ سب قوموں کے لیڈر تو اس مطالبہ کی تائید نہیں کر سکتے ۔ کیونکہ پنجاب و بنگال کی اکثریت اس مطالبہ کے خلاف ہے اور یہ مطالبہ خالص ہندوانہ ہے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

اور صرف مغربی بنگال مشرقی پنجاب اور ہندو آسام کو پاکستان سے بچانے کی خاطر صوبائی تقسیم پر اصرار کی وجہ اس کے سوا اور کیا ہو سکتی ہے کہ کانگرس جو دراصل ہندو جماعت تھی مگر اپنے ہندو مت سے انکار کرتی رہی اب اپنے اصل روپ میں منظر عام پر آگئی ہے اور کھلم کھلا ایک ہندو جماعت کی حیثت سے مطالبہ کر رہی ہے جو ایک خالص ہندو جماعت ہی کر سکتی ہے۔"[۱]

سی۔ ای۔ گبن کا بیان

"مسٹر سی۔ ای۔ گبن ایم۔ ایل۔ اے رکن دستور ساز اسمبلی نے ایک بیان میں کہا ہے کہ پنجاب میں مسلمانوں کی اکثریت ہے اس لیے جمہوریت کے اصول کے تحت مرتب شدہ کوئی آئین مسلمانوں کو ان کے جائز سیاسی حقرق سے محروم نہیں کر سکتا۔۔۔۔

مسٹر گبن نے کہا اینگلو انڈین فرقہ کا نمائندہ ہونے کی حیثیت سے میں کانگرس اور مسلم لیگ کے لیڈروں کی حالیہ تقریروں اور بیانات کو نظر انداز نہیں کر سکتا اور خاص طور پر پنڈت نہرو نے حال ہی میں دہلی میں جو تقریر کی ہے اس کے بعد اب میرے لیے کوئی چارہ کار ہی نہیں رہا کہ میں پنجاب کی آزادانہ جمہوری حکومت میں اپنی قوم کے جائز حقوق کی حفاظت کے لیے اکثریت سے سلسلہ گفت و شنید شروع کروں "[۲]

ماسٹر تارا سنگھ کی طرف سے تقسیم پنجاب کے لیے ایک سرحدی کمیشن کے قیام کے لیے سفارش۔

"سکھ لیڈر تارا سنگھ ایم۔ایل۔اے دہلی پہنچ گئے ہیں وہ سردار بلدیو سنگھ کی معیت میں نئے وائسرائے لارڈ مونٹ بیٹن سے ملاقات کریں گے انہوں نے ایک میمورنڈم وائسرائے کی خدمت میں۔

۱۔ ایضاً ۹ اپریل ۱۹۴۷ء
۲۔ ایضاً ۱۷ اپریل ۱۹۴۷ء

پیش کیا ہے جس میں بتایا گیا ہے کہ آئیندہ آئین کے بارے میں سکھوں کی پوزیشن کیا ہے اس میمورنڈم میں تقسیم پنجاب کی سفارش کی گئی ہے۔ تارا سنگھ نے ایک تقریر میں کہا کہ سکھ تقسیم پنجاب کے لئے سرحدی کمیشن کے قیام کے حامی ہیں"١

ملک خضر حیات کی طرف سے تقسیم پنجاب کی مخالفت

"پنجاب کے سابق وزیر اعلیٰ خضر حیات نے ایک بیان میں کہا کہ صوبہ پنجاب کی تقسیم سب قوموں کے لئے نقصان دہ ہے۔

ملک خضر حیات نے اپنے بیان میں لکھا کہ موجودہ حدود نے صوبہ کو اقتصادی طور پر خود کفیل بنایا ہے۔ اگر پنجاب میں آبپاشی کا سسٹم، بجلی سکیم اور تعمیرات کے دوسرے وسیع پروگرام تقسیم کر دئیے گئے تو اس طرح پنجاب کے مغربی و مشرقی دونوں حصے مفلس ہو جائیں گے"٢

تقسیم پنجاب سے سکھوں کو کوئی فائدہ نہیں پہنچے گا۔

"دستور ساز اسمبلی کے مسلم لیگی رکن اور مشہور ماہر اقتصادیات پروفیسر محمد حسن نے ایک بیان میں کہا کہ تقسیم پنجاب کی صورت میں سکھوں کو کوئی فائدہ نہیں پہنچے گا۔ صوبہ بھر میں ان کی آبادی بمشکل تیرہ فی صد ہوگی۔ مختلف مقامات پر ان کی آبادی کا تناسب بھی مختلف ہو گا۔ انبالہ اور جالندھر ڈویژن کو ملا دیا جائے تو سکھوں کی کل آبادی پندرہ فی صد ہو گی اور اگر ان میں امرتسر بھی شامل کر لیا جائے تو ان کی آبادی سترہ فی صدی ہوگی۔ صوبہ کے دوسرے حصوں میں بھی سکھ اسی طرح اقلیت میں ہیں۔ علاوہ ازیں ان کی نصف آبادی بہت بھاری مسلم اکثریت کے علاقوں میں ہے۔ تقسیم پنجاب کی صورت میں

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١ - ایضاً ١٩ اپریل ١٩٤٧ء

٢ - ایضاً

مستقل طور پر ان کی موجودہ عددی حیثیت تنزل پذیر ہو جائے گی اور اپنے علاقے کے انتظام حکومت میں ان کی کوئی آواز نہیں ہو گی اور اجتماعی طور پر سکھوں کو کوئی فائدہ نہیں پہنچے گا اس وقت انہیں 'لیجسلیچر' اور ملازمتوں میں بیس فی صدی سے زیادہ نمائندگی حاصل ہے" ۱ - - - -

انبالہ ڈویژن مسلم لیگ کی طرف سے تقسیم پنجاب کی مخالفت

''انبالہ ڈسٹرکٹ اور سٹی لیگوں کے نمائندوں نے ایک اہم اجلاس کرنال میں چودھری محمد حسن ایم - ایل - اے - کی صدارت میں کیا - متفقہ طور پر یہ قرار دار پیش کی گئی -

"انبالہ ڈویژن کی ڈسٹرکٹ اور سٹی لیگوں کے نمائندوں کا یہ اجلاس پنجاب کو مختلف ضلعوں میں تقسیم کرنے کے لیے خود غرض سیاسی جماعتوں کی تجویز کی شدید مخالفت کا اعلان کرتا ہے - کانگرس ، ہندو مہاسبھا اور انبالہ ڈویژن کی غیر مسلم آبادی اور چھوٹو رام آنجہانی کے نقش قدم پر چلتے ہوئے جاٹستان قائم کرنے کے لیے ان کے خواب کی تکمیل کرنا چاہتے ہیں - مسلم قوم کے مفاد کی خاطر اور انبالہ ڈویژن کے مسلمانوں کی قربانیوں کے پیش نظر پراونشیل مسلم لیگ کے لیڈروں کا فرض ہے کہ وہ صوبہ پنجاب کے مختلف حصوں میں تقسیم کے نظریہ کی پوری شدت سے مخالفت کریں - - اجلاس میں فیصلہ کیا گیا کہ چودھری محمد حسن ایم - ایل - اے، صوفی عبدالحمید ایم - ایل - اے ، میرغلام نیرنگ ایم - ایل - اے ، چودھری خورشید علی ایم- ایل-اے ، چودھری داد خاں - مولوی احمد جان خاں ایم - ایل - اے ، سید عظمت علی واسطی ، شیخ محمد ظفر ایڈووکیٹ ، سید محمد حنیف ، شیخ محمد یامین، ڈاکٹر محمد علی نجمی وغیرہ پر مشتمل ایک نمائندہ وفد مسٹر جناح سے ملاقات کر لے اور ان کے سامنے انبالہ ڈویژن کے مسلمانوں کی شکایات پیش کرے -

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۱ - ایضاً ۲۳ اپریل ۱۹۴۷ء

مطالبہ کیا گیا کہ انبالہ ڈویژن کے مسلمانوں کو بھی سکھوں کی طرح تلوار لے کر چلنے کی عام اجازت ہونی چاہیے - ضلع گوڑ گانوہ میں ایک قوم پر دوسرے قوم کے تشدد کی مذمت کی گئی"[1]

پنجاب اور بنگال کی تقسیم کا مطالبہ کانگرس کے سیاسی دیوالیہ پن کا مظہر ہے

"آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کی مجلس عاملہ کے رکن خلیق الزماں نے آج کوئٹہ سٹی مسلم لیگ کے زیر اہتمام پاکستان کانفرنس کا افتتاح کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ اسلامیان ہند نے سات سال کے عرصہ میں پاکستان حاصل کر لیا ہے - تاریخ عالم میں کسی قوم نے بھی اتنی قلیل مدت میں اس قدر شاندار کامیابی حاصل نہیں کی - - -

پنجاب و بنگال کی تقسیم کے متعلق کانگرس کے مطالبہ کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے چودھری صاحب نے کہا کہ اس کی طرف سے یہ مطالبہ اس جماعت کے سیاسی دیوالیہ پن کا مظہر ہے کیونکہ پنجاب اور بنگال کے تقسیم کرنے سے پاکستانی علاقوں میں غیر مسلموں کی حیثیت بہت کم ہو جائے گی "[2]

تقسیم پنجاب و بنگال کا مطالبہ ایک ناپاک سازش ہے

"آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ ایک جلسہ میں قائداعظم نے یکم مئی کو تقسیم پنجاب و بنگال کے مطالبے کو ایک ناکام سازش کا نام دیا ہے اور بغض و عناد کا مظہر بتایا ہے - آپ نے یہ توقع ظاہر کی ہے کہ وائسرائے یا برطانوی حکومت اس پھندے میں الجھ کر کسی خطرناک غلطی کا ارتکاب نہیں کریں گے - قائداعظم نے اپنے اعلان کا اعادہ کیا ہے کہ پنجاب، سرحد، سندھ، بلوچستان اور بنگال و آسام پر مشتمل ایک نیشنل سٹیٹ قائم کی جائے "[3]

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۱ - ایضاً ۲۷ اپریل ۱۹۴۷ء
۲ - ایضاً ۲۹ اپریل ۱۹۴۷ء
۳ - ایضاً یکم مئی ۱۹۴۷ء

تقسیم پنجاب کا مطالبہ جائز ہے تو بہار اور یو - پی کو بھی تقسیم کیوں نہ کیا جائے ؟

''ملک فیروز خاں نون نے تقسیم پنجاب کے مطالبہ کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے یہ رائے ظاہر کی ہے کہ اگر ہندو پنجاب کو تقسیم کرنا چاہتے ہیں تو یو - پی اور بہار کے مسلمانوں کو بھی ان صوبوں کو تقسیم کرنے کا پورا حق حاصل ہے - اگر مسلمان یو - پی اور بہار میں رہنا منظور کر لیں تو ہندوؤں کو بھی پنجاب میں رہنے پر کوئی اعتراض نہیں ہونا چاہیے - - - - جہاں تک سکھوں کا تعلق ہے ان کے لیڈروں کی تقریریں یہ ظاہر کرتی ہیں کہ انھوں نے ہندو کانگرس میں اپنے تئیں بالکل مدغم کر لیا ہے - اس صورت میں انہیں کسی ترجیحی سلوک کا حقدار تصور نہیں کرنا چاہیے - - - - ملک فیروز خاں نون نے کہا کہ یہ بات فراموش نہیں کرنی چاہیے کہ پنجاب کی کل ۵۵ تحصیلوں میں سے ۱۵ تحصیلوں میں سکھوں کی اکثریت ہے - یہ تحصیلیں فیروز پور ، لدھیانہ اور امرتسر کے اضلاع میں ہیں - پنجاب میں کوئی ایسا وسیع علاقہ نہیں مل سکتا جہاں سکھ ریاست کا قیام ممکن ہو - ہاں فرید کوٹ ، نابھہ ، جنید اور پٹیالہ کی ریاستوں کی ایک سکھ فیڈریشن قائم ہو سکتی ہے - اس طرح سکھوں کو سکھ والیان ریاست کے ماتحت ایک قومی وطن مل سکتا ہے - - - -

آپ نے مزید کہا کہ اکثر لوگ اس امر سے آشنا نہیں کہ پنجاب کے کل ۳۸ لاکھ سکھوں میں سے ۱۷ لاکھ مغربی پنجاب میں آباد ہیں - علاوہ ازیں زمینوں کا تبادلہ بھی سخت مشکلات پیدا کرے گا کیونکہ پنجاب میں سرکاری زمینیں زیادہ نہیں ہیں - ملک صاحب نے آخر میں کہا کہ یہ توقع کرنا مشکل ہے کہ سکھ مسلمانان پنجاب سے تعاون کرتے ہوئے پنجاب میں ایسے حالات پیدا کریں گے جن میں مسلمان سکھوں کے زیادہ سے زیادہ مطالبات تسلیم کرنے پر آمادہ ہو جائیں''[1]

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۱ - ایضاً یکم مئی ۱۹۴۷ء

تقسیم پنجاب کے متعلق مسٹر بالمکند کا بیان

''مسٹر بالمکند جنرل سیکرٹری ''پنجاب شیڈولڈ کاسٹس فیڈریشن،، نے حسب ذیل بیان اخبارات کو دیا ہے ۔

''پنجاب کے ہندوؤں نے صرف اپنی حفاظت کے لیے سکھوں کو ساتھ ملا کر تقسیم پنجاب کا مجنونانہ نعرہ بلند کیا ہے ہندوؤں کے نعرے جنہیں کانگرس کے نعرے کہنا چاہیے ہمیشہ اضطراری کیفیت کا نتیجہ ہوتے ہیں ۔ جس کا مطلب مسلمانوں اور اچھوتوں کو نقصان پہنچانے کے سوا اور کچھ نہیں ہوتا ۔ اسی طرح یہ نعرہ ہے ۔ جب ہندوستان کے کروڑوں اچھوت یہ مطالبہ کرتے ہیں کہ وہ ہندوؤں سے الگ ہیں اور انہیں ان کا علاقہ دے دیا جائے تو کانگریسی لیڈروں کی جانب سے ہمیشہ ایک جواب ملتا ہے کہ وہ ایک قوم ہیں اور ایک ملک کے حامی ہیں ۔ لیکن آج کانگرس کو کیا ہوا کہ وہ پنجاب کی تقسیم کا نعرہ لگا رہی ہے ''[1]

اسلامیان جالندھر ڈویژن کسی حالت میں بھی پنجاب کی تقسیم گوارا نہیں کریں گے ۔

''محمد عبدالسلام ایم ۔ ایل ۔ اے نے جالندھر ڈویژن کے مسلمانوں کی طرف سے نمائندگی کرتے ہوئے تقسیم پنجاب کے شرارت آمیز پروپیگنڈے کی پر زور مخالفت کی اور وائسرائے ہند ، قائداعظم ، اور ہزایکسیلینسی گورنر پنجاب کو حسب ذیل تار ارسال کیا ہے ۔

'اسلامیان جالندھر ڈویژن کسی بھی حالت میں تقسیم پنجاب کو قبول نہیں کریں گے اور اس کے لیے وہ بڑی سے بڑی قربانی پیش کرنے سے بھی گریز نہیں کریں گے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔'

بستی نو جالندھر کی 'لیدر مرچنٹس ایسوسی ایشن' کا ایک خاص جلسہ خواجہ غلام نبی میونسپل کمشنر کے ہاں منعقد ہوا جس میں تقسیم

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۱ ۔ ایضاً ۲ مئی ۱۹۴۷ء

پنجاب کے مطالبہ کی پر زور مذمت کی گئی اور اعلان کیا گیا کہ مسلمان کانگرس کمیٹی کی کسی ایسی سازش کو کامیاب نہیں ہونے دیں گے"[1]

تقسیم پنجاب کے لیے ماسٹر تارا سنگھ کی انوکھی تجویز

"اکالی لیڈر ماسٹر تارا سنگھ نے تقسیم پنجاب کے حق میں بیان دیتے ہوئے یہ رائے ظاہر کی ہے کہ پنجاب میں پرامن مفاہمت کی واحد صورت یہ ہے کہ پنجاب کے جن علاقوں میں مسلمانوں کی غیر منقولہ جائیدادیں زیادہ ہوں وہ مسلمانوں کو دے دی جائیں اور جن علاقوں پر غیر مسلموں کی اکثریت ہے وہ غیر مسلموں کو دے دیئے جائیں۔

ماسٹر جی نے کہا ہے کہ پنچاب کی تقسیم کا معیار صرف یہ نہ رکھا جائے کہ فلاں حصہ میں مسلمانوں کی آبادی زیادہ ہے لہذا یہ حصہ مسلمانوں کے حوالے کیا جائے اور فلاں حصہ میں غیر مسلموں کی آبادی زیادہ ہے لہذا اسے غیر مسلموں کو تفویض کیا جائے"[2]

نواب افتخار حسین کا جواب

"اکالی لیڈر ماسہ تارا سنٹرگھ نے غیر منقولہ جائیدادوں کی اساس پر پنجاب کو تقسیم کرنے کی جو تجویز پیش کی ہے پنجاب مسلم لیگ کے صدر افتخارحسین ممدوٹ نے اس پر رائے ظاہر کرتے ہوئےمندرجہ ذیل بیان جاری کیا ہے۔

"سکھ لیڈروں نے پنجاب کو آبادی کی اساس پر تقسیم کرنے کا مسّلمہ اصول اپنانے کی بجائے صوبہ کو غیر منقولہ جائیدادوں کی بنا پر تقسیم کرنے کا اب جو مطالبہ پیش کیا ہے اس سے صاف طور پر ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ انہیں تقسیم پنجاب کے خطرناک نتائج کا احساس ہو چکا ہے۔ تارا سنگھ نے اب جو بیان دیا ہے اس میں اس امر کا احساس موجود ہے کہ تقسیم شدہ پنجاب میں سکھ ہمیشہ کے لئے ختم ہو کر رہ جائیں

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۱ - ایضاً

۲ - ایضاً ۸ مئی ۱۹۴۷ء

گے - کیونکہ اس صورت میں نہ صرف مشرقی پنجاب میں مستقل طور پر ہندو اکثریت اور غلبہ کے رحم پر ہوں گے بلکہ مغربی پنجاب میں بھی انکی اقتصادی اکثریت کا خاتمہ ہو جائے گا - صوبہ پنجاب کو جائیدادوں کی بنا پر تقسیم کرنا دراصل اس مشکل پوزیشن سے نکلنے کی کوشش کے مترادف ہے جو کانگرس کی خطرناک سازشوں کے بھروسہ پر سکھوں نے محض جذبات کی رو میں بہہ کر اختیار کر لی تھی - سکھ یہ بھی جانتے ہیں کہ کوئی شخص اس تجویز پر سنجیدگی سے غور نہیں کرے گا - - - -

خان آف ممدوٹ نے کہا کہ میری ذاتی رائے یہ ہے کہ سکھ بہت جلد متحدہ پنجاب کی حمایت شروع کر دیں گے - انہیں علم ہے کہ مسلمان پاکستانی علاقوں کی یک جہتی کو محفوظ رکھنے کے لیے آخر دم تک لڑیں گے - اور انہیں اس امر کا بھی احساس ہے تقسیم پنجاب سے صرف ہندوؤں کو ہی فائدہ ہوگا - کیونکہ پنجاب کے مشرقی علاقوں میں ہندوؤں کی اکثریت ہے - پنجاب میں ۳۱ لاکھ سکھوں کا مستقبل ایک صوبہ میں اکھٹے رہنے کی صورت میں محفوظ ہو سکتا ہے - ان حصوں میں مستقل رکاوٹیں کھڑی کرنے سے انہیں کچھ حاصل نہیں ہو سکے گا - اس طرح وہ پنجاب کے دونوں حصوں میں حقیر اقلیتیں بن کر رہ جائیں گے -"[۱]

لاہور سٹی لیگ کا اجلاس

"لاہور مسلم لیگ کی مجلس عاملہ کا ایک اور نمائندہ اجلاس زیر صدارت نوابزادہ رشید علی خان دفتر سٹی مسلم لیگ بیرون موچی دروازہ منعقد ہوا جس میں مندرجہ ذیل اہم قرار دادیں بااتفاق رائے پاس ہوئیں -

'سٹی لاہور کا یہ نمائندہ اجلاس تقسیم پنجاب کے متعلق مختلف قسم کی خبروں کے پیش نظر گورنر صاحب اور وائسرائے ہند کے توسط سے برٹش گورنمنٹ کو یہ واضح کر دینا چاہتا ہے کہ صوبہ پنجاب کی کوئی ایسی تقسیم مسلمانان ہند اور لاہور کے نزدیک قطعی نا قابل قبول ہوگی

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۱ - ایضاً ۷ مئی ۱۹۴۷ء

بالخصوص جبکہ جالندھر ڈویژن و اضلاع جالندھر، فیروز پور، لدھیانہ میں مسلمانوں کی ۵۴ فیصدی آبادی ہے - پنجاب کی تقسیم بحثیت مجموعی ہندوستانی مسلمانوں کے جائز حقوق کو شکست دینے کے مترادف ہے جسے مسلمانان لاہور کبھی بھی برداشت نہیں کریں گے - اگر پنجاب کو مسلمانوں کی خواہشوں کے خلاف تقسیم کر دیا گیا تو اس کی ذمہ داری حکومت پر ہوگی اور مسلمانان لاہور، پنجاب اس سوال پر کسی قربانی سے گریز نہیں کریں گے -

مجلس عاملہ کا یہ اجلاس حکومت پنجاب کو متنبہ کرتا ہے کہ وہ حد سے بڑھے ہوئے بے اعتمادی کے دور میں جوڑ میلہ کی فوراً ممانعت کر دے ورنہ اس کے نتائج کی ذمہ داری حکومت پنجاب پر ہوگی - یہ اجلاس حکومت پنجاب کے اس نا جائز حکم پر جس کی رو سے اس نے راولپنڈی کے مسلمانوں پر تیس لاکھ جرمانہ کیا غیظ و غضب کا اظہار کرتا ہے -"[1]

تقسیم پنجاب کی سکیم مسلمانوں اور سکھوں دونوں کے لئے مضر رساں ہے

"سٹی مسلم لیگ انبالہ کونسل کا ایک اجلاس ۱۴ مئی کو منعقد ہوا جس میں تقسیم پنجاب سکیم کی سخت مخالفت کی گئی اور اسے صوبہ کی معاشی و تمدنی ترقی کے لئے باعث ہلاکت قرار دیا گیا - قرارداد میں کہا گیا کہ تقسیم پنجاب کی سکیم پر عمل کرنے کی صورت میں ایک سو سالہ پرانا نظام حکومت بالکل درہم برہم ہو جائے گا -"[2]

لدھیانہ کے مسلمانوں کی طرف سے تقسیم پنجاب کی مخالفت

"جمعہ کے روز لدھیانہ کی اکثر مساجد میں مسلمانوں نے کئی ایک قراردادیں پاس کیں - پہلی قرار داد میں تقسیم پنجاب کی سکیم کی سخت مذمت کرتے ہوئے اعلان کیا گیا کہ اگر کسی غلط پروپیگنڈے

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۱ - ایضاً ۱۴ مئی ۱۹۴۷ء

۲ - ایضاً ۲۴ مئی ۱۹۴۷ء

سے متاثر ہو کر اس منظم سازش کو عملی جامہ پہنانے کی کوشش کی گئی تو مسلمان اس شرانگیز تجویز کے خلاف ہر قسم کی قربانی دینے سے گریز نہیں کریں گے ۔

دوسری قرارداد حکومت ہند کے اس مسلم کش رویہ کے خلاف صدائے احتجاج تھی کہ سکھوں کو کھلے بندوں تلوار رکھنے کی اجازت ہے لیکن مسلمانوں کو مکمل طور پر نہتا رکھا گیا ہے ۔ حکومت ہند سے مطالبہ کیا گیا کہ مسلمانوں کو بھی اپنی حفاظت کے لئے تلوار رکھنے کی اجازت دی جائے ۔

تیسری قرارداد میں تمام مسلم جماعتوں سے مطالبہ کیا گیا کہ وہ تقسیم پنجاب کی ناپاک سازش کی مشترکہ طور پر مخالفت کریں ۔ مسلمانوں کی اقتصادی اور معاشرتی حالت کو بہتر بنانے کی کوشش کریں اور امرتسر کے مصیبت زدگان کی ہر ممکن مدد کریں ۔"[1]

اگر پنجاب کی تقسیم ہوئی تو اسے تحصیل وار ہونا چاہئیے ۔

"صدر پنجاب مسلم لیگ خان افتخار حسین آف ممدوٹ نے اعلان کیا کہ ہم تقسیم ہند کے قائل ہیں اور اس سکیم کو پرامن طور پر عملی جامہ پہنانے کے خواہش مند ہیں ۔ لیکن اگر کسی نے اس سلسلہ میں لڑائی جھگڑا پیدا کرنے کی کوشش کی تو ہم اس کے لئے بھی کمر بستہ ہیں ۔ آپ نے کہا کہ اگر کانگرس پارٹی اور سکھوں نے محض اکثریت کے اصول کی بنا پر ملک کی تقسیم کی سکیم کو ماننے سے انکار کر دیا اور انہوں نے پنجاب کی تقسیم پر بھی اصرار کیا تو مسلم لیگ ضلع وار تقسیم کو قبول نہیں کرے گی ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ہم مطالبہ کریں گے کہ ہر تحصیل اور ہر گاؤں کو تقسیم کر لو ۔ جب تقسیم ہی مقصود نظر ہے تو یہ ضلع وار کیوں ہو ۔ ہر چھوٹا سا علاقہ بھی جس میں کسی قوم کی اکثریت ہو تقسیم ہو جانا چاہیے ۔ خان ممدوٹ نے مزید کہا کہ اگر پنجاب کو ضلع وار تقسیم کیا جائے گا تو مسلمانوں کو بارہ اضلاع سے ہاتھ دھونے پڑیں گے لیکن ان میں کئی ایسے مقامات اور تحصیلیں شامل ہیں جہاں

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۱ ۔ ایضاً ۲۸ مئی ۱۹۴۷ء

مسلمانوں کی اکثریت ہے ۔ تحصیل وار تقسیم کی صورت میں ضلع امرتسر کا ایک کثیر علاقہ اور جالندھر ڈویژن کا ایک بڑا حصہ مسلمانوں کے حصہ میں آجائے گا اور ہم ان علاقوں کو پاکستان میں شامل کر سکیں گے ۔''۱

بنگال و پنجاب کی تقسیم کے طریقہ کار سے متعلق برطانوی سکیم کا اعلان ۔

''دہلی ۳ جون کی شام کو ہندوستان میں انتقال اقتدار کی کاروائی کے متعلق برطانوی سکیم کا اعلان کر دیا گیا ۔ اس سکیم کے مطابق ہندوستان کے لئے علحیدہ دستور ساز اسمبلیاں قائم کی جائیں گی ۔ صوبہ سرحد میں ووٹروں سے استصواب رائے ہوگا۔ کہ وہ پاکستان یا ہندوستان میں شامل ہونا چاہتے ہیں حکومت برطانیہ کی مکمل سکیم کے مطابق بنگال اور پنجاب کی صوبائی دستور ساز اسمبلیوں میں سے ہر ایک کو کہا جائے گا کہ وہ دو حصوں میں اجلاس کریں ایک حصہ مسلم اکثریت کی نمائندگی کرے گا اور دوسرا حصہ باقی صوبے کے اضلاع کی نمائیندگی کرے گا ۔ اضلاع کی آبادی کا تعین کرنے کی غرض سے ۱۹۴۱ء کی مردم شماری کے اعداد کو مستند تصور کیا جائے گا ۔ ان دو صوبوں میں مسلم اکثریت کے اضلاع کی تشریح اس اعلان کے ضمیمہ میں کی گئی ہے ۔

ہر لیجسلیٹو اسمبلی کے دونوں حصوں کے ممبروں کو جو علیحدہ علیحدہ اجلاس کریں گے اس بات پر ووٹ دینے کا اختیار ہوگا کہ آیا صوبہ متحدہ کی تقسیم کی جائے یا نہیں ۔ اگر ہر حصہ کی اکثریت تقسیم کے حق میں ووٹ دے تو تقسیم کر دی جائے گی اور اس بارے میں انتظامات کر دئیے جائیں گے ۔

تقسیم کے متعلق سوال کا فیصلہ کرنے سے پیشتر یہ بہتر ہوگا کہ ہر ایک حصہ کے نمائیندوں کو اس بات کا علم ہو کہ اگر دونوں حصے بعد میں متحد رہنے کا فیصلہ کریں تو صوبہ بحیثیت مجموعی کس دستور ساز

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۱ ۔ ایضاً

اسمبلی میں شامل ہوگا۔ اس لئے اگر کسی لیجسلیٹو اسمبلی کا کوئی ممبر اس بات کا مطالبہ کرے تو لیجسلیٹو اسمبلی کے جملہ ممبران کا ایک اجلاس منعقد کیا جائے گا جس میں اس بات کا فیصلہ کیا جائے گا کہ اگر دونوں حصے متحد رہنے کا فیصلہ کریں تو مجموعی طور پر صوبہ کس دستور ساز اسمبلی میں شامل ہوگا۔

اگر تقسیم کے بارے میں ہی فیصلہ کیا جائے تو لیجسلیٹو اسمبلی کا ہر ایک حصہ ان رقبہ جات کے بارے میں جنکی وہ نمائیندگی کرتا ہو اس بات کا فیصلہ کرے گا کہ کونسی تجویز اختیار کی جائے۔ تقسیم کے سوال کا فیصلہ فوری کرنے کی غرض سے بنگال اور پنجاب کی لیجسلیٹو اسمبلیوں کے ممبران مسلم اکثریت کے اضلاع کے مطابق دو حصوں میں اجلاس کریں گے۔ یہ محض ایک ابتدائی کارروائی ہے جس کی نوعیت صرف عارضی ہے کیونکہ یہ ظاہر ہے کہ ان صوبہ جات کی آخری تقسیم کے اعتراض کے لئے حدود کے مسائل کے متعلق مفصل تحقیقات کی ضرورت ہوگی اور جونہی کسی صوبہ کے لئے کوئی ایسا فیصلہ کیا جائے گا جس میں تقسیم لاحق ہوتی ہو تو گورنر جنرل کی طرف سے ایک کمیشن برائے حد بندی قائم کیا جائے گا۔"[1]

سکھ تقسیم پنجاب کی صورت میں خود ہی تقسیم ہو کر رہ جائیں گے۔

"ہندوستان کے آئینی مستقبل کے بارے میں دہلی اور لندن میں برطانوی سکیم کے اعلان کے ساتھ وائسرائے ہند نے اپنی تقریر نشر کی کہ ہندوستان کے باشندوں کو ایک ذاتی پیغام دینا چاہتا ہوں کہ ان حضرات نے جو مجھے معلومات بہم پہنچائی ہیں اور جو مفید مشورے دیئے ہیں ان کے لئے میں بے حد شکر گذار ہوں۔ گزشتہ چند ہفتوں میں جو میں نے سنا اور دیکھا اس سے میرے پختہ عقیدہ میں کوئی اثر نہ پڑا کہ اگر مختلف اقوام کی جانب سے معقول حد تک خیرسگالی ہو تو ایک متحدہ

۱- ایضاً ۴ جون - ۱۹۴۷ء

ہندوستان ہی موجودہ مسئلہ کا بہترین حل ہوگا - میں نے تمام مذاکرات میں کوشش کی ہے کہ سیاسی لیڈروں پر زور دوں کہ ۱۶ مئی ۱۹۴۶ کی وزارتی مشن کی سکیم کو غیر مشروط طور پر تسلیم کر لیں - - - -

"انہوں نے برطانوی سکیم کی وضاحت کرتے ہوئے افسوس ظاہر کیا کہ سکھ تقسیم پنجاب کی صورت میں خود بھی تقسیم ہو کر رہ جائیں گے - ہم نے سکھوں کی پوزیشن پر احتیاط سے غور کیا ہے اور یہ بہادر قوم پنجاب کی آبادی کا تقریباً $\frac{1}{8}$ حصہ ہے ۔ لیکن وہ اس طرح منتشر ہیں کہ اس صوبہ کی کسی طرح بھی تقسیم کی جائے انکی اپنی تقسیم ناگریز ہو جائے گی - ہم سب کو جو تہ دل سے سکھوں کا بھلا چاہتے ہیں اس خیال سے بڑا افسوس ہے کہ پنجاب کی تقسیم سے جس کے وہ خواہش مند ہیں وہ بڑی یا چھوٹی حد میں کسی طرح بھی تقسیم ہونے سے بچ نہیں سکتے - تقسیم کی صحیح صحیح حد کا فیصلہ حد بندی کمیشن پر چھوڑ دیا جائے گا جس میں بے شک سکھوں کی نمائیندگی ہوگی -"[1]

مشرقی پنجاب میں کسی قوم کو قطعی اکثریت حاصل نہیں ہوگی -

"برطانیہ کے تازہ ترین اعلان کے مطابق جالندھر، انبالہ ڈویژن اور امرتسر ضلع کو ملا کر مشرقی پنجاب کا جو نیا صوبہ بنایا گیا ہے، اس کی آبادی کے اعداد و شمار کے مطالعہ سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ وہاں کسی ایک فرقہ کو اکثریت حاصل نہیں ہوگی - مشرقی پنجاب میں ۲۰ لاکھ سکھ ہوں گے جو کل آبادی کا ۱۸ فی صد ہوں گے - باقی ۱۷ لاکھ سکھ مغربی پنجاب میں آئیں گے جہاں وہ صرف ۱۰ فی صد ہوں گے - مشرقی پنجاب میں ہندوؤں کی آبادی ۳۷ فی صد، مسلمان ۳۲ فی صد اچھوت ۱۱ فی صد، ہندوستانی عیسائی آبادی ۲ فی صد ہوں گے - - - -

۱۹۴۱ء کی مردم شماری کے مطابق منقسم پنجاب کے دونوں حصوں کی آبادی مندرجہ ذیل ہوگی :-

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۱ - ایضاً

مغربی پنجاب : مسلمان ایک کروڑ ۲۳ لاکھ ۶۳ ہزار ۶ سو انہتر، (۷۳ فی صدی) ، ہندو ۲۰ لاکھ ۲۶ ہزار ۳ سو چھتیس (۱۲ فی صدی) سکھ ۱۶ لاکھ ۸۳ ہزار ۸ سو بچپن (۱۰ فی صدی) ہندوستانی عیسائی اور دیگر فرقے ۴ لاکھ ۲۵ ہزار ۸۳ (۳ فی صدی) اچھوت ۳ لاکھ ۳۶ ہزار ۹ سو ۴۳ (۲ فی صد) ۔

مشرقی پنجاب : ہندو ۴۳ لاکھ ۶۵ ہزار ۴ سو ایک (۳۷ فی صدی) مسلمان ۳۸ لاکھ ۵۳ ہزار ۵ سو ۷۳ (۳۲ فی صدی) سکھ ۲۰ لاکھ ۷۳ ہزار ۵ سو ۶۴ (۱۸ فی صدی) اچھوت ۱۲ لاکھ ۵۵ ہزار ۳ سو ۷۷ (۱۱ فی صدی) ہندوستان عیسائی و دیگر فرقے ۶۰ ہزار ۹ سو پینتالیس (۲ فی صدی)۔''[۱]

مسلم لیگ کی طرف سے اشتعال انگیزی کی پر زور مذمت ۔

''پنجاب مسلم لیگ کے صدر نے ایک انٹرویو میں یہ توقع ظاہر کی ہے کہ حکومت برطانیہ کے نئے پلان کے مطابق انتقال اقتدار امن و امان سے سر انجام پا جائے گا ۔ آپ نے فرمایا کہ پنجاب کی موجودہ پریشان کن صورت حال کے پیش نظر وہ لیڈر ذمہ دار ہیں جنہوں نے اپنی زبان کو بے لگام چھوڑ رکھا ہے ۔ حالت اب بھی سدھر سکتی ہے اگر تمام لیڈر نیک نیتی اور صدق دل سے مزید خون ریزی اور کشمکش کو بند کرنے اور امن قائم کرنے پر اپنی کوششیں مرکوز کر دیں ۔ مسلم لیگ اس سلسلہ میں ہر وقت تمام جماعتوں سے تعاون کرنے کیلئے تیار ہے ۔ میں انہیں یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ اگر فرقہ وارانہ امن کی بحالی کیلئے کوئی مشترکہ جد و جہد چاہتے ہیں تو مسلم لیگ ہر طرح انکو مطمئن کرنے کو تیار ہے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔ یہ بعید از انصاف ہے کہ اچھوت اور ہندوستانی عیسائی جو ہوشیار پور، جالندھر، لدھیانہ اور فیروز پور کے اضلاع میں رہتے ہیں تقسیم پنجاب کی خاطر ان علاقوں کے ہندوؤں اور سکھوں کے ساتھ شمار کرلیے جائیں ۔ یہ دونوں فرقے گورنر پنجاب کو اپنی عرضداشتوں میں بتلا چکے ہیں اور انہیں اپنی رائے کے

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۱ - ایضاً ۷ جون ۱۹۴۷ء

آزادانہ اظہار کا موقع ملنا چاہیے - اگر تقسیم پنجاب حق خود اختیاری کے اصول پر منظور کی گئی تو انصاف کا تقاضا ہے کہ ان اچھوتوں اور عیسائیوں کو جو ان علاقوں میں رہتے ہیں اس موقع سے فائدہ اٹھانے کا موقع دینا چاہیے - مجھے یقین ہے کہ اگر ان علاقوں میں استصواب رائے کیا جائے تو تمام اچھوت ہندوستانی عیسائی اور دوسری اقلیتیں پاکستان کے حق میں اپنی رائے دے دیں گی -"[1]

تقسیم پنجاب کے سلسلہ میں موجودہ کمیٹی کے ارکان میں تبدیلی کا مطالبہ

"خان افتخار حسین ممدوٹ صدر پنجاب پراونشنل مسلم لیگ جو لیگ کونسل کے اجلاس میں شمولیت کے بعد جمعہ کی رات کو لاہور مراجعت فرما ہوئے ہیں معلوم ہوا کہ انہوں نے لارڈ مونٹ بیٹن کے ساتھ دہلی میں جو ملاقات کی تھی اس میں انہوں نے زور دار الفاظ میں اس بات کے خلاف سخت احتجاج کیا کہ پنجاب کے گورنر نے تقسیم پنجاب کی مجوزہ تقسیم کو جامعہ عمل پہنانے کے لئے ماہرین کی کمیٹیاں تشکیل کرنے کا جو طریق کار اختیار کیا ہے وہ بہت ہی جانب دارانہ ہے۔ یہ بھی معلوم ہوا کہ ہفتہ کی رات کو لیگ مجلس عمل کا جو اجلاس ہوا تھا اس میں یہ دو مطالبات مرتب کئے گئے - اول یہ کہ حکومت سے مطالبہ کیا جائے کہ صوبہ کی تقسیم کے سلسلہ میں ماہرین کی جو کمیٹیاں بنائی جائیں ان میں مسلمانوں کو ۵۰ فی صد نیابت دی جائے - دوسرے ان کمیٹیوں کے جو صدر ہیں کوشش کی جائے کہ صوبہ سے باہر کے ہوں خصوصاً امریکی یا انگریز ہوں - اگر یہ ممکن نہ ہو تو ہر کمیٹی کا صدر ایک مسلمان اور ایک ہندو ہو - یہ بھی معلوم ہوا ہے کہ لیگ کی مجلس عمل نے گورنر کی بنائی ہوئی ان کمیٹیوں کے ممبروں کے متعلق بھی بات چیت کی - - - ایسوسی ایٹڈ پریس کے نامہ نگار نے اطلاع دی ہے کہ پنجاب میں ۲۳ جون کے بعد علاقائی حکومتیں بنا دی جائیں گی - مشرقی پنجاب کے علاقہ کو حکومت بنانے کا کام اکا ، ممبران اسمبلی کو دیا جائے گا اور

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۱ - ایضاً ۱۰ جون ۱۹۴۷ء

مغربی پنجاب میں وزارت کی تشکیل کی ذمہ داری مسلم لیگی ممبران اسمبلی کے کندھوں پر ڈال دی جائے گی ۔''۱

حکومت برطانیہ کے اعلان سے سکھوں کی ہستی کو زبردست خطرہ لاحق ہو گیا ہے

''۱۹ جون کو دہلی میں ماسٹر تارا سنگھ نے ایک بیان میں کہا ہے کہ حکومت برطانیہ کے ۳ جون کے اعلان سے سکھوں کے مکمل خاتمہ کا زبردست خطرہ لاحق ہو گیا ہے اور مسلمانوں کو ان کے حصہ سے زیادہ پاکستان مل گیا ہے اور باقی ہندوستان پر ہندوؤں کا قبضہ ہو گیا ہے ۔ لیکن سکھوں کے دو حصوں میں تقسیم ہو جانے کا زبردست خطرہ ہے ۔ مسلمانوں نے پاکستان کو ترجیح دی چنانچہ انہوں نے اپنا مقصد حاصل کر لیا ہے۔ مگر سکھوں کی حالت ابتر ہو رہی ہے ۔ اس طرح نہ تو سکھوں کو ویٹیج ملنے کی امید ہے اور نہ ہی یک جہتی قائم رہے گی کیونکہ ان دونوں دستور ساز اسمبلیوں میں سے کسی میں بھی اہم فرقہ وارانہ مسائل کے متعلق آئین بناتے وقت کوئی اختیار نہیں دیا گیا ہے . . . آپ نے کہا حالات اس قدر نازک ہیں کہ سکھوں کو چاہیے کہ رائے عامہ کو منظم کرکے اپنی آئیندہ پالیسی اور پروگرام کے متعلق بہت جلدی فیصلہ کریں ۔ ماسٹر جی نے کہا کہ اب یہ افواہ پھیل رہی ہے کہ ننکانہ صاحب کو پاکستان میں شامل کر دیا جائے گا سکھ ایسی خطرناک پالیسی کی سخت مخالفت کریں گے''۲

تقسیم پنجاب کے سلسلہ میں تقسیم کار کے طریقہ پر مختلف پارٹیوں میں سمجھوتہ کا امکان

'' خیال کیا جاتا ہے کہ تقسیم پنجاب کی سکیم کو عملی جامہ پہنانے کے لیے پارٹی لیڈروں میں تقسیم کار کے متعلق سمجھوتہ ہو گیا ہے

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۱ - ایضاً ۱۷ جون ۱۹۴۷ء
۲ - ایضاً ۲۰ جون ۱۹۴۷ء

اور اب بہت جلد کاروائی شروع کی جائے گی ۔ خان افتخار حسین ، لالہ بھیم سچر اور سردار سورن سنگھ کے لیے سول سیکریڑیٹ میں کمرے مخصوص کر دئیے گئے ہیں ۔ حکومت ہند کی سیٹیرنگ کمیٹی بنائی جائے گی ۔ اس کمیٹی کے ارکان کے سلسلہ میں سید یعقوب شاہ اور مسٹر سچدیو کا نام لیا جا رہا ہے ۔ یہ کمیٹی صرف دو ممبروں پر مشتمل ہوگی ۔ لیڈروں کی کمیٹی دو مسلمان ایک ہندو اور ایک سکھ پر مشتمل ہو گی ہندوں کے ممبر لالہ بھیم سین سچر اور سکھوں میں سردار سورن سنگھ مسلمانوں میں سے ملک فیروز خان نون اور مسٹر ممتاز دولتانہ کا نام لیا جا رہا ہے ۔ خیال کیا جاتا ہے کہ گورنر پنجاب نے مسلم لیگ کے ان مطالبات کو مان لیا ہے کہ عبوری زمانہ میں سرکاری محکمے کوئی ایسا فیصلہ نہ کریں جس کا تعلق پالیسی سے ہو ۔ کلیدی آسامیوں پر تقرر و تبادلہ کو ملتوی کیا جائے ۔ مربعوں کی گرانٹ بند کی جائے بھاری مشنیری اور سرکاری املاک کا ایک علاقہ سے دوسرے علاقہ میں منتقل نہ کیا جائے ۔ سرحدی کمیشن دو مسلمان ، ایک سکھ اور ایک ہندو رکن پر مشتمل ہو گا ۔ صدر کوئی انگریز یا دوسرا غیر ملکی ہو گا ،،[1]

صوبہ پنجاب کی تقسیم کا فیصلہ

”کل پنجاب کی ہندو اکثریت کے اضلاع کی نمائندہ اسمبلی کے فیصلے کی رو سے تقسیم پنجاب کا فیصلہ ہو گیا ۔ مسلم اکثریت کے اضلاع کی سیکشنل اسمبلی نے تقسیم پنجاب کے خلاف اور مجوزہ پاکستانی اسمبلی میں شامل ہونے کا فیصلہ کیا ،،[2]

پنجاب کے لئے حد بندی کمیشن میں لیگ کی نمائیندگی

”پنجاب اور بنگال کے لیے جو سرحدی کمیشن مقرر کیے جا رہے ہیں ان کے لیے مسلم لیگ اور کانگرس نے اپنے اپنے نمائیندے نامزد کر دئیے ہیں . . .

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۱ - ایضاً ۲۱ جون ۱۹۴۷ء

۲ - ایضاً ۲۵ جون ۱۹۴۷ء

پنجاب کی حد بندی میں مسلم لیگ کی نمائیندگی لاہور ہائی کورٹ کے جج محمد منیر اور ہائی کورٹ کے ریٹائرڈ جج دین محمد کریں گے۔ کانگرس کی نمائیندگی جسٹس تیجا اور جسٹس مہر چند کریں گے،، ۱

اقلیتیں مغربی پنجاب کو خیر باد نہ کہیں پاکستان ان کے حقوق کا تحفظ کرے گا

"مغربی پنجاب کے اقلیتیوں کے کنونشن نے ایک قرار داد میں اقلیتیوں پر زور دیا کہ وہ پاکستان سے ہجرت کرکے ہندوستان میں ہرگز نہ جائیں۔ وہ اس وقت جہاں کہیں ہیں وہیں مقیم رہیں اور مستقبل کے بارے میں خواہ مخواہ ہراساں نہ ہوں۔ قرار داد میں اس امر کی توقع ظاہر کی گئی ہے کہ حکومت پاکستان اقلیتیوں کے حقوق و مراعات کا تحفظ کرے گی۔

مذکورہ بالا قرار داد لالہ بھیم سین سچر نے پیش کی۔ کنونشن میں اقلیتیوں کے لیے بنیادی حقوق کا چارٹر بھی مرتب کیا گیا۔ جس میں پاکستانی حکومت سے درخواست کی گئی ہے کہ وہ انہیں مکمل شہریت تفویض کرے ، ان کے جان و مال کی حفاظت کی جائے، انہیں تبدیلی مذہب پر مجبور نہ کیا جائے اور ان کے مذہب ، زبان ، رسم الخط اور کلچر کو نقصان نہ پہنچایا جائے، تمام قانون ساز اداروں اور میونسپل باڈیز میں ان کے لیے نشستیں مخصوص کر دی جائیں۔

سردار سنت فتح سنگھ ایم - ایل - اے (مرکزی) نے اپنے خطبہ صدارت میں یہ تجویز پیش کی کہ پاکستان میں کانگرس کی تنظیم توڑ دی جائے اور ایک نئی سیاسی جماعت قائم کی جائے جو اقلیتوں کے نمائیندوں پر مشتمل ہو۔ انہوں نے اقلیتوں سے اپیل کی کہ وہ حکومت پاکستان سے پورا پورا تعاون کریں ،، ۲

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۱ - ایضاً ۲۸ جون ۱۹۴۷ء

۲ - ایضاً ۹ جولائی ۱۹۴۷ء

مشرقی پنجاب میں کئی مسلم اکثریت کے علاقے موجود ہیں

''میاں محمد عبدالسلام (ایم - ایل - اے) و صدر مسلم لیگ ریلیف کمیٹی جالندھر نے حد بندی کمیشن کے متعلق مندرجہ ذیل بیان جاری کیا ہے -

''پنجاب سرحدی کمیشن نے اگر کوئی ایسی سکیم یا طریق کار اختیار کیا جس میں سکھوں کو خوش کرنے کی خاطر مشرق پنجاب کے مسلمانوں کا مفاد قربان کر دیا گیا تو وہ نہایت مہلک ثابت ہوگا اور اس کے نتائج خطرناک ہوں گے - میں اس امر کو واضع طور پر بیان کر دینا چاہتا ہوں کہ آج کل پنجاب کے اضلاع میں جائیداد کی بنا پر حکام مال، اعداد و شمار جمع کر رہے ہیں - یہ کاروائی بے کار ہے کیونکہ وائسرائے کے اعلان کے مطابق پنجاب کی تقسیم مسلمانوں اور غیر مسلموں کے متصل اکثریت کے علاقوں کی بنا پر ہوگی - یہ ایک غلط روش ہوگی کہ ہندوستان کی تقسیم کے بارے میں جو اصول اکثریت آبادی کا وضع کیا گیا ہے پنجاب میں اس کے برعکس عمل کیا جائے -

موجودہ عارضی تقسیم میں سکھوں اور ہندوؤں کو ایک کثیر علاقہ دے کر مسلمانوں کی امیدوں کا خون کیا گیا ہے - اگر سکھوں کے حقوق اور مفاد کو محفوظ کرنے کے بہانے اس عارضی کارروائی کو مستقل کرنے کی کوشش کی گئی تو وہ ایک نہ ختم ہونے والے مقابلہ اور مبارزت کو دعوت دے گی -

مشرق پنجاب اور جالندھر میں مسلمانوں کی اکثریت والے بہت سے خطے ہیں جن کا الحاق مغربی پنجاب سے ہونا چاہیے - ان مسلمانوں کی خواہش ہے کہ ان کو مغربی پنجاب میں شامل کیا جائے۔ اگر کوئی قدم اس کے خلاف اٹھایا گیا تو اس کے نتائج سخت خطرناک ہوں گے ''[1]

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١ - ایضاً ١٢ جولائی ١٩٤٧ء

مشرقی اور مغربی پنجاب کے درمیان ستلج کو حد فاصل مقرر کیا جائے

''ملک فیروز خاں نون نے ایک بیان میں پنجاب کے حد بندی کمیشن کو مطلع کیا ہے کہ مسلمانان پنجاب دریائے ستلج تک کے علاقے کے علاوہ اس دریا کے دونوں اطراف کے علاقہ کے حقدار ہیں - ملک صاحب نے اعلان کیا ہے کہ اگر دریائے ستلج کو مشرقی اور مغربی پنجاب کی حد فاصل مقرر نہ کیا گیا تو ہندوستان اور پاکستان کے درمیان امن برقرار نہ رہ سکے گا ''۱

پنجاب کا سرحدی کمیشن ۱۵ اگست تک اپنے فیصلے کا اعلان کر دے گا

''ایسوسی ایٹیڈ پریس کو نہایت معتبر ذرائع سے معلوم ہوا ہے کہ پنجاب کی حد بندی کرنے والا کمیشن ۱۵ اگست تک اپنے فیصلے کا اعلان کر دے گا - یہ فیصلہ آج پنجاب کے مقتدر سیاسی زعما کے سرحدی کمیشن کے ارکان سے مشورہ کرنے کے بعد کیا گیا ہے''۲ - (بعد میں یہ اعلان ۱۰ اگست کو کرنے کا فیصلہ کیا گیا)

مسلمانان پنجاب اپنی اکثریت کے علاقوں کے ایک انچ رقبہ زمین سے بھی دستبردار نہیں ہوں گے

''سکھوں اور ہندوؤں کے نامعقول مطالبات سے پنجاب کے طول و عرض میں اضطراب اور غصہ کی بے پناہ لہر دوڑ گئی ہے اور دفتر ''نوائے وقت'' میں روزانہ بے شمار پیغامات موصول ہو رہے ہیں کہ سرحداتی کمیشن مسلمانوں کے ساتھ انصاف سے کام لے ورنہ نتائج مہلک ہونگے جس کی ذمہ داری کانگرس اور حکومت برطانیہ پر ہو گی - علی احمد صاحب سیکرٹری مسلم لیگ سرگودھا ، محمد صادق صاحب صدر سٹی مسلم لیگ لائل پور ، حاجی عبدالقادر صدر مسلم لیگ قصور - زنانہ مسلم

۱- ایضاً ۱۳ جولائی ۱۹۴۷ء
۲ - ایضاً

لیگ جہلم کی جنرل سیکرٹری ۔ مسٹر عبدالرشید صدر لاہور مسلم لیگ، صدر مومن کانفرنس جالندھر اور کئی مقامات سے بے شمار پیغامات موصول ہو رہے ہیں ۔ اس کے علاوہ خضرحیات سجادہ نشین جیوانہ ۔ چودھری محمد ابراہیم وزیر آباد ، مسلم لیگ نیشنل گارڈ جھجر ، غلام رسول صدر کشمیری انجمن وزیر آباد ، انجمن تبلیغ الاسلام جڑانوالہ ، مسلم لیگ فیروز پور ، سیکرٹری مسلم لیگ جھنگ ، صدر مسلم لیگ انبالہ وغیرہ وغیرہ "[1]

مسلمانان پنجاب ہر انچ زمین کے لیے لڑیں گے ۔ پنجاب کے لیگی زعما کا اعلان

"خان افتخار حسین آف ممدوٹ اور پنجاب کے چھ دوسرے مقتدر لیگی زعما نے ایک بیان میں اعلان کیا ہے کہ مسلمانان پنجاب صوبہ کی حد بندی کے سلسلہ میں کسی بے انصافی کو ہرگز برداشت نہیں کریں گے اور وہ بے انصافی کی صورت میں ہر ممکن قربانی پیش کرنے کا تہیہ کر چکے ہیں "[2]

انبالہ ڈویژن کے علاوہ باقی ماندہ پنجاب کو پاکستان میں شامل کراؤ

"کل ایک انٹرویو میں عارضی حکومت کے رکن صحت راجہ غضنفر علی خاں نے تقسیم پنجاب کے سلسلہ میں سکھ لیڈروں کو یہ مشورہ دیا کہ وہ اب بھی سکھوں کی یک جہتی کی خاطر اپنے نمائندہ کی وساطت سے حدبندی کمیشن کے سامنے انبالہ ڈویژن کے علاوہ مشرق پنجاب کے باقی تمام علاقہ کو پاکستان میں شامل کرنے پر زور دیں ۔ راجہ صاحب نے کہا کہ اس وقت سکھ لیڈروں نے کمیشن کو دھمکیاں دینے کا جو وطیرہ اختیار کر رکھا ہے ، اس سے کچھ حاصل نہ ہو گا ۔ راجہ صاحب نے کہا کہ پاکستان اپنے علاقوں پر قابو رکھنے

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۱ - ایضاً ۱۶-۱۷ جولائی ۱۹۴۷ء
۲ - ایضاً ۲۰ جولائی ۱۹۴۷ء

کیلئے کافی طاقتور ثابت ہوگا۔ جن اصولوں پر پنجاب کی تقسیم ہو رہی ہے وہ بالکل واضح ہیں۔ مسلم اکثریت کے متصل علاقے ہندوستان کو دیئے جائیں گے۔ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ بعض سکھ لیڈروں نے یہ خیال کر لیا ہے کہ سرحدی کمیشن دراصل سکھ کمیشن ہے۔ بعض سکھ لیڈر یہ کہہ رہے ہیں کہ مشرقی پنجاب کی غیر مسلم آبادی کے پاس کوئی نہری نو آبادی نہیں لہذا انہیں لائل پور اور منٹگمری کے علاقے دیئے جائیں۔ تھوڑے عرصہ کے بعد وہ یہ کہیں گے کہ غیر مسلم پنجاب میں نمک نہیں لہذا کھیوڑہ کی کانیں بھی انہیں دے دی جائیں۔ اس طرح کل وہ یہ بھی کہیں گے کہ فلاں مسلم اکثریت کے علاقہ میں ایک گوردوارہ ہے لہذا اس کے نواحی ہزاروں مربع میل کا علاقہ سکھوں کے حوالے کر دیا جائے۔ راجہ صاحب نے کہا کہ "میں حیران ہوں کہ ضلع لدھیانہ اور فیروز پور تک کے مسلم اکثریت کے علاقے پاکستان سے کیونکر علیحدہ کئے جا سکتے ہیں۔ سکھوں کو یہ غلط فہمی ہو گئی ہے کہ لارڈ مونٹ بیٹن یا کسی اور شخص نے ان کے ساتھ اظہار ہمدردی کیا لیکن انہیں یہ نہ بھولنا چاہیے کہ لارڈ مونٹ بیٹن تقسیم پنجاب کی حمایت کے سلسلہ میں سکھوں کی حماقت پر بھی اظہار حیرت کر چکے ہیں۔"[۱]

اسلامی پنجاب کا ہر مرد، عورت اور بچہ صوبہ کی حدبندی کے سلسلہ میں ہر بے انصافی کیخلاف آخر دم تک لڑے گا

"خان افتخار حسین خان آف ممدوٹ، ملک فیروز خاں نون، مسٹر ممتاز دولتانہ، سردار شوکت حیات خاں، بیگم شاہنواز، شیخ کرامت علی اور میاں افتخار الدین نے آج ایک مشترکہ بیان میں یہ اعلان کیا ہے کہ اگر مسلمانوں کو اسلامی پنجاب کے ایک ایکڑ رقبہ زمین (جو مسلمانوں کا جائز حصہ ہو) سے بھی محروم کیا گیا تو ہر مسلمان مرد، عورت اور بچہ آخری دم تک اس بے انصافی کے خلاف لڑے گا۔"[۲]

۱۔ ایضاً

۲۔ ایضاً

مشرق پنجاب کے مسلمانوں کی خبر لیجئیے

''مغربی پنجاب کے مسلمان پاکستان کی تشکیل پر جتنی مسرت کا اظہار کریں وہ کم ہے۔ لیکن انہیں حقیقت کو فراموش نہیں کرنا چائیے کہ ان کا پاکستان بہت حد تک مشرقی پنجاب کے مسلمانوں کی قربانیوں اور مسلسل جد و جہد کا مرہون منت ہے۔ امرتسر کی خاک کا ہر ذرہ اس حقیقت کا زندہ ثبوت ہے اور رہتک و گوڑگاؤں کی فضاؤں میں پاکستان زندہ باد کی گونج اب بھی سنائی دے رہی ہے۔ مغربی پنجاب کے مسلمانوں نے سیاسی آزادی حاصل کر کے مشرقی پنجاب کے لاکھوں مسلمانوں کے قلبی تاثرات کا اندازہ ہی نہیں کیا۔ سرکاری ملازمین نے مجموعی طور پر مغربی پنجاب کی خدمت گزاری کے لئے اپنی آمادگی ظاہر کر دی ہے۔ بڑے بڑے سرمایہ دار مسلمان پاکستان میں اپنی قسمت آزمائی کرنے کا عہد کر چکے ہیں اور عوام بھی پاکستان کے سنہری نظام حکومت کے منتظر ہیں۔ لیکن یہاں یہ سوال پیدا ہوتا ہے کہ مسلم لیگ نے مشرقی پنجاب کے مسلمانوں کے حقوق کی حفاظت کے لئے کونسا لائحہ عمل تیار کیا ہے اور سرکاری ملازمین نے ان کے حقوق کی نگہداشت کے لئے کہاں تک مشرقی پنجاب میں رہنے کا تہیہ کیا ہے اور گو اس سلسلہ میں ابھی تک لیگ ہائی کمان اور بڑے بڑے سرکاری ملازمین نے کوئی اہم فیصلہ نہیں کیا تو اب براہ کرم اس بہت بڑے مسئلہ کی طرف توجہ دے کر مشرقی پنجاب کے مسلمانوں کی ڈھارس بند ھوائیں ۔۔۔۔

یہ سطور ایڈیٹر کے نام ایک مکتوب سے لی گئی ہیں۔ مشرقی پنجاب اور مغربی پنجاب میں سرکاری ملازموں کے تقرر و تبادلہ کے سلسلہ میں دونوں صوبوں میں دونوں قوموں کے سرکاری ملازموں کے حق میں مضر ثابت ہوگا۔ سو فی صدی ہندو سرکاری ملازموں نے مغربی پنجاب کو چھوڑ کر مشرقی پنجاب میں ملازمت اختیار کرنے کی درخواست کی ہے۔ اسی طرح سو فی صدی مسلمانوں نے یہ کہا ہے کہ وہ مغربی پنجاب میں رہیں گے۔ چونکہ حکومت نے سرکاری ملازموں کو یہ حق دیا ہے کہ وہ جس

صوبہ میں چاہیں رہیں اس لئے نتیجہ یہ ہوگا کہ مشرق پنجاب میں ایک مسلمان افسر بھی نہ رہے گا۔ اسی طرح مغربی پنجاب میں کوئی ہندو سرکاری ملازم نظر نہ آئے گا۔اسی طرح مشرقی پنجاب کے چالیس لاکھ مسلمان جہاں تک سرکاری محکموں کا تعلق ہے بالکل بے یار و مددگار رہ جائیں گے۔''[1]

پنجاب کی منقولہ املاک کی تقسیم کے سلسلہ میں اہم فیصلے

''پنجاب کی تقسیم کیمٹی نے صوبہ کی منقولہ املاک کی تقسیم کے سلسلہ میں کئی امور طے کئے ہیں۔ ان کے مطابق مشرقی و مغربی پنجاب میں صرف انہی املاک کی مادی تقسیم ہو سکے گی جو فوری طور پر ناقابل انتقال ہیں یا غیر منقولہ املاک کی ساخت میں کسی بڑے ردو بدل کے بغیر ایک جگہ سے دوسری جگہ لے جائے جا سکتے ہیں۔ تقسیم کے سلسلہ میں تمام املاک کی مالیت مقرر کی جائے گی لیکن ۱۵ ستمبر ۱۹۴۷ء تک دونوں نئے صوبوں کے نمائندے بعض املاک کی مادی تقسیم کیلئے انکوائری کا مطالبہ کر سکتے ہیں۔ ایسی صورت میں جو انکوائری کمیٹی قائم کی جائے گی اس میں ہر دو صوبوں کا ایک ایک نمائندہ شامل کیا جائے گا۔ چیئرمین وہی مقرر کیا جائے گا جو فریقین کو منظور ہو۔ اس کمیٹی کے اختیارات و فرائض بھی متعین کر دیئے گئے ہیں۔

عام سرکاری ملازمین و حکام کے تبادلوں کے سلسلہ میں بھی بعض اصولوں کا اعلان کر دیا گیا ہے۔ آل انڈیا، صوبائی اور دوسرے گزٹیڈ افسروں کا تعین ان کی مرضی اور خواہش کے مطابق ہوگا۔ اگر ۱۵ اگست تک ان کے تبادلے نہ ہو سکے تو انہیں آفیسرز آن ڈیپوٹیشن تصور کیا جائیگا اور ان کی تنخواہوں کا بار اس صوبہ کے خزانے پر ہوگا جہاں وہ ملازمت اختیار کرنے کی خواہش کا اظہار کر چکے ہیں۔ سیکریڑیٹ اور دوسرے دفاتر میں نان گزیٹیڈ افسروں کو (جو مشرقی و مغربی پنجاب میں فالتو ہوں گے) ملازمتیں دلانے

۱۔ ایضاً (اداریہ) ۲۵ جولائی ۱۹۴۷ء

کی کوشش کی جائے گی ۔ جو حکام خاص ڈیوٹی پر ہونگے وہ خود ہی باہمی افہام و تفہیم سے کوئی فیصلہ کرینگے ۔ جو حکام ایک صوبہ کی ضروریات سے زائد ہونگے انہیں دوسرے صوبہ میں ملازمت دیتے وقت یہ خیال رکھا جائیگا کہ وہ حکام اس صوبہ میں کام کر رہے ہیں جن کو ان کی خدمت عاریتاً درکار ہیں اور ان کے گھر بار بھی اس صوبہ میں ہیں ۔''[1]

مغربی پنجاب کے غیر مسلم حد بندی کمیشن کا ایوارڈ تسلیم کر لیں

''راولپنڈی کے مشہور کانگریسی لیڈر اور پاکستان دستور ساز اسمبلی کے رکن مسٹر اوتار نرائن نے مغربی پنجاب کے تمام غیر مسلموں سے اپیل کی ہے کہ وہ حد بندی کمیشن کا ایوارڈ بلا حیل و حجت تسلیم کر لیں ۔۔۔۔ مسٹر نرائن نے غیرمسلموں کو مشورہ دیا ہے کہ مسٹر محمد علی جناح کے بیان سے انہیں کوئی فکر نہیں کرنی چاہئے کیونکہ مسٹر جناح نے پاکستان میں اقلیتوں سے منصفانہ سلوک کا وعدہ کر دیا ہے ۔''[2]

مشرقی پنجاب کے دیہات میں غنڈہ گردی فوراً ختم کی جائے

''مشرقی پنجاب کے دیہاتی علاقوں میں کئی روز سے جو منظم غنڈہ گردی جاری ہے ۔ وہ اب ناقابل برداشت ہو چکی ہے ۔ غنڈوں کے مسلح گروہ امرتسر ، جالندھر ، ہوشیارپور اور مشرقی پنجاب کے دوسرے اضلاع کے دیہاتی علاقوں میں بسنے والے بے گناہ لوگوں پر وحشیانہ مظالم ڈھا رہے ہیں ۔ ان اضلاع میں سرکاری مشینری اقلیتوں کے جان و مال اور عزت و آبرو کی حفاظت میں قطعاً ناکام رہی ہے ۔ ہم لارڈ مونٹ بیٹن پر زور دیتے ہیں کہ وہ اپنی اولین فرصت میں یہ معاملہ اپنے ہاتھ میں لیں اور بے گناہ مرد ، عورتوں اور بچوں کو اس قتل عام سے بچائیں ۔ صوبہ لیگ کے لیڈروں سے ہماری درخواست ہے کہ وہ مشرقی پنجاب کے مسلمانوں کو اس قیامت صغریٰ میں بے یارو مدد گار نہ چھوڑیں ۔

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۱ ۔ ایضاً ۳۰ جولائی ۔ ۱۹۴۷ء
۲ ۔ ایضاً ۲ ۔ اگست ۔ ۱۹۴۷ء

ہم خان افتخار حسین آف ممدوٹ سے مطالبہ کرتے ہیں کہ وہ مسلمانان پنجاب کے رہنما کی حیثیت سے مشرق پنجاب کے ہندو اور سکھ رہنماؤں ڈاکٹر گوپی چند اور سردار سورن سنگھ کو غیر مبہم الفاظ میں تنبیہ کر دیں کہ اگر اس منظم غنڈہ گردی اور شیطانی چکر کو نہ روکا گیا تو اس کا رد عمل بے حد خطرناک ہوگا اور اس کے نتائج کی ساری ذمہ داری ڈاکٹر بھارگو اور سردار سورن سنگھ اور ان کے لیڈر ماسٹر تارا سنگھ پر عائد ہوگی۔ فیض احمد فیض (پاکستان ٹائمز) ملک نور الہی (احسان) عبدالحمید (ایسٹرن ٹائمز) اختر علی (زمیندار) ملک عنایت اللہ (شہباز) حمید نظامی (نوائے وقت)۔"[۱]

مشرق پنجاب میں اقلیتوں کو ظلم و تشدد سے بچانے کیلئیے فوری قدم اٹھایئے

"لاہور کے مسلمان اخبارات کی طرف سے قائداعظم محمد علی جناح کو ذیل کا تار بھیجا گیا ہے۔

"مشرق پنجاب کے دیہاتی علاقوں میں غنڈوں کے مسلح گروہوں کے حملے برابر جاری ہیں۔ براہ کرم فوراً مداخلت کیجئے۔ پنجاب لیگ ھائی کمان کو ہدایت کیجئے کہ وہ معصوم مسلمانوں کی جانیں بچانے کیلئے ضروری اقدام اٹھایئے۔ مہربانی فرما کر لارڈ مونٹ بیٹن پر زور دیجئے کہ وہ قیام امن کی خاطر خود قدم اٹھائیں۔

لارڈ مونٹ بیٹن کو بھی تار دیا گیا ہے کہ "غنڈوں کے منظم اور مسلح گروہ مشرق پنجاب کے مسلمان دیہات پر حملہ کر رہے ہیں۔ سرکاری مشینری مسلم اقلیت کی جان بچانے کے قابل نہیں۔ براہ کرم ذاتی طور پر دخل دیجئے اور بے گناہوں کی جان بچانے کیلئے سخت قدم اٹھایئے۔"[۲]

۱۔ ایضاً ۱۰ اگست ۱۹۴۷ء

۲۔ ایضاً

مشرقی پنجاب کے دیہاتی علاقوں میں افسوناک غنڈہ گردی

''مشرقی پنجاب کے مختلف اضلاع میں ''نوائے وقت'' کے خاص نمائندوں کے ذریعہ اور ان علاقوں سے لاہور پہنچنے والے پناہ گزینوں اور ان کے رشتہ داروں کی زبانی جو رپورٹیں موصول ہوئی ہیں ان سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ مشرقی پنجاب کے اضلاع میں ابھی تک بدامنی جاری ہے - امرتسر شہر کی صورت حال روبہ اصلاح ہے مگر دیہاتی علاقہ میں حالت ابھی تک مخدوش ہے - شیخ چک پر سکھوں نے حملہ کیا اور یہ گاؤں جلا دیا - نقصان کا اندازہ ابھی تک نہیں ہو سکا - بوئیر والا ضلع امرتسر پر بھی حملہ ہوا - بعض سکھوں نے انسانیت کا اچھا نمونہ پیش کیا اور مسلمانوں کو چھو ہڑلہ کے قریب پناہ دی -

گورداسپور کے ضلع میں بھی بدامنی شروع ہوئی - گھووالہ پر مسلح غنڈوں نے حملہ کیا اور تیس اشخاص شہید کر ڈالے - بٹالہ سے جو پناہ گزین لاہور پہنچے ہیں ان کی اطلاع کے مطابق بٹالہ اور دھار پوال کے ارد گرد تیس کے قریب گاؤں جلا دیئے گئے - فیروز پور میں ۳۵ اشخاص چاقو زنی سے شہید ہوئے، زخمیوں کی تعداد ساٹھ ہے - رسول پور پر حملہ ہوا - اس گاؤں میں شہدا کی تعداد دو سو سے زائد ہے - وارڑہ پر حملہ کیا گیا مگر نقصان زیادہ نہیں ہوا - دھرم کوٹ پر حملے میں ۲۱ اشخاص شہید کئے گئے - - -

رام گڑھ پر غنڈوں نے حملہ کیا - دس اشخاص شہید کئے گئے - کٹائی خورد میں کئی مکان جلا دیئے گئے... سی پنڈی ضلع ہوشیار پور پر غنڈوں کے ایک جتھے نے حملہ کیا تیس اشخاص شہید ہوئے

راجپورہ میں ۸ شہید ہوئے - کئی زندہ جلا دیئے گئے اور کئی عورتیں اغواء کر لی گئیں - کھٹانہ پر غنڈوں نے حملہ کیا مگر گاؤں والوں نے مقابلہ کر کے غنڈوں کو مار بھگایا - ہینرم اور پلتری کے دیہات پر بھی حملہ ہوا -''[1]

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۱ - ایضاً ۲۰ اگست - ۱۹۴۷ء

مشرقی پنجاب کی صورت حال لمحہ بہ لمحہ ناگفتہ بہ ہو رہی ہے

"مشرقی پنجاب کی لیگ اسمبلی پارٹی کے لیڈر چودھری محمد حسن نے ایک بیان میں کہا ہے کہ مشرقی پنجاب کی فرقہ وارانہ صورت حال لمحہ بہ لمحہ ابتر ہوتی جا رہی ہے اور حکام اپنے فرائض کی سر انجام دہی میں غفلت برت رہے ہیں - ہر کہیں کھلے بندوں قانون شکنی کی مہم جاری ہے -

چودھری صاحب نے مزید کہا ہے کہ میں اپنے ہم مذہبوں پر زور دوں گا کہ وہ متزلزل نہ ہوں ہمت نہ ہاریں اور تمام مشکلات کا نہایت خندہ پیشانی اور بلند حوصلہ سے مقابلہ کریں اور بالکل ہراساں نہ ہوں" [1]

پنجاب کے فرقہ وارانہ امن کے لیے تبادلہ آبادی کی تجویز

"شرومنی اکالی دل کے صدر گیانی کرتار سنگھ نے کل ایک بیان دیتے ہوئے کہا کہ سرحداتی کمیشن کا فیصلہ سرا سر نا قابل اطمینان اور بے ہودہ ہے - اگرچہ پاکستان قائم ہو چکا ہے لیکن سکھ آزادی حاصل کرنے کا عزم کئے ہوئے ہیں - پاکستان میں چودہ لاکھ سکھ محصور ہو چکے ہیں لیکن ہم ان کی آزادی اور خود مختاری کے لیے لڑیں گئے -

مشرقی پنجاب کے مسئلہ کا ایک حل تبادلہ آبادی ہے - میں نے امرتسر میں یہ تجویز لیاقت علی خان اور پنڈت نہرو کے روبرو رکھی تھی - دونوں وزرائے اعظم نے اس پر ہمدردانہ غور کرنے کا وعدہ کیا تھا اور تبادلہ آبادی کی تجویز سے اتفاق کیا تھا اگرچہ محدود پیمانے پر - - - - - گیانی کرتار سنگھ نے مشرقی اور مغربی پنجاب کے عوام سے بالعموم اور سکھوں سے بالخصوص اپیل کی ہے کہ وہ دونوں صوبوں سے بدامنی ختم کرنے کے لیے کوشش کریں -

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۱ - ایضاً ۲۱ اگست ۱۹۴۷ء

گیانی کرتار سنگھ نے قصور اور لاہور سب ڈویژن کے چند دیہات کا دورہ بھی کیا ہے اور سکھوں سے کہا ہے کہ اگر انہوں نے مشرقی پنجاب میں قتل و غارت کو بند نہ کیا تو ان کی قوم کو مغربی پنجاب میں تکالیف کا سامنا کرنا پڑے گا،،۱

ایک لاکھ پچیس ہزار سے زائد پناہ گزین مشرقی پنجاب سے لاہور پہنچ گئے

''معلوم ہوا ہے کہ مشرقی پنجاب سے اب تک ایک لاکھ پچیس ہزار سے زائد پناہ گزین لاہور پہنچ چکے ہیں - ہر روز جالندھر، امرتسر، لدھیانہ، فیروز پور، گورداسپور کے اضلاع سے مسلمان پناہ گزین چلے آ رہے ہیں - ان میں اکثر حکومت کے کیمپوں میں رکھے گئے ہیں،،۲

اگر مشرقی پنجاب میں امن قائم نہ ہوا - تو مغربی پنجاب میں بدامنی پھیلنے کا اندیشہ ہے

''مغربی پنجاب کے وزیر مال سردار شوکت حیات خاں نے جالندھر ڈویژن کے کمشنر سے مطالبہ کیا ہے کہ وہ غیر مسلم علاقوں میں مقیم مسلمانوں کو سہولتیں بہم پہنچائیں اور ان کے تحفظ کے لیے مناسب انتظام کریں - سردار شوکت حیات نے کمشنر کے نام اپنے خط میں لکھا ہے کہ ہم جالندھر کی فرقہ وارانہ صورت حال کے متعلق سخت پریشان ہیں - ہمیں طرح طرح کی خبریں موصول ہو رہی ہیں - لاہور میں ہم نے بڑی مشکل سے امن قائم کیا ہے لیکن اب ان خبروں سے حالات بگڑنے کا پھر اندیشہ ہو گیا ہے - اگر مشرقی پنجاب میں مسلمانوں کے مال و جان کی حفاظت کے لیے فی الفور انتظام نہ کیا گیا تو مغربی پنجاب میں حالات پر کنٹرول رکھنا مشکل ہو جائے گا -

- - - ''سول اینڈ ملٹری گزٹ،، کے نامہ نگار متعینہ دہلی نے اطلاع دی ہے

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۱ - ایضاً ۲۲ اگست ۱۹۴۷ء

۲ - ایضاً

کہ ہندوستانی یونین کی کابینہ کے پہلے اجلاس میں پنجاب کی خون ریزی کے مسئلہ پر غور و خوض کیا جائے گا۔ پنڈت نہرو اور سردار بلدیو سنگھ اس اجلاس میں اپنے دورہ پنجاب کی تفصیلات بیان کریں گے۔

ہندوستانی حکومت کی زیر ہدایت چھ مزید بٹالین مشرقی پنجاب روانہ کردی گئی ہیں جہاں وہ مسلمانوں اور غیر مسلموں کی حفاظت کا انتظام کریں گے۔ امرتسر میں جو فوجی دستے قابل اعتراض رویہ کے باعث گرفتار کیے گئے ہیں اُن کا کورٹ مارشل کیا جائے گا،،۱

حکومت مشرقی پنجاب کے پناہ گزینوں کو لانے کے لیے پورا انتظام کر رہی ہے۔

''کل سردار شوکت حیات خاں لاہور پہنچے۔ انہوں نے ایک اجتماع میں شہریوں سے خطاب کرتے ہوئے انہیں فرقہ وارانہ امن برقرار رکھنے پر ہدیہ تبرک پیش کیا۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ مغربی پنجاب کی حکومت مشرقی پنجاب سے پناہ گزینوں کو لانے کا خاطر خواہ انتظام کر رہی ہے۔ عوام کا بھی فرض ہے کہ اپنے مصیبت زدہ بھائیوں کی پوری پوری امداد کریں،،۲

جالندھر میں مغربی پنجاب اور مشرقی پنجاب کے نمائندوں کا اجتماع۔

''آج جالندھر میں مشرقی پنجاب اور مغربی پنجاب کی حکومتوں کے نمائندوں کی مشترکہ کانفرنس ہوئی۔ اس کانفرنس میں مغربی پنجاب کی طرف سے وزیر اعلیٰ خان آف ممدوٹ اور وزیر خزانہ میاں ممتاز دولتانہ اور مشرقی پنجاب کی طرف سے گورنر سر چند 'لال ترویدی، وزیر اعلیٰ ڈاکٹر گوپی چند بھارگو اور وزیر داخلہ سردار سورن سنگھ نے شرکت کی۔ معلوم ہوا کہ اس کانفرنس میں دونوں حکومتوں کے نمائندوں نے

۱۔ ایضاً
۲۔ ایضاً ۲۳ اگست ۱۹۴۷ء

امن قائم کرنے کے لیے پختہ ارادے کا اظہار کیا ۔ علاوہ ازیں مہاجرین اور پناہ گزینوں کو ہر ممکن امداد مہیا کرنے کا بھی فیصلہ کیا گیا ،، ۱

مشرقی پنجاب کے پناہ گزینوں کو ہر ممکن امداد دی جائے گی (ممدوٹ)

''آج شام مغربی پنجاب کے وزیراعلی خان افتخار حسین آف ممدوٹ نے پاکستان ریڈیو سے ایک تقریر نشر کرتے ہوئے اعلان کیا' کہ مشرقی پنجاب کے جو مسلم پناہ گزین وہاں ظلم و تشدد ہونے کے بعد مغربی پنجاب آ رہے ہیں ان کو ہر ممکن امداد بہم پہنچائی جائے گی ۔ قیام امن کی صورت میں انہیں بحفاظت واپس پہنچایا جائے گا ورنہ آنہیں پاکستان میں ہی مستقل طور پر آباد کرنے کے انتظامات کئے جائیں گئے ۔

خان آف ممدوٹ نے فرمایا ''مشرقی پنجاب کے مسلمان ہمارا ہی گوشت پوست ہیں لیکن موجودہ حالات اس امر کے متقضی ہیں کہ ہم ان کے مظالم پر صبر و ضبط کا دامن ہاتھ سے نہ چھوڑیں ۔ اس وقت مغربی پنجاب میں بدامنی مشرقی پنجاب کے مسلمانوں کو مزید مصائب کا شکار کر دے گی ۔ اس لیے میری حکومت نے ہر قسم کی بدامنی کو کچلنے کا تہیہ کر رکھا ہے ،،۲

مشرقی پنجاب میں فوراً بدامنی ختم نہ ہوئی تو پاکستان غلہ برآمد نہیں کر سکے گا ۔

''پاکستان کے وزیر خوراک مسٹر غضنفر علی خان نے آج نمایندہ پریس سے انٹرویو کے دوران یہ خدشہ ظاہر کیا کہ مشرقی پنجاب کی موجودہ بدامنی اور بے آئینی کا فی‌الفور انسداد نہ ھوا تو حکومت پاکستان کو غلہ برآمد کے متعلق اپنے وعدوں کی تکمیل کرنا مشکل

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۱ ۔ ایضاً

۲ ۔ ایضاً ۲۶ اگست ۱۹۴۷ء

ہو گا ۔ مسٹر غضنفر علی خاں نے کہا کہ مشرقی پنجاب کی حالت بڑی نازک ہے ۔

غضنفر علی خان نے کہا کہ اقلیتیوں کے تحفظ کے متعلق تمام وعدوں کو بالائے طاق رکھ کر بدامنی اور بے آئینی کا سلسلہ جاری کر دیا گیا ہے نتیجے کے طور پر مغربی پنجاب میں بھی ایک دو جگہ انتقامی کارروائی ہوئی ہے ۔ مغربی پنجاب میں غصہ اور نفرت کے جذبات میں روز بروز اضافہ ہو رہا ہے ۔ اگر یہی صورت حال رہی تو مغربی پنجاب کی حکومت صورت حال پر قابو نہ پا سکے گی،، ۱

قائد اعظم محمد علی جناح کا بیان

مسلمانوں کے کشت و خون کی خبر سے مہذب دنیا کانپ اٹھی ہے ۔

''ہزایکسیلینسی قائداعظم محمد علی جناح گورنرجنرل پاکستان نے مشرقی پنجاب کے مسلمانوں کی حالت زار کے متعلق مندرجہ ذیل بیان دیا ہے ۔

'مشرقی پنجاب میں جو مسلمانوں کا قتل عام جاری ہے اُن کی خبریں بڑے رنج و الم کے ساتھ میں سن رہا ہوں ۔ مسلمانوں کو جن مظالم کا شکار ہونا پڑ رہا ہے اس سے مجھے از حد تالم و تاسف ہو رہا ہے ۔ کڑی آزمائش کے اس دور میں پاکستان کی سرحدوں کے پار مسلمانوں کو جس صبر آزما مشکلات اور مظالم کا شکار ہونا پڑ رہا ہے اس کی تلافی الفاظ نہیں کر سکتے ۔ اس ناگفتہ بہ حالت سے پاکستان میں بسنے والے مسلمانوں میں غم و غصہ اور تشویش کا اظہار کیا جا رہا ہے ۔ مغربی پنجاب کے مسلمانوں کو چاہیے کہ صبر و تحمل سے کام لیں تاکہ بدامنی نہ ہو ۔،، ۲

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۱ - ایضاً

۲ - ایضاً

فسادات کا اثر مشرقی پنجاب پر - پہلے ہی سال کثیر خسارے کا امکان

''یہ معلوم ہوا ہے کہ مشرقی پنجاب کی حکومت کا بجٹ تیار ہو رہا ہے - باخبر حلقوں کا کہنا ہے کہ بجٹ میں بہت ہی خسارا ہوا ہے - اس خسارے کی وجہ جہاں کئی دوسرے امور ہیں وہاں فسادات بھی ہیں کیونکہ مشرقی پنجاب میں سکھوں نے جو دھاچوکڑی مچا دی ہے اس سے فصل کا کافی حصہ تباہ ہو گیا ہے۔ لاکھوں اور کروڑوں کی جائدادیں تباہ و برباد ہو گئیں ہیں - اس وجہ سے آمدنی کا بہت بڑا راستہ مسدود ہو چکا ہے ''[۱]

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۱ - ایضاً ۳۱ اگست ۱۹۴۷ء

CHAPTER XX

Communal Break-up of the Old Punjab*

The Muslim Power in the Punjab was inaugurated with the advent of Mohammad Bin Qasim (711—13). Though the Arabs could not maintain their authority in the northern parts, they retained it in the southern districts, with their headquarters at Multan. The Muslims ruled over the province till the end of the eighteenth century, though their authority in certain parts had been overthrown by the various Sikh Misls during the last quarter of the century (i.e the 18th). The Muslims formed majority of the population[1] ; their conversion to Islam having been achieved mainly through the efforts and good deeds of their saints and of spiritual leaders. The latter were respected by the non-Muslims as well. The Muslim rule in the Punjab was generally characterised by justice and toleration. They not only employed a large number of non-Muslims in their services and gave high posts to some of them, but also granted big jagirs for the upkeep of their religious shrines and places of worship. The same policy was maintained towards the Sikhs as well. All the Great Mughals from Akbar to Aurangzeb gave them generous grants for the maintenance of their *langars* and *Gurdawaras*. The government, however, could not overlook their anti-State activities when their Gurus began to take part in political affairs of the country.[2] Any person or organization—Muslim, Hindu or Sikh—which hindred in the way of maintaining peace in the realm had to be punished in accordance with the nature of the crime committed.

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*This Chapter also has been written by the Editor.

1. According to the census of 1881, the position of the Muslims in the population of the Punjab was as follows :—

Muslims	10,525,150
Hindus	7,130,528
Sikhs	1,121,004
Buddhists + Jains	38,690
Christians	33,420
Others	1,645

2. For a detailed account, *See* Introduction .

The relationship between the Mughal officials and the Sikhs has been distorted by certain historians. The former have been portrayed as ruthless and fanatical persecutors. If that had been correct, they would not have granted big jagirs to the Sikh Gurus. It is contradictory as well as ridiculous to paint Muslim rulers as fanatics on one hand and accept the fact regarding the grant of jagirs to the Gurus on the other. The relations between the Mughal Emperors and the Gurus broke down only after the latter began to take part in political affairs of the kingdom and increase their political power. The Mughals fought wars not only between themselves but also against other Muslim rulers but those wars have not been treated as religious wars. Similarly the Mughals, actions for the suppression of Banda Bairagi or his successors should be judged as encounters between the superior authorities and the highway robbers or rebel-forces.

The Muslims lost their power in the Punjab after about eight centuries, though in the southern parts of the province, their rule had continued for more than one thousand years. Even Ranjit Singh after his occupation of Lahore in 1799, did not immediately declare himself as an independent ruler but continued to administer the province as a vassal of Shah Zaman, the Afghan ruler till the latter's dethronement. The misfortunes of Muslims started with the establishment of Sikh rule in the province. In some parts they had begun earlier, where the various Sikh Misls had established their strongholds. The latter took their vengeance upon their Muslim inhabitants after they had suffered reverses at the hands of the imperial forces or Ahmed Shah Abdali's troops. This legacy of Sikh-Muslim animosity was carried through during the time of Ranjit Singh as well but with a difference. Ranjit Singh was not like Banda Bairagi. He had a constructive plan; wished to unite the whole of the Khalsa under his centralized administration and establish their kingdom in the Punjab. His main aim or emphasis was not upon looting but was mainly, upon expansion and construction. The Muslims, therefore, did not come under ruthless persecution. As a matter of fact, Ranjit Singh had owed his entry into Lahore, due to the help of a number of Muslim prominent personalities. But they did not receive a fair or judicious treatment as well. Their religious places were openly desecrated;[1] their practice of call for prayers was prohibited by the order of the Maharaja. Nearly all Muslim principalities and States were subjugated. But that is one side of the picture. Numerous Muslim jagirdars retained their lands. Quite a few were appointed to high positions in the

1. *See* Readings pages 91—99.

government. The Faqir family was the most favourite; they not only enjoyed the complete confidence of the Maharaja but also occupied the most enviable position in the administration of the State.[1] Ranjit Singh paid visits and presented his offerings at the shrines of Muslim saints like Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh, Hazrat Mian Mir and others. Persian remained at the court language and this enabled numerous Muslims to obtain high posts in the government.

The annexation of the Punjab by the East India Company in 1849 brought about consequences of far-reaching importance. The immediate effect was the loss of political power by the Sikhs and their general disarmament. The Court language was changed from Persian to Urdu. Western education was introduced and knowledge of English, made compulsory for government service.[2] These changes deeply and widely affected the position of the Muslims. Already deprived of political power, now being faced with the problem of gradual expulsion from government service, their main source of livelihood was restricted either to cultivation or to the service in the lower rungs of the government administration. Their position was further aggravated after the Rising of 1857. Inspite of the fact that the Punjab did not take any vital part in it except for a few incidents at certain places[3] which were immediately suppressed by the authorities, the atrocities and hardships which were faced by the Muslims after its failure, had its repurcussions in the Punjab as well. Though the Hindus also took an equal part in the Rising, the Muslims were taken to be solely responsible for its outbreak. To make matter worse, the Muslims nearly as a class held aloof from the Western education. They even did not like to associate themselves with the Britishers. On the contrary, the Hindus took to Western education in large numbers. This enabled them to sit for competitive examinations and obtain lucrative posts in the government. The condition of the Muslims went on deteriorating till it attracted the attention of the government and gave birth to movements like the Aligarh movement. Lord Mayo, for the first time, drew the attention of higher authorities for taking special steps for improving the conditions of the Muslims and removing

1. For a detailed account *See* Readings, pp 101—105.

2. The East India Company had already decided about it by its resolution of 1843. After annexation, it was applied to the Punjab as well.

3. For details see chapter "The Punjab and the outbreak of 1857" pp. 193—223

their suspicions about their government, so that they could also take their due share in the administration of the government, howesover, limited it was for the Indians. This raised hue and cry from the Hindus, which went on increasing in volume with time. After the local-self government was introduced in India the Hindus, because of their better position in education and economic well-being took lion's share in various bodies established under it. Advanced in education, more numerous in services and local-self institutions, in virtual monopoly of trade and commerce, and inspite of being in minority in population of the province, they had acquired considerable influence in every sphere of life in the Punjab. The position which the Muslims had occupied for centuries was now being—in some respects—assumed by the Hindus. The tables were being turned and the political, educational, social and cultural ascendancy that the Muslims had enjoyed for long was now being gradually lost. In the other words, the two communities were breaking up; the situation became more precarious and intolerable when the Hindus tried to block every outlet which provided some prospects for progress of the Muslims.

The breach was not complete as yet, there were still signs of hope and optimism. The Court language was still Urdu. The Muslim zamindars could still hold their own and a number of Muslim officials especially in police and army, held important posts. But with the rise of numerous Hindu revivalist movements like Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Shudhi and Sangathan, the breach widened never to be bridged again with the Sikhs always siding themselves with the Hindus. The Twentieth Century saw the two nations locked up in a deadly struggle—Muslims trying to preserve their distinct entity while the Hindus leaving no stone unturned to merge them into their cultural and, if possible, religious fold.

It is nearly impossible to enumerate the controversial issues confronting the two nations, yet among the most important may be mentioned as the Urdu—Hindi controversy, separate electorates, the Land Alienation Bill of 1900, special concessions for the education of the Muslims and indecent attacks upon the Holy Prophet and saints of Islam and descration of their holy places. The Urdu-Hindi controversy was started in the third quarter of the ninteeenth century. The Hindus were so insistent and militant about it, that they did not care to foresee its dangerous results.

Their main aim was to destroy the literary and cultural ascendancy which the Muslims still enjoyed; it was also meant to obliterate from the coming generations, the Urdu literature which had become synonomous with Muslim Nationalism or their cultural heritage. The effects of this movement had been foreseen by certain Muslim leaders. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had as early as 1870 prophecied that if the Hindus persisted in their efforts to remove Urdu, that was bound to strike at the roots of the Hindu-Muslim unity.[1] His words were proved right and this language question played one of the most important part in widening the gulf between the two nations. The Brahmo Samaj, started a vigorous compaign for the adoption ot Hindi as a court language as well the medium of instruction in secondary schools. The Arya Samaj did not remain behind. Its leaders presented numerous addresses[2] to the British authorities and held unceasing number of meetings to press upon the government to replace Urdu by Hindi. Their members also played their role in this respect, in their individual capacities as well. A few quotations from Lala Lajpat Rai's autobiography may be of interest to the eaders. He writes :

> "But during my second year at College I began to spend much of my time with him (Pandit Guru Dutt). In the Urdu-Hindi controversy Pandit Guru Dutt, Lala Hans Raj and, myself stood together. It will be safe to say that we began public life with this controversy. Pandit Guru Dutt and myself got a memorial signed by thousands of students".[3]
>
> Again : "But the thing that made the deepest impression upon my character was the Hindi movement. This generated within me the national feeling. I heard speeches in praise of Sanskrit and produced some literature also. The Punjab Brahmo Samaj under the influence of Babu Navin Chandra Roy favoured Hindi. Babu Navin Chandra's attitude was motivated by nationalist considerations. He looked upon Hindi as the national language of India and wanted it to be the foundation for the edifice of Indian nationality. These ideas impressed me profoundly and were the beginning of national life for me."[4]

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1. Ikram S.M. : *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan, Lahore*, 1969, p. 475.
2. *See* the resolutions of the Hindu Conference held in Lahore in October, 1909. Readings , pp. 353—55.
3. Joshi, V. C. (ed.) : *Lajpat Rai—Autobiographical Writings*, Delhi, 1965, p. 26.
4. *Ibid*, p. 27.

country at that time. The Muslims, who though forming the majority of the population, had been left far behind in education and services even though partly for their own negligence, and needed the special attention of the government. The Hindus held their own theory of nationhood or nationality. Inspite of the attacks of Arya Samajists and the opposition against Sikh Gurus and traditions[1] the general concensus was that the word 'Hindu' included sikhism[2] and all the other sects inhabiting India. They also claimed, to the very last moment of our national struggle, that Muslims were a part of them and that they should not be treated as a separate entity. But when it came to their own treatment of the Muslims, that was a different thing. They did not welcome the Muslims in their own organiza'ions and also tried their level best to keep them away from government service, especially when some of them held high position in the government.[3] The following extracts from Gauba's 'Consequences of Pakistan' are worth-noticing in this respect :

> "Hindu directors of companies may denounce Mr. Jinnah for promoting the two-nation theory. If Mr. Jinnah lays emphasis upon this by words, they prove it by conduct. Take great commercial institutions like the Punjab National Bank, the United Commercial Bank, the Lakshami Insurance Company, you will hardly see a Muslim anywhere. The Lahore Electric Supply Company, a company to whose prosperity Muslim consumers have contributed as much as Hindu consumers, employed no Muslim in its executive or clerical staff, until faced with the pressure of acquisition by the Punjab Government.
>
> Sir Ganga Rum, the Philanthropist, made no secret that he would admit no Muslim to any of his banefactions. He was a kindly gentleman but no good Samaritan. The Tribune newspaper although founded to promote nationalism, has never had a Muslim Editor or a Muslim Manager. Its reporters and sub-editors are all Hindus....And this is a national Trust! It may be argued for the Sir Ganga Ram Trust! that the donar was a Communalist and wished to exclude Muslims; his wishes are being followed. But Dyal Singh Majithia was not a Communalist. One of his first Trustees was a Christian, but now the

1. *Singh Ganda (ed.)* op cit *p.* 132
2. *Ibid, op. cit.*, p. 121.
3. *Report of the Provincial Committee for the Punjab, on the Education Commission*, 1884.

Tribune, the Dyal Singh Library, and the Dyal Singh College which were never intended to be communal Institutions are primarily Hindu institutions"[1].

Another cause of fury for the Hindus was the Land Alienation Act of 1900; it had itself been passed in face of bitter opposition of Sardar Harnam Singh, in the Punjab Council.[2] The Hindus objected to it, firstly because it was destined to ruin the lucrative business of Hindu money-lenders, and secondly because it was likely to improve the conditions of the Muslim Cultivators. They put their pressure upon the Congress as well as the government for the abrogation of the Act but when they failed to achieve their ends, they put their full weight behind their militant organisations like Hindu Sabha and the Arya Samaj which came to be regarded as their only representative bodies.[3] Numerous addresses were presented to the Government and their distress, caused under the Act, bewailed.[4] Surprisingly on many occasions they also complained about the low percentage of their community in public services. Two such addresses were presented by them on April 7 and November 8, 1909.[5] Such addresses were only to make false impressions upon the government and arouse a feeling of bitterness against it as well as against the Muslims.[6] It was a matter of common knowledge that Muslims were far behind the Hindus in education and services. The condition of Muslims in education during the period 1884-—1906 can be judged from the following statistics [7] :

(*i*) Number of Muslims who passed the Matric Examination. .. 4120

Number of Hindus who passed the Matric Examination. .. 12146

(figures for respective communities for the years 1885-87 were not available).

1. Ikram, S. M. : *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*, p. 212, quoted from A.B. Rajput's '*The Punjab Crisis and Cure*', pp. 14—16.
2. *See* Readings, p. 556
3. Ikram, S. M., *op. cit*., p. 411.
4. For details *See* Readings, pp. 343—345, 355—59.
5. Ibid
6. *See* the reply of the Viceroy to address of Hindu Sabha presented to him, at Lahore, on November 8, 1909. Readings, p. 359—363.
7. These figures have been calculated from the Statistical data given at the end of the Reports of Administration of the Punjab.

(*ii*)	Number of Muslims who passed the B.A. Examination. ..	348
	Number of Hindus who passed the B.A. Examination. ..	1326
(*iii*)	Number of Muslims who passed the M.A. Examination.	38
	Number of Hindus who passed the M.A. Examination. ...	150

This is only a brief picture; the results of professional examinations have not been included otherwise, their condition would have appeared bleaker. If this were the condition of Muslims in education, it was impossible for them to have supremacy over the Hindus in the services. No doubt the government gave the Muslims some encouragement and reserved certain posts for them, but that was meant firstly to bridge the widening gulf between the two communities and secondly because certain positions demanded either local influence or special characteristics which Muslims especially of certain areas possessed, for the maintenance of law and order.[1] From this the Hindus started propagating that the British were following the policy of 'divide and rule' so as to maintain their authority over the sub-continent for an indefinite period. Whether the British intended to divide or not, Hindu militancy and their determined opposition even to minor concessions to the Muslims, definitely resulted in breaking the two communities into two nations for all times to come.

The issue of the sanctity of the cow was another important factor for breaking up the two communities.[2] There were two aspects of this problem. The Hindus were opposed to cow-slaughter, whereas the Muslims did not like *Jhatka* meat shops to be opened in their *Mohallahs*. The Hindus rioted even when the Muslims slaughtered cows on religious occasions like Id-ul-Bakr, but they themselves did not mindbut openly dared to open *Jhatka* shops near Muslim localities. When the Muslims protested, Hindus turned against them and making use of their influence, even got

1. *See* Readings pp. 539—61.
2. J. S. Sharma has attributed it to be the main cause of the Hindu-Muslim break up vide *India's Struggle for freedom* Vol. I, Delhi, 1962, p. 171.

charges framed against the former.[1] The callousness or hatred against Muslims had increased to such an extent that the Hindus did not even allow their Muslim neighbours to draw water from the wells situated within their own areas. What to speak of the conditions in villages, a number of cases regarding the right of Muslims to draw water from 'Hindu Wells', had been filed in courts in an advanced city like Lahore.[2] At many places Hindu merchants refused to sell their merchandise to their Muslim customers.[3] On numerous occasions social and economic boycott was imposed upon the latter at various places.[4] Even credit-giving Societies had been organized on communal lines.[5]. Hindus also tried to obliterate the ascendency which Persian or Urdu literature had enjoyed amongst the educated section of the population of the Punjab. Persian and Urdu were hated as the language of Muslims, and as such it was considered the duty of all devout Hindus to discard use of them, at the earliest possible time.

Muslim history had also been completely disfigured. The British historians had done so for their imperial interests or lack of proper grasp of original Persian sources. Books like Waqiat-i-Hind had portrayed the Muslim rulers as ruthless tyrants and want on aggressors.[6] Even these rulers whose liberalism was a proved fact and who had granted generous endowments to non-Muslim shrines, etc. too were not spared; faults was found either in their character or policy. For Hindu or Sikh historians, the main fault of the Muslim rulers was that they had fought wars against their co-religionists. The Hindus or Sikhs considered the latter as their heroes; their anniversaries were celebrated and festivals e.g. the Shivaji festival, started to pay homage to their bravery and courage and condemn the 'atrocities of the Muslim fanatics'. Aurangzeb had become a word of hatred and contempt, whereas Shivaji, Banda Bairagi and the alike were praised as national heroes. On numberous occasions, the Arya Samajists called upon their members and scholars to rewrite their

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1. *The Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), dated October 3, 1912, for more details also *See* Ikram's *Modern Muslims India and the Birth of Pakistan*, p. 213.
2. *Ibid*, August 11, 1914.
3. *See* Readings, pp. 362—69.
4. Ikram, S. M., p. 213.
5. Darling, M.L., *Wisdom and Waste in the Punjab village*, p. 6.
6. Joshi, V.C., (ed.) *op. cit.*, p. 77, also Ikram, S. M., *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*, p. 209.

national historiaes in accordance with their creed and policies[1]. Their poets enlogised those Hindus or Sikhs who had fought or resisted the Muslim authorities in India.[2] Similarly people like Pandit Lekh Ram, and Swami Shardanand who had made most indecent remarks against the Holy Prophet were declared as martyrs.[3]

The callousness or contempt which the Hindus had acquired for Muslims can be judged from the following extracts from Bhagat Lakhshman Singh's autobiography:

> "The truth really is that the Muslim populace those days, with a few honourable exceptions, had gone mad.[4] They thristed for Sikh blood or was the Sikhs who were alleged to have first provoked the strife, and they had it to their heart's content. This is what a witness, Sardar Heera Singh, who was Post Master in charge of The Dabbi Bazar Post Office, declared before the Court of Lala Kanwal Nain who tried the culprits responsible for the murder of Sardar Attar Singh, the only young son of his old father. He was employed as an Accountant in some Railway Office. Having obtained a pass for his post in the North West Frontier Province, he went to his residence in the city to get his suit case. In vain his father, whom he had met in the morning, expressly wished him not to enter the city, which was in a disturbed state but he paid no heed to his unfortunate sire's warning and biked to his place under the impression that no harm would come to him, for he was a peace-loving youth who harboured no ill feeling against any body. As he entered the Dabbi Bazar, near Wazir Khan's Masjid, he was mobbed and killed."[5]

This is how he writes about the Shahidganj tragedy

"This is the close of the year 1935 A.D. Strange things are happening. There is a Sikh shrine, called Shahidganj, near the Railway Station, Lahore, sacred to the memory of Bhai Taru Singh, the famous Sikh martyr. Any number of other Sikhs, young and old, were martyred here during the regimes of Nawab Zakariya Khan and Yahiya

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1. Proceedings of the Hindu Conference, held at Lahore in October, 1909, *The Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), October 23—28, 1909.
2. Ikram, S. M. *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*, p. 476.
3. Mahajan, V.D., *op. cit.*, p. 105.
4. Here he is talking about the riots which broke out in Lahore in May 1927.
5. Singh, Ganda (ed) op. cit. p. 269

Khan, governors of Lahore. The place, therefore, was called Shahidganj, the place of martyrs, and naturally became sacred to the Sikhs, and from the commencement of the Sikh Government of the Khalsa down to this day has been in the possession of the Sikhs. Since the advent of the British rule, Muslim have several times sued the men in charge of the temple for the possession, but the civil courts invariably dismissed these suits. In July last the local Gurdwara Committee, now in charge of the temple, dismantled an old mosque-shaped edifice on the presmises, believed to be the old court of the Muslim Qazis, wherein they sat to pronounce their judgments on the cases brought against the Sikhs and put their victims to the cruelest of deaths. Some Muslim agitators and their press were loud in their condemnation of the demolition of the buildings. No wonder that huge crowds of Muslims, drawn from the Delhi, Akbari and Mochi gates and the landa Bazar areas and from other parts of Lahore and its suburbs marched towards the Shahidganj to turn out Sikh custodians of the building under dispute. The Government was not unprepared to meet this crisis. Special police and military were requisitioned and the situation was controlled, but not till a few rounds of shots were fired, resulting in a small number of causalties. This added fuel to the fire. There was a mild agitation against the Government, but the feelings against the Sikhs ran high, so much so that cold-blooded murder of innocent Sikh passers-by, who were not even residents of Lahore and had nothing to do with the demilotion of the alleged mosque, was the order of the day. The Governor, Sir Herbert Emerson, had to meet a very difficult situation. In his speeches and communiques he defended the measures taken by the Government and, while admitting that the Sikhs were within their rights in dealing with the property lawfully in their possession in any way they liked, they were wrong 'morally', he declared, in doing an act whereby they had injured the suscriptibilities of their Muslim countrymen. This was an appeal to the good sense of the Sikh community and it seemed to have had a good effect on them, but the Muslim feeling in Lahore and patticularly in the Western Frontier districts became much accute. In the latter region the Government had to wage a regular war to put down the Frontier fanatics, but in Lahore the situation has not improved. The agitators invited Pir Jamait Ali Shah of Sialkot, the Amir-ul-Millat (sovereign of the community of the faithful), who, instead of pouring oil on troubled waters, set ablaze the whole communal horizon by making inflamatory speeches in the Badshahi

mosque, and by enjoining on the assemblage, said to have consisted of thousands of the worshippers, a boycott o f the Sikhs and Hindus. The Government made blunder after blunder. Without waiting to see the general trend of events it otdered the transfer of a magnificent domed building where the present Sessions Courts is held, to the Musalmans, as a reward for their supposed patience and forbearance.

Another act of a similar nature was removing the ban on the carrying of swords throughout the province. Shortly after a huge procession of several thousand men, carrying swords, hatchets, etc., headed by Mau lana Shaukat Ali and other Muslim M.L.A., passed through the bazaars of Lahore brandishing their weapons and shouting 'Ya Ali', 'Ya Ali' and repeating other exciting slogan, with the intent to overawe Hindu and Sikh populace. The Sikhs were not slow in organizing a counter-demonstration. During the lastweek of November, 1935, they marchedout in procession from the Shahidganj Gurdawara, on the Martyrdom day of Guru Tegh Bahadur, and passed through the bazars of Lahore. Some Hindus also joined the procession. The organizers, it seems to me, were wrong in permitting this coalition. They had a wonderful control over the various Sikh jathas; but they should have known that stray Hindu processinists of Mahab:r Dal mentality owed them no allegiance. They had joined the procession from the purest of motives. but they lacked Sikh training and forbearance and were wanting in self-control under grave provocation. Hence there was no wonder if among such slogans : *Sura so pahchaniye jo lare din ke het* (Hero is he who fights for the weak), such provoking slogans should have been heard as, fot instance: '*Chhuri mar ke pagal bande man de babar-sher ih* (The cowardly murderers stab innocent passers-by and when arrested pretend lunacy. Truly they are cubs of brave lionesses !). One couldn't help laughing when one heard : *Hindu qaum ka bachha bachha sher ki santan hai* (Each and every Hindu is a cub of lioness). I was with the procession from the Lahori Gate to Dehra Sahib Gurdwara near the Fort. When I met Master Tara Singh a prominent neo-Akali leader, I invited his attention to this undesirable feature of the procession. He agreed with me in my belief that it was a mistake to have allowed irresponslibe Hindu youngmen to participate in the procession and said that there had been a clash on this account near the Mochi Gate. But my fears were realized next day. Early in the morning big crowd of armed Muslims from inside Bhati Gate way laid stray Sikh and Hindu passers-by and assulted them with fatal consequences. A

vast multitude entered the Guru Datta Bhawan an Arya Samajist meeting place, and assaulted the innocent inmates. The authorities had profited from their previous mistakes.They succeeded in controlling the situation. A curfew order was issued and for weeks groups of more than five persons were not allowed to pass through the streets of Lahore. The carrying of lathis, swords and even kirpan was disallowed. Naturally the Sikhs regarded this ban on kirpan as an interference with their religion. The Shromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee decided to offer *Satyagraha* and Small parties of Sikhs, under the leadership of its members and other prominent members of the community and even Sikh ladies, marched out to show their prowess. The authorities convicted them all. The agitation continued throughout the period the ban lasted. Deputations waited on the Governor, Sir Herbert Emerson, with the object of getting the ban lifted. The Sikh Press, even the Hindu Press, with one voice, condemned the Government action. But their criticism was unheeded. The Government, however, dealt with the Sikh Satyagrahis with remarkable leniency. The members of the jathas were invariably awarded a days imprisonment till the rising of the court. This whole comic affair ended only with the ending of the prescribed period of the ban.

This demon of *Satyagraha*, however, not unlike its prototypes of the mythological ages, is a surprisingly clever monster. It assumes now one form and now another and it is difficult to say how long it will go on playing its trade. The Musalmans, taking a clue from their Sikh opponents, have begun starting civil disobedience and marching towards Bhai Taru Singh's Shahidganj with a view to offering their prayers there. Like Sikh Satyagrahis who, when produced before the trying magistrates, gave out their names as Dilli Tor Singh, Hakumat Bhagao Singh, Kan-Maror Singh and so forth, the Musalman Satyagrahis give their names as Kafar-mar Khan, Butshikan Khan and the like and their father's name as Baba Adam and place of birth as Shahidgani. How long this imitation game will last is yet to be seen. But this much is certain that the internal situation in the Punjab promises to be becoming more delicate and he will be a bold man who prophesies the lifting of the clouds from over the province and the readvent of a sunshiny weather."[1]

This was 1936. The conditions were to deteriorate still further as the time passed. A number of Hindu and Sikh militant and fascist organizations sprang up to strangle the Muslims' demand for a separate

1. I bid pp. 279—284

homeland and to terrorise or intimidate them to refrain from putting their weight behind the Muslim league. One such organization was the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh.[1]

Its leaders believed that "the whole of the Indian sub-continent was a land of Hindus who have lived in it for thousands of years and that the Muslims in this part of the world were foreigners and intruders. This doctrine was further developed by Golwalkar. . . . who succeeded Hedgewar as the Supreme Leader of the organization in 1940.... He believed that India has been the home of Hindu civilization for 10,000 years and that the Arctic regions—the cradle of the Hindu nation—together with the North Pole, were originally located in that part of India which is today known as Bihar and Orissa."

The ideology of the RSSS was revivalist and fascist. "The membership of the Sangh is drawn from the lower middle classes, clerks, artisans, petty shop-keepers and Hindu youth. In Government officers, its sympathisers, are however found not only among clerks but also amongst the highest officials. . . . No list of membership is kept, and the total membership is estimated variously between five hundred thousand and five million.

In the Punjab, branches of the Sangh first came to notice in 1938. Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang, Bhai Parmanand and Dharma Vir, son-in-law of Bhai Parmanand and editor of the Hindu) were the pioneers of the movement in the Punjab. . . . The membership of the Sangh in Lahore had risen in 1940, to 1,000. Branches were in existence at Sialkot and Amritsar. The volunteers who joined the Sangh were given training in drill and lathi and gatka fighting. When the ban on military drill by private organisations was imposed, the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh continud to do their parades within enclosed spaces. The branches in the Punjab were closely connected with the main office at Nagpur and trained workers often used to be sent from Nagpur to the branch centres. . . .

By 1942, the membership of the Sangh in the province had risen to 10,000 including 4,000 regular volunteers, some of whom were students . . . In time, the activities of the Sangh were intensified and propaganda parties were sent out for the purpose of enrolling volunteers in rural areas. Branches in almost all towns and cities of the province . . . An aggressive

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1. It was founded in 1925 by Keshav Rao Bali Ram Hadgewar, a Nagpur doctor.

outlook had now been developed. The object of the Sangh was stated to be "to unite and organise the Hindus and to inculcate a political consciousness in them". Whereas in the beginning the object of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh was to create a sense of self-confidence, it now aimed at establishing Hindu Raj. In the speeches made at the rallies, it was asserted that the Hindus would drive out the British and crush the Muslims. The workers of the Sangh maintained that there was religious affinity between the Japanese and the Hindus. The organisation was particularly popular with the Hindu youth and students . . . .

The strength of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh was demonstrated in November, 1946, during the extensive tour of the province, by its chief organiser and the head of the All-India Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh— Madho Rao Golwalkar. The number of volunteers, who greeted him on parades, at these places, was estimated to be 25,000. The number of Hindu and S kh visitors who were issued special invitations to witness the rallies, during this tour, was estimated to be 40,000 . . . .

During his tour Golwalkar also met and addressd Adhikaris (subzone organizers) in seciet and urged them to teach their volunteers lathi, sword and spear fighting" for crushing Muslim aggressors." The need for preserving the utmost secrecy was stressed so as not to give away the strength of their organisation to the Muslims and to the Government. . . . The decision of the Punjab Government to ban volunteer organisations reached in December, 1946. The members of the Sangh, however, continued to bold meetings in private houses and temples.

In December 1946, 27 volunteers of the Sangh were arrested under section 10 of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance (use of vehicles in contravention of Government orders). For the defence of the volunteers, collections were made by prominent Hindus . . . . By the close of 1946, the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh was well-established throughout the province, had a large membership and ample funds, was avowedly militant, believed in fighting the Muslims, advocated the maintenance of the ancient civilization and culture of the Hindus throughout India, and had at its back many prominent Hindus including the best legal talent.

There was a record increase of 1,000 in the membership during the month of January, 1947, which now totalled 47,000 . . . On 24th January 1947, the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh was declared an unlawful organisation in the Punjab, offices of the Sangh were searched throughout

the province. . . . At Sialkot, two daggers, 50 lathis; at Rawalpindi, 77 spear-heads; and in Hoshiarpur, 38 wooden handles of axes were reovered. Documents of interest were seized at Amritsar, Hoshiarpur, Hissar and Karnal districts. . . .

In February and March the number of members rose to 49,400. The funds rose from Rs. 65,500 in January to Rs. 76,600 in March. Secrecy was still maintained about the activities of the organisation. The ban imposed on the organisation under the Criminal Law Amendment Act havingbeen withdrawn, its volunteers once again resumed their activities. The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh was so well organised and was so confident of its strength that it thought the time had come to defy the Muslims openly. Instructions were given "to volunteers in Lahore and the surrounding areas to undertake intensive recruitment, to carry out anti-Pakistan slogans." . . . At a meeting held at Lahore, on 4th February, 1947, Mehta Om Parkash and Dr. Prem Nath Grover "told the volunteers that the Muslims were their enemies and that they must prepare themselves for a tough fight with them when the time come." Every member of the Sangh was asked to keep with him a sword and to learn to proper acids for use against the Muslims. . . .

In March, another 1,000 members were added and the total rose to 50,400 . . . In Lahore a stabbing squad of 50 members was organised for the purpose of assaulting and stabbing solitary Muslims.In other districts of the Province, they collected funds. In Lyallpur, the volunteers procured spears and hatchets. Instructions were also given by the headquarters organisation to volunteers in the Gurdaspur district to procure weapons and to import illicit firearms from the Jammu and Kashmir State.

The link between the Akalis and the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh became closer when Rai Bahadur Badri Das and Bakhshi Sir Tek Chand assured Master Tara Singh of the support of the Sangh of in combating the threat of Muslim domination in the Punjab. Master Tara Singh reciprocated this gesture by issuing instructions to the 'Akal Sena' that henceforth the two bodies were to collaborate with each other. From now onwards, the Muslim was the common enemy of both. . . .

The total membership rose in April 52,200. . . . The drive to increase membership was pressed vigorously. In a letter, which was addressed to the branches, it was stressed that the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and the Akali Vir Dal should work in close association . . .

Sangh activity in April became particularly strong in the eastern and the central Punjab districts. Meeting were held almost daily in religious places and at private houses. Physical exercises were peformed daily and instructions in gatka and lathi fighting was imparted sec.etly. Representatives of the all-India organisation at Nagpur continued to visit the Punjab.

At Amritsar, the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh workers came to notice for having been concerned in the manufacture of bombs for use against Muslims. . . . By the end of May, the membership had arisen to 56,800. The increase of 4,600 took place largely in the Lahore, Jullundur and Multan Divisions. Seventeen new branches were opened and the funds totalled Rs. 86, 700. As a matter of fact, the funds had never been a problem with the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh because at any time, wealthy Hindus who sympathised with the organisation openly, could be approached and asked to make donations as they had always done. . . . Branch members were implicated in the manufacturs of bombs at Lahore, Gujranwala, Sargodha, Chiniot, Burewala, Jullundur and Ferozepore, and there was a suspicion that bombs were being manufactured by members at Multan and Jhang. A raid carried out by the Police, in Jhang city, resulted in the recovry of a large quantity of arms of all descriptions, which were suspected to have been collected by the local Sangh workers. Damaging evidence against the Sangh was revealed at Jullundus. On a house, being searched, which was in the charge of the local Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, military bombs, acid, laboratory apparatus, two daggers, a bow, several arrows, three 16" maps showing Hindu and Muslim quarters, Government offices and other buildings in different colours, a small scale map of the various parts of the City where members of both communities resided together, with the names of tenants and owners of houses, and a pamphlet entitled "Lessons in Mine Engineering" were recovered . . . The fusion of Hindu-Sikh inetrsts is illustrated by the formation of a new volunteer organisation at Rawalpindi, which was named the "Ravengers', Some of the persons who joined this organisation were members of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh. This organisation procared 100 fire-arms and undertook the manufacture of bombs and spears. A Hindu Scouts Volunteer Corps was fotmed at Lyallpur, and its membership totalled 700, the majority being Rashtriya swayam sewak sangh workers. Training was being rapidly imparted in the districts of the Province, and besides physical exercises, which wers conductud in the open, gatka, lathi and sword-fighting was practised secretly. . ..In Lyallpur and Multan,

Gurkha ex-servicemen were engaged for training the sangh workers in the use of fire-arms and 'Khukri' fighting.'

A Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh Officers Training Course, which included training in the use of daggers, horse-riding and drill was started at Nagpur. Representatives from the Punjab went through this course. Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh activity in the State (Gind and Bikaner) greatly increased. It was reported from Gurgaon that there was a sudden influx of a large number of Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh workers from Delhi in May 1947. These workers toured extensively and were reported to have ostensibly distributed food, fuel and clothes. Their real purpose was to prepare and train the Hindu community for an onslaught against the local Muslims. There is little doubt that the Hindu offensive against the Muslims in the Gurgaon district was inspired by the propaganda of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh workers from Delhi...

By the end of May, the Hindus were well knit and relied on the RSSS to crush the Muslims. The collection and distribution of arms and their use was being carried out with the support and approval of the Hindu intelligentia .... In June, the total number of members was estimated to be 59,200. The increase was particularly marked in the Jullundur and Ambala Divisions... The funds at the Disposal of the Sangh rose to Rs. 1,04,000 as against Rs. 86,700 during the previous month ....

A secret circular recovered from a branch of the Lahore Sangh shows the elaborate plan which the Sangh had made for converting certain Muslim majority areas in the Punjab into non-Muslim majority areas ... It was found that the town of Lahore had been divided into zones and for each zone a leader had been appointed. Sufficient arms were supplied to each zone, so that upon a given signal, the whole city could be taken by surprise and the massacre of Muslims started.

Arrests made in another case showed that a gang of Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sanghworkers had been throwing bombs at places where largs numbers of Muslims had collected. The gang threw bombs in the fruit. market and cinema hall, at a running omnibus and a Muslim congregations at prayer in several mosques. They had a fantastic plan for chartering a special plan on the Id day with the object of dropping bombs on Muslims in the Shahi Mosque ... Mention was also made about the sstablishment of secret bomb manufacturing factories in the Patiala and Faridkot States. The two-lakh fund, which was collected by Golwalkar during

his tour, was probably used for the purchase of arms and for the manufacture of bombs. Ths Deputy Leader of the Congress Assembly party now Prime Minister in the East Punjab, came to notice for giving a letter of introduction to a Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh worker to Mastsr Tara Singh, for procuring bombs. After the March riots, the Congress influence amongst the masses began to wane and instead, the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha became increasingly popular."[1]

Thanks God, the schemes of such an organization failed and Pakistan came into existence—though not without having paid a heavy toll in the form of the innocent lives and immense property left across the border. The innumerable Hindu and Sikh; *Jathas* looted and killed lacs of Muslims who were on their way to their new homeland. Their atrocities shooked the conscience of the entire civilized world but the culprits remained free to repeat their nefarious ativities. This is how the two nations broke up and the old Punjab was divided inevitably between the two countries.

1. *Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in the Punjab*, Lahore,1948, pp. 1—19.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN SOURCES*

1. KHALISAH-NAMAH (خالصه نامه)

A history of the Sikhs to A. H. 1222/1807-8, written by Lalah or Pandit Bakht-Mal, who was the grandfather of Diwan Amar Nath "Akbari". His father had migrated from Kashmir to Lahore, where he had attained high position, but on the Governor's dismissal, he had gone to Delhi. It was there probably that Bakht-Mal was born. It was at any rate from there that he went for a time to Oudh. Declining offers of employment from Asaf al-Daulah, he returned to Delhi. At the end of 1805, when Lord Lake drove Jaswant Rao Holkar to the Bias and sent John Malcolm on a mission to Ranjit Singh, Bakht-Mal accompanied Malcolm and wrote for his information a work on the Sikhs. This work is referred to by him in the preface to his *Khalisah-Namah*, where he says that "during the days of leisure he had enjoyed in the companionship of Bhai Lal Singh" he had written a detailed history of the Sikhs, which was stolen by thieves when only half finished, and a short history which was taken away by John Malcolm, and that he had now written a third work of moderate size on the same subject. His grandson, Diwan Amar Nath, says that he wrote works entitled *Tilism-i-Shakar-riz*, *Bagh-i-ba-bahar*, *Lui-namah* and *Singh-namah*.

CONTENTS

Early period, from Nanak to the death of Bandah. Wars with Ahmad Durrani. Establishment of the Sikh power, and the Marhatta wars. Rise of George Thomas. Progress of the English ; Lord Lake's campaigns. History of Ranjit Singh.

The last section ends with an account of Ranjit Singh's transactions with the Raja and Rani of Patiyalah in A. H. 1222.

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*This note has very kindly been contributed by Professor Dr. Mohammad Baqir, Principal, Panjab University Oriental College, Lahore.

2. AHWAL-I-FIRQAH-I-SIKHAN (احوال فرقۂ سکھاں)

A history of the Sikhs from their origin to A. D. 1811, the date ot composition, written by Khush-Waqt Ray, who was, according to H. T. Prinsep (*Origin of the Sikh power in the Punjab*, Calcutta 1834, *preface, p.x*), "for many years the Agent and Intelligencer of the British Government at Amritsar." He himself says that he was in the service of the East India Company, and that he had been appointed official News-writer, *Waqa-i-nigar*, for the Punjab. According to the British Museum manuscript, his history of the Sikhs was written at the request of Colonel David Ochterlony. In the India Office manuscript a space left for the name of the person at whose suggestion the work was written has been filled with the name and Persian titles of Charles Theophilus Metcalfe.

CONTENTS

The work begins with an account of the ten Gurus or spiritual leaders of the Sikhs, from Nanak to Gobind Singh. The subsequent history of the sect and the lives of the leading Sikh chiefs are then told with great detail. The narrative concludes with a full account of Ranjit Singh. It is brought down to the end of the negotiations with Mr. Metcalfe (A. D. 1808-1811).

3. SHIR-U-SHAKKAR (شیر و شکر)

A history of Ranjit Singh to A. H. 1228/1813, written by Daya-Ram Pandit, who originally resident in Kashmir, migrated with his father to Delhi and thence after a time to Lahore. In 1228/1813 when Diwan .Ganga Ram marched against the fortress of Punchh, Daya-Ram accompanied him and it was there that he wrote his *Shir-u-Shakkar*. A Persian diwan of his is preserved in the Panjab University Library.

CONTENTS

It is a brief history of Ranjit Singh upto Samvat 1871/1228 A. H., preceded by a short account of the events which took place after the death of Muhammad Shah.

4. ZAFAR-NAMAH-I-RANJIT SINGH (ظفر نامہ رنجیت سنگھ)

A history of Ranjit Singh to the Samvat year 1892/1835-6 A.H. written by Diwan Amar Nath "Akbari", who was the son of Diwan

Dina Nath, Ranjit Singh's Finance Minister. Amar Nath was born in Samvat 1879/1822-3 A. D. In 1885/1828-9 A. D. at the age of six, he went to a *maktab* where he was taught by Maulawi Ahmad Bakhsh "Yak-dil" Chishti Lahauri. At an early age he had acquired considerable skill in Persian composition. He was only in his eleventh year when, in 1889/1832-3 A. D., he wrote a series of bombastic laudations of gardens in Lahore to which he gave the title *Rauzat al-Azhar* and which, or part of which, he included in the last (forty-first) chapter of the *Zafar-namah*. In 1891/1834-5 A. D., at the age of sixteen, he wrote a *fath-namah* on the conquest of Peshawar which was published throughout Ranjit Singh's dominions (*ba-tamam mulk-i-mahrusah sha'af--isdar yaftah*) and which is incorporated in the *Zafar-namah*. According to Sita Ram Kohli he was one of the Bakhshis, or Paymasters of the irregular cavalry of the Khalisah Government and is mentioned several times in the pay-rolls. From "family traditions and a few other indirect sources" Sita Ram Kohli has learnt, "that Diwan Dina Nath had his son removed from his office in 1845 for reasons which are rather obscure", and that he spent the rest of his life in intellectual pursuits until his death from cholera on 1 August 1867, at the age of forty-five. A collection of his Persian poems was published by his son Diwan Ram Nath in 1873 under the title of *Diwan-i Akbari.*

CONTENTS

The *Zafar Nama* easily lends itself to a natural division into four parts. Part I covers the first 271 pages and forms historically the most important part of the book. It describes the chief events and incidents of Ranjit Singh's reign up to the close of the year Samvat 1893 (1836-7). Part II is a description of the principal gardens round about Lahore. This part was, as the author himself tells us, included in the book at the express wish of the Maharaja. Part III is mainly a love poem and deals with an episode in the lives of Mirza Akram Beg and Ilahi Bakhsh, the later of whom rose to the rank of a General in the Artillery Service of the Sikh Army.

5. TARIKH-I-PANJAB. (تاریخ پنجاب)

The Panjab University Library contains a beautifully written manuscript of *Tarikh-i-Punjab* (History of the Panjab) by Ghulam

Muhiy-ud-Din, surnamed Bute Shah, of Ludhiana. The author is silent about himself in this book and nothing can be traced about him from the extant sources. It appears that the author was well known in his time, for J. D. Cunningham, in his book, refers to him as follows : "Capt. Murray, the political agent at Ambala, and Capt. Wade, the political agent at Ludhiana, each wrote a narrative of the life of Ranjit Singh.......... ..The two narratives in question were, indeed, mainly prepared from accounts drawn up by intelligent Indians, at the requisition of the English functionaries, and of these the chronicles of Buta Shah, a Muhammadan, and Sohan Lal, a Hindu, are the best known, and may be had for purchase."

It is mentioned in the Panjab University Library Manuscript (though not in any other Manuscript) that the book was written by the order of George Russell Clerk, the then Agent to the Governor-General.

The statement is borne out by J. D. Cunningham, who mentions that the accounts were drawn up 'at the requisition of the English functionaries'.

Unlike the chronicles of the Mughal period, this history is written in a direct and lucid style. The author rightly takes credit, at the opening of the book, for being the first to write a history of the Panjab, which he narrates from the earliest times down to A. D. 1840.

DATE OF COMPOSITION

Dr. Rieu in his Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts, iii, 953 a, mentions that the chronicle was completed in A. H. 1264 (=A.D. 1847). Ethe supports (or copies) him in India Office Library Catalogue (i, 197). Both of them have arrived at this date by misinterpreting the chronogram given at the beginning of the book, which runs as follows :—

تاریخ تالیفش از نامش بدین وجہ مستنبط نمود

مرتب شد چو این تاریخ پنجاب

بفضل داور بیچون و دادار

چو جستم سال تاریخش خرد گفت
که تاریخش هم از نامش برون آر

ولے غیر از مات اے دانش آ گین
ز اعداد نخستین جزو مشار

This gives the date of completion as A. H. 1258 (=A. D. 1842). Rieu and Ethe have probably read the last couplet as follows:

ولے غیر از بات اے دانش آ گین
ز اعداد نخستین جزو مشار

and have come to the conclusion that the book was completed in A. H. 1254 (=A. D. 1847). But there is no such word as بات and the couplet yields no sense.

Internal evidence shows that the book was actually being written in A. D. 1840.

The following occurs on *f* 6b of the Panjab University Library Manuscript :

این قلعه در سال گذشته سنه ۱۸۳۹ عیسوبی به
قبض و تصرف اہالیان سرکار کمپنی در آمده ،

Tr. "Last year in A. D. 1839 the fort (of Bhakhar) came into the possession of the officers of the Company."

Further on the author mentions the Hijra and Vikrami years as follows :

' تا اکنون که سال هجری به یک ہزار و دو صد و پنجاه و ہفت رسید ،

Tr. "Now the Hijra years has reached 1257." again :—

' اکنون سمت مذکور یک ہزار و ہشت صد و نود و ہشت مرقوم میشود ،

Tr. "Now the said year (Vikrami) is written as 1898."

Both these years correspond to A. D. 1841, which shows that the author continued to write the book in A. D. 1841.

To sum up, the chronicle was begun some where in 1840 and was completed in 1842.

CONTENTS

The Panjab University Library Manuscript consists of a *Muqaddima* (Introduction), five *Daftars* (Books). and a *Khatima* (Epilogue).

INTRODUCTON

دربیان احوال حدود ملک پنجاب و وجه تسمیه آن و بیان ابحار و انهار که درین ملک جاری و ساری اند و ذکر منابع و جائے ملحقات آنها بدریائے دیگر و بیان دوآبه های این ملک و طول و عرض آنها و توضیح امصار و قریات معروفه هر یک دوآبه و تشریح اجناس و اثمار و دیگر اشیائے مشهورهٔ آنها ۔

The historical geography of the Panjab is given in full detail in the Introduction. The author begins with the sources of the rivers of the Panjab, and describes their courses. After giving the length and breadth of the five Doabs of the Panjab, he mentions all the important towns and cities of every Doab, and some light is thrown on their historical importance.

BOOK I

دربیان احوال راجهائے هنود از ابتدائے شبهومن که بقول هنود اولین راجهٔ روئے زمین بود لغائت آخر رائے پتهورا که آخرین فرمان فرمایان این ملک او گذشته ۔

An account of Hindu Rajas from the beginn:ng of the reign of Raja Shibuman (supposed to be the first ruler of the world, according to Hindus), to the reign of the last Hindu king Pithora, is given in this book. The author has taken pains to collect material for this period of history from the available sources. The following authorities are quoted :

The Bhagvatgita,
Mahabharata, and
Padma purana.

BOOK II

دربیان احوال بادشاہان اہل اسلام من اوائل آمدن سلطان محمود غزنوی غازی و اولاد و احارش و بیان سلطنت غوریان خلجیان و لودہیان و چغتایان درین ملک ۔

This chapter covers the whole of Muhammadan rule in India. The author begins with Mahmud Ghaznawi and gives a short history of the Ghoris, Khaljis, Lodis and Chaghatais. He concludes with the expulsion of Ahmad Shah Abdali by the Sikhs, and his death in A. H. 1183.

The author says he has consulted the following works :

(*i*) Habib us-Siyar,
(*ii*) Maasir ul-Muluk,
(*iii*) Tarikh-i-Yamini,
(*iv*) Tarikh-i-Alfi,
(*v*) Tarikh-i-Banakti,
(*vi*) Tabaqat-i-Nasiri,
(*vii*) Tarikh-i-Guzida.

BOOK III

دربیان گروہائے فرقہ سنگھان و بیدیان و سودہیان کہ اولاد گردوان مذکور اند ۔

This section deals with the lives of Gurus of the Sikhs, from Nanak to Gobind, and their descendents, the Bedis and the Sodhis. It begins with Guru Nanak and concludes with Bedi Sahib Singh. The following authorities are quoted for this book :

(*i*) Jawahar Singh Sodh,
(*ii*) Shankar Jotshi,
(*iii*) Sohan Lal,

(*iv*) Mufti Khair Din,

(*v*) Mian Ahmad Shah of Batala.

BOOK IV

دربیان سرداران سکهان وغیره و سرداران ملک پنجاب و راجهائے و بیان کیفیت مثلهائے و پنتهائے سکهان و دیگر رسوم آنها که بعد از اضمحلال سلطنت های قابض و متصرف ملک پنجاب شده اند -

An account of the Sikh Sardars and Rajas, who rose during the decline of the empire of Delhi, is given in this book.

It opens with the account of the Misal of Bhangis and ends with an account of the Phulkians.

BOOK V

دربیان احوال ملک گیری مهاراجه رنجیت سنگه بهادر که بر همگی ملک پنجاب و سوائے بر ملک هائے دیگر به نیروئے اقبال قابض و متسلط گردید -

A detailed history of Ranjit Singh, from his rise to his death in A. D. 1839, is given in this book.

EPILOGUE

دربیان آمدن صاحبان عالیشان منتسبان سرکار ذوالاقتدار کمپنی انگریز

A short history of the East India Company and of British conquests in India (down to A. D. 1815), is given in these filios.

Dr. Rieu has confused this Epilogue with another section, in which an account of the Rajas of the mountanous districts, such as Kangrah, Jammu, etc., is given. But this last-named section is not contained in any other Manuscript except the British Museum manuscript.

6. SHER SINGH NAMAH. (شیر سنگه نامه)

A diffuse and stilted account of events at Lahore from 1255/1839 (death of Ranjit Singh) to 1259/1843 (assassination of Sher Singh and accession of Dalip Singh after the restoration of order

by Rajah Hira Singh, to whom the work is dedicated and in whose service the author probably was : written by M. Naqi Peshawari b. Mullah Khwajah-Bakhsh who was sent to Lahore, the city of his forefathers, and was an eye-witness of the events which followed the death of Ranjit Singh. At the request of Bakhshi Bhagat-Ram, he composed a record of those events.

7. JAWAHIR-NAMAH. (جواهر نامه)

An epic poem on the reign of Sher Singh : written by Mr. Taiyib Allah Ruhtasi.

8. UMDAT-AL-TOWARIKH. (عمدة التواريخ)

A large and important history of the Sikhs, divided (in its final form) into five deftars and extending from the time of Nanak to the author's own time (to 1831 in the Royal Asiatic Society manuscript, to 1849 in the published edition).

9. IBRAT-NAMAH (عبرت نامه)

A poem on the events following the assassination of Sher Singh until the accession of Dalip Singh.

Both the above mentioned books (Nos. 8&9) were written by Lalah Sohan Lal Suri, son of Lalah Gunpat Ray, son of Lalah Hukumat Ray, who was Vakil at the court of Ranjit Singh for twenty-seven years, and he held the same position during the reigns of his successors until the deposition of Dalip Singh in 1849. Ranjit Singh more than once rewarded him for his historical writings. In 1851 the Panjab Government granted him a *jagir* for life with an annual value of Rs. 1,000. According to Sir S. R. Temple he died in 1852.

Sir Richard Temple says "His habit of noting down what passed seems to have been hereditary, for his father, Lala Ganpat Rai, who before him had been Vakil not only to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, but also to his father and grandfather Mahan Singh and Chhart Singh, had kept similar records of all he saw for some 40 years previously. He died in very advanced life in A. D. 1828, and has left many MSS. behind him, but they are not of any special value, as his son used them all in his great compilation".

10. CHIRAGH-I-PANJAB. (چراغ پنجاب)

A history of the Panjab from the earliest times to A. H. 1262/1846 written in a very short time and presented to the Nazim of the Panjab presumably Henry Lawrence, who was appointed President of the Board of Administration in 1849. It was written by Ganesh Das, called (*'urd*) Badhrah, who was Qanungo of the chaklah of Gujrat in the Panjab, when Maharaja Gulab Singh took him to Jammu and appointed him to the *daftar* of that province (probably not long before 1847, when the *Raj-darshani* was completed). On a sheet of paper attached to fol. Ia the India Office Library Manuscript, he is described as "an Official in the service of the British (Indian) Government in 1855".

CONTENTS

The Hindu Rajahs, beginning with Rajah Lav, son of Ram Chand, who built the city of Lavpur, afterwards Lahore. Muslim rulers, from Nasir-ud-Din Subuktigin, who invaded the Panjab A. H. 367, to Alamgir II. The Durrani sovereigns, from the capture of Lahore by Ahmad Shah, A. H. 1166, to their expulsion by the Sikhs. The Sikhs, from their origin to the English settlement in March. A. D. 1846, Rabi II., A, H. 1262.

11. IBRAT-NAMAH WA 'UMDAT AL TAWARIKH (عبرت نامہ و عمدة التواریخ)

A large and important work on the geography, statistics and history of the Panjab, especially the Sikhs, to A. D. 1839 : written by Mufti Ali Al-Din b. Mufti Khair al-Din Lahauri who left his native place Lahore in 1239/1823 on account of the oppression of the Sikhs and Settled at Ludhiana. He was serving under Charles Raikes, Commissioner of Lahore, in 1854, when he compiled his '*Ibrat-Namah*'.

CONTENTS

The book is a mine of information on the geographical, political social, sociological and economic conditions prevailing in the Panjab in the middle of the nineteenth century. It contains very useful source material although in a jumbled state.

The subdivisions of the book are rather in a confused state a (باب اول) and two (دفتر روم) are included, but the meaning is clear—

the author divided his work into three great portions, viz.

1. Geography of the Panjab, the flora, fauna, and natural resources, etc. in (باب اول).

2. History and topography of Lahore, from its foundation to the times of the author, description of other important towns of the Panjab, and history of the Panjab till the time of Suris.

3. History of the Sikhs in the Panjab, from the birth of Baba Nanak to the final victory of the English in 1846, and a few subsequcnt events, till 1849.

To these three chapters there is added another chapter (without a general heading, and which now we have styled as (دفتر چہارم) dealing in detail with the customs and usages, as well as the prevalent philosophic and religious ideas of the people of the Panjab, beginning with sketches of the sects of the Qadiris, Suharawardis, Naqshbandis and Chishtis ; among the numerous short chapters of this part are the most prominent ones ; the great days of Muslims ; the Hindu Faqirs ; manners and customs of Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, from the cradle to the grave ; scientific attainments of the same three groups : usages in eating and dress ; and the court-officials of Ranjit Singh.

Probably it is Mufti 'Ali-ud-Din, who mentions, for the first time, that Ahmad Shah Durrani removed the heavy brass rings from the gates of the Lahore Fort and a mosque in Lahore to cast two guns, viz., Damdameh and Zamzameh.

Similarly the author has recorded for us the full Persian text of the first treaty, concluded at Lahore, on the 9th March, 1846, between the British Government and the State of Lahore, in which, in article 11, it was provided that the Maharaja would never engage to take, or retain, in his service, any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Some interesting biographical notices about the personagrata at the court of Ranjit Singh appear in the last chapter.

The account of the conquest of Lahore by Ranjit Singh with

the active co-operation of the Arains of Lahore is given in complete details which reveals that the course of history would have been different and totally changed if Nizam-ud-Din Khan of Kasur had accepted the offer of these Arains and had invested the town according to their plans.

A floodlight is thrown on the economy of the region in those times. Salt was selling at 12 maunds a rupee (p. 48), cost of feeding animals in Sikh Cava'ry is given in details ; there were five varieties of wheat grown in this area (pp. 34 and 35) for various purposes ; the Sikh soldiers were normally being paid at the rate of Rs. 12 p. m. and the population of Muslims and Hindus in the Panjab was in the proportion of 3 to 1, with the following numbers of Hindus living in the three Doabs :

Sindh Sagar	1,000 to 12,000
Chaj	3,00,000
Rachna	20,00,000

Strange social events and facts are occasionally highlighted. The Sikhs insisted on Kabuli Mal, a governor of Lahore, appointed by Ahmad Shah to stop cow-killing, but he refused to do it. (p. 234). Ranjit Singh did not object to being called (بھڑوا) (pimp) by public, on the occasion of Holi. Karwa (bitter) Singh, a sub-sect of Nihangs locked the trouser-strings of their woman and opened them only at the time of need. Subsequently the same information is recorded about Akali. Prevalent customs and customary rituals of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs are explained in great details (f. 335). Cow-killing was prohibited by the British at Amritsar on the request of Maharaja Gulab Singh. Traits of the characters of the Sikhs are explained at great length, and Ranjit Singh's personal character is depicted when he becomes restless to see the two wives, viz., Daya Kaur and Ratan Kaur, of his protege, Sahib Singh, immadiately after his death. He had heard about the famed beauty of these women and on seeing them, married them (p. 200). The depraved character of the Muslims in contrast with the strong character of Lahna Singh, a member of the ruling triumvirate of Lahore, is depicted, when Muslims themselves recommended to Ahmad Shah Durranl ; that Lahna Singh should be appointed Viceroy of Lahore, and sent him letters at Amritsar, asking him to come out of hiding and to report

to Ahmad Shah to receive viceroyalty. But he refused the offer and preferred to be loyal to the Sikhs and to stay with them (p. 204). The terrible conditions of social life prevailing during the reign of Dalip Singh are also described by the author. (f.278b).

12. RANJIT-NAMAH or ZAFAR NAMAH-I-RANJIT SINGH
(رنجیت نامه یا ظفر نامه رنجیت سنگھ)

A *mathnawi* on the history of Ranjit Singh written, or begun in 1874, by Ray Bahadur Kanhaiya Lal "Hindi" who was Executive Engineer at Lahore, to which he had migrated early in life from Jalesar, his birth-place in the Agrah District.

13. TAWARIKH-I-MULK-I-HAZARAH OR TARIKH-I-HAZARAH
(تواریخ ملک هزاره یا تاریخ هزاره)

A history of Hazarah and the neighbouring districts especially in the thirty years Samvat 1876/A. D. 1819 to Samvat 1906/A. D. 1849, written by Mahtab Singh, a Kayastha, who was a native of Mirlipur, a village in the Bhognipur-Musanagar parganah of the Kanpur District. Having gone to Lahore in search of employment he entered the service of Prince Kharak Singh, Ranjit Singh's eldest son. For five years he worked in the secretariat (*daftar*) of the Pargana Sahiwal-i-Balochan. In the Vikrami year 1881 (A. D. 1824-5) he was put in charge of the secretariat (*dafter* of Hazarah).

CONTENTS

The books gives a geography and topography of Hazara, followed by a history of Gakkhars. It also has references to the Sikh history.

14. RAHIM NAMA (رحیم نامه)

A history of the fortress of Rohtas in the Panjab, and of the tribe of the Gakhars, written by Rahim Ali Khan, son of Hafiz-ud-Din Khan commonly called Nukpal.

رحیم علی خان ولد حفیظ الدین خان عرف نوکپال

ایزد و سپاس خدا تعالیٰ جل جلالہ کہ افرید گار

The author, who describes himself as an inhabitant of the borough of Domeliyan in the Parganah of Rohtas, and as belonging

to the tribe of the Kayani Gakhars, states that he wrote the present work in A. H. 1256, corresponding to Samvat 1896.

CONTENTS

Topography of the district of Rohtas. History of the fortress of Rohtas from its erection by Sahu Saltani, under Sher Khan Lodi, A. H. 943-948, to the death of Ranjit Singh (A. H. 1555). History of the Gakhars from the period of the Kayanis to the time of composition. Miscellaneous historical notices.

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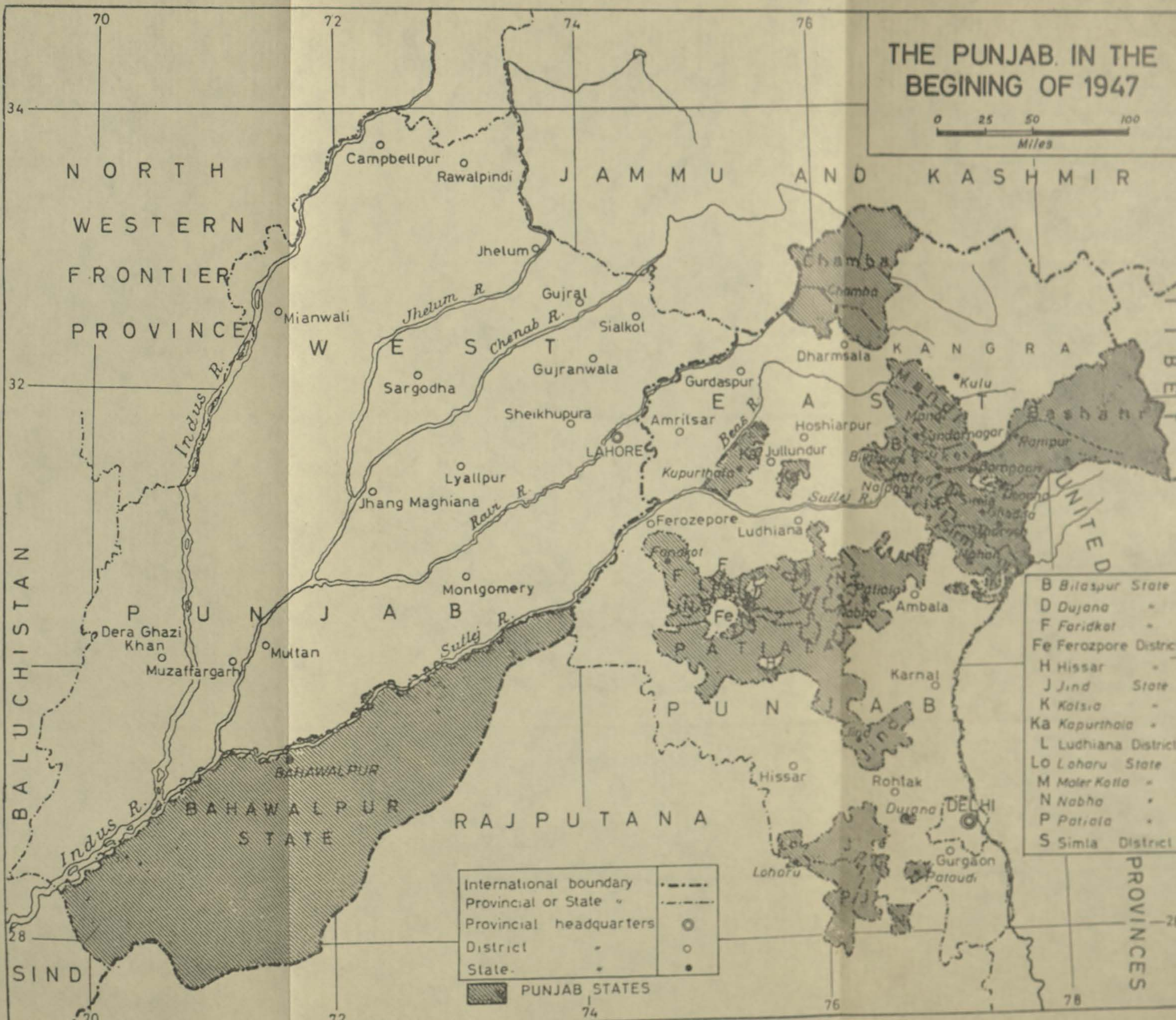
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